THE

PASTORAL LETTERS,

Of the INCOMPARABLE

JURIEU,

Directed to the

Protestants in France

Groaning under the

BABYLONISH TYRANNY,

TRANSLATED:

Wherein the Sophistical Arguments and Unexpressible Cruelties made use of by the PAPISTS for the making Converts, are laid open and expos'd to just Abhorrence.

Unto which is added, a brief Account of the

Hungarian Persecution.

LONDON: Printed for *T. Fabian*, at the *Bible* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, a corner Shop next *Cheapside*; and *J. Hindmarsh* at the *Golden Ball* over against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil.* 1699.

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e in this place. Those that have been offered unto by the present French *Monarch before its utter Repeal, may be read in a little Book written some seven or eight Years since, called the* Policy of the Clergy of *France* to destroy the Protestants of that Kingdom; *to which you may add a second, called,* The last Efforts of Afflicted Innocence.

4. *And the truth is, their Practice is agreeable to their Doctrine; they do affirm, that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, and that all Promises made to them are void of all Obligation; as in the famous Instances of* John Husse *and* Jerom *of* Prague: *more Instances of their Perfidiousness might easily be produced, but 'tis done so frequently by our own Authors in the* English *Tongue, that I think there is no need thereof.*

Vid. Chronic. German. Bucholt *p.* 313. & Florimond de Raiemond in Hist. of Heresie, *p.* 407.

5. *I do not think all those of the* Catholick *Religion equally false and perfidious. I do believe that there is something humane in many of them, that as an Antidote does preserve them from the venom of their own Doctrine; and that they may be morally trusted — as other Men. But after so*

Vid. Jesuits Morals, *p.* 46,47, &c.

many Experiments as we have had of the Falſeneſs, *I think they are bold people that will run the* hazard *thereof.*

6. *What Cruelties have been exerciſed againſt the* Reformed *in* France, *both before and ſince the Repeal of the Edict of* Nantes, *may be learn'd in part from the following Letters of the Learned Monſieur* Jurieu; *concerning which, I think I may ſay, that inſtances of greater Barbarity can hardly be found in the* Hiſtories *of the Primitive* Perſecutions *by Heathen* Emperors: *and yet Court Flatterers would perſuade the World, that there is no Perſecution in* France, *but that all the numerous Converſions made there, have been by methods of ſweetneſs, favour, and mercy: and by the ſame method of ſoftneſs and indulgence, how many throughout* Europe *may be made Turks in a ſhort ſpace of time, is not hard to conjecture.*

See Mr. *Jurieu* Advice to all Chriſtians, prefixed to his Accompliſhment of Propheſies.

7. *I wonder with what front theſe Men can impoſe ſuch notorious Falſehoods upon the World. France entertains Ambaſſadors from all the Courts in Chriſtendom, and is full of forein Travellers and Merchants, they ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears*

Vid. *Jurieu* ibid.

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the Miſeries, Calamities, the Groans and Cries of the Reformed. We our ſelves have ſeen thouſands of them forſaking their Houſes, Lands, Friends and Eſtates, and coming over to us to find Bread in a ſtrange Land: and it was never yet known that Men ſhould forſake Plenty at home, upon the hopes of finding Cloaths to cover their nakedneſs, and Bread to keep them from ſtarving in a forein Country. Thoſe that can believe, theſe Men are not perſecuted, muſt diſbelieve their Senſes in more things than the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.

8. *The perſecuted* French *themſelves do acknowledge, that their great Monarch is not bloody; they impute all theſe Severities that have been exerciſed upon them, to the Sollicitations of thoſe who have the conduct of his Conſcience. They are the Prieſts and Clergy which have raiſed this Holy War againſt the Reformed: 'tis they that have blown the fire, and ſounded the Alarm to this Perſecution; and 'twere a wonder that there ſhould be a Perſecution, and ſuperſtitious Prieſts and Clergy have no hand therein. One of the ſharpeſt Perſecutions that was ever raiſed againſt the Primitive Chriſtians, was promoted and en-*

See a new Syſteme on the Apocalypſe, p. 224, 225.

couraged by the Pagan Prieſts, *as* Sozomen, *(I think) relates. The beſt things corrupted are the worſt: profane Prieſts and Clergy-men without Conſcience perpetrate and encourage the greateſt Villanies in the World.*

9. *Though this Perſecution be moſtly, if not wholly, owing to the Clergy of* France, *yet I do not think them all equally guilty therein. Mr.* Arnold, *in his Preface to the Defence of the* Perpetuity *of the Faith of the Church, againſt Mr.* Claude, *ſpeaks more humanely concerning those of the Reformed Religion in* France, *and profeſſes a great unwillingneſs to diſturb their outward Tranquillity and Peace, or to diminiſh any thing of their temporal Enjoyments aud Advantages: He deſires with all his heart (he ſays) that they might be won over to the Church by all ſorts of Charity, Softneſs, and Goodneſs; but abhors all violent means and endeavours for their Converſion. And I am willing to hope, that there may be others of the ſame ſpirit and temper of this learned Man.*

Vid. Preface in the beginning.

10. *But Mens Sentiments alter, and what is ſound Doctrine at one time is hardly ſo at another. The ſame learned Man, ſince the Perſe-*

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cution grew high in France, *hath written ſundry piqued Books with bitterneſs and gall enough againſt the Reformed, and thereby hath ſufficiently countenanced and encouraged their Enemies againſt them. The Biſhop of* Meaux *late of* Condum, *is a gentile Man, a florid Orator, and uſually ſmooth in his Diſcourſes and Converſation; but has been a great Zealot (though more ſecretly than others) in promoting the ruine of what he calls Hereſie; and no man needs farther proof thereof than to read that fulſome Sermon of his preach'd at the Funeral of the late Queen of* France; *inſomuch that I am ſometimes under a temptation to ſay of them all in the words of the Prophet,* The beſt of them is as a briar, the moſt upright is ſharper than a thorn-hedge. Vid. Serm. Mich. 7. 4.

11. *I ſpeak not theſe things with deſire to exaſperate the Government againſt the* Roman Catholicks *in* England: *Let us but be ſecured that we may enjoy our own Religion in Peace, and I am content that they have the private Liberty of their own. If they will hear what the Learned Men of our Church have to ſay for the Doctrine of the Reformation, and againſt the*

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Doctrines which are properly and peculiarly Popiſh, and can be argued out of the one into a belief of the other, I ſhould very much rejoyce therein.

12. *Thoſe Doctrines which are peculiar to the Church of* Rome *are evidently Novel, and by degrees introduced upon primitive and ſimple Chriſtianity. This hath been irrefragably proved by the Divines of our own Church againſt the late Pamphlets and Pretences of the* Romaniſts, *as well as by the Famous and Learned Monſieur* Jurieu *in his Paſtoral Letters. Chriſtianity is invariable; what it was in the days of the Apoſtles and Primitive Churches, it is at this day: all Additions that have been made thereunto are either needleſs or falſe; and ſuch are all the Novelties of the* ROMAN *Church.*

See the Council of *Trent* examined by Catholic Tradition, by D. *Stillingfleet.*

13. *But if thoſe of the Church of* Rome *cannot be argued out of their Religion, and become Proſelytes to the Proteſtant Doctrine and Diſcipline, they muſt remain where they are. The Churches of the Reformation have not learned from their great Maſter to Dragoon Men into*

their

their Communion, and it ſeems to them to be utterly contrary to the Gentleneſs, Softneſs, and Kindneſs of Chriſtianity. It accords well enough with Mahometaniſm and the Alcoran to proſelyte Men by drawn Swords and Piſtols; for there is but little Argument, Reaſon, or Demonſtration, can be produced to perſuade a Faith therein: and where Men cannot be converted by Arguments, they muſt make uſe of Clubs if they will gain any Proſelytes. Chriſtianity is furniſhed with ſo many of the one, that it has no need of the other.

See Memoirs of *P. Mornay*, vol. 1. pag. 25, 26.

14. *Whatever Provocations thoſe of the Church of* Rome *may have given to the Church of* England *to treat them with Severity and Rigor, I would by no means that they ſhould uſe them. They are Men, and partake with us in the ſame common Nature, and I would not have them treated like Beaſts. If care be taken that they do us no hurt, I ſhould never deſire that any Violence be offered unto them; let them ſit under their Vines and their Fig-trees, and let no man make them afraid.*

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15. *I ſhould be ſorry that the Church of* England *ſhould repay the meaſure to the* Roman Catholicks *that the Reformed have ſuffered in* France. *The great Author of our Religion has learn'd us other Doctrine, and I hope we ſhall never depart from the Faith and Practice thereof. He hath taught us to* do good for evil, to pray for them that curſe us, *and* bleſs them that perſecute and deſpitefully uſe us. We are willing to live peaceably with all men as much as in us lies, we will not avenge our ſelves, we will leave that to God, to whom Vengeance belongs. If they hunger we will feed them, if they thirſt we will give them drink, and by doing thus heap coals of fire upon their heads.

Matth. 5. 44.

Roman. 12. 18, 19, 20.

16. *I am as jealous and ſuſpicious of the Gentlemen of the* Roman Perſuaſion *as any Man, and hope that all care will be taken that it ſhall not be in their power to do us hurt; and when that is ſecure, I wiſh they may be treated with all the kindneſs that Chriſtianity requires of us. I am ſure the Chriſtian Religion*

ligion is moſt full of Love, Sweetneſs, and Obligations; and there is nothing in the World that commends it more to the Acceptation of Men: and none do it more Honor, and more advance its Reputation, than thoſe that delight in Kindneſs, and ſcatter their Obligations upon all ſorts of Men: herein they do like the Majeſty of Heaven, who cauſes his Sun to riſe upon the good and the bad, and his rain to deſcend upon the juſt and unjuſt. Matth. 5. 45. *'Tis a thing of no great difficulty, to treat thoſe with Kindneſs that oblige us; but to ſhew Love to our Enemies, and an Affection for thoſe that hate and deſtroy us, is a more difficult Leſſon, and worthy of the Chriſtian Religion, which teaches Men thoſe heights of Perfection which cannot be learn'd any where elſe.*

17. *The Author of theſe following Letters is a Perſon far above all the Eulogies that I can poſſibly give him. His Writings have been of very great uſe to the Reformed in* France; *his Praiſe is in all the Reformed Churches in Chriſtendom, and he will be mentioned with honor to many Generations. The Subject-matter of his*

his Letters is partly Doctrinal, and partly Hiſtorical. In the doctrinal part of them, he very well lays open the weakneſs and ſophiſtry of the Romiſh *Prieſts, in the defences they make for their Falſhoods and Superſtitions. In the hiſtorical part of them, he reports ſuch inhumane and beaſtly Cruelties exerciſed upon thoſe of the Reformed Religion, as may cauſe a juſt horror to all that read it. He that can believe ſuch Cruelties do receive any countenance or encouragement from the Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, may believe what he pleaſes. He may believe that the Sun is the cauſe of Darkneſs, and that all the Fruits of the Earth are the product of the Froſts and Snows of the coldeſt and moſt Northern Climates.*

18. *When the Learned* Arabian *obſerved that the* Romiſh *Chriſtians ate their God, he ſaid, Let my Soul be among the* Philoſophers. *When I obſerve what Cruelties and Barbarities are committed by them, upon their Brethren, their Neighbours, and their Acquaintance, I do not ſay, Let my Soul be among the Philoſophers, but with old* Jacob, *I will ſay,* O my Soul, come not thou into their Secret,

Secret, and to their Assembly mine honour be not thou united. *Gen.* 49. 6. *Should I have Communion with them in such* Villanies, *I should think, I should never have Communion with my* Saviour *in his Heavenly Kingdom. I can never believe that a Person so kind, so tender, pitiful and compassionate as* Christ Jesus *was towards Mankind, could ever preach such Doctrine as doth encourage Blood and Rapine, Cruelty and Oppression, among any of his Disciples. I could as easily believe all the nonsensical Doctrine of the* Alcoran, *and all the ridiculous Fables of the* Jewish Talmud, *as that the Doctrine of our* Saviour *doth countenance, or* justifie *the most* Cruel *and* Inhumane PERSECUTIONS.

19. *Concerning the* Translation *of these Letters, I designed it for the Advantage of those of the* Reformed Religion *in this Nation, and I hope God will bless it to that end, and that it may create upon the minds of Men a suspition of the falshood of* Popish Doctrines, *and an abhorrence of* Popish Practices. *In Translating I have endeavoured to make the* Author

Author *speak* English: *I have not kept my self strictly to his Words, but have endeavoured to represent his Sense truly, and have not willingly perverted it.*

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July 6: 1703
Richard Chadwick Senr:
His Book

The First PASTORAL LETTER:

IN WHICH

Are diſcovered the Methods that are at this Day uſed to make Converts.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

YOu may be aſſured, that we are pierced and wounded with your Sorrows and Afflictions, and that from the Haven where the Providence of God hath placed us, we do behold with eyes bathed in tears, the terrible Waves of that Tempeſt that toſſes you, and hath ſhipwrecked the Veſſels in which you are imbarqued: We adviſe with our own hearts and affections, with our duty, with the uneaſie ſtate and circumſtances in which both you and we are, what we may do for your conſolation and ſecurity againſt the peril of ſeduction, and we can find almoſt nothing poſſible; inſomuch that till God ſhall open thoſe Doors that are at this day cloſed, we ſhall chuſe to ſpeak to you at a diſtance, in hopes that God will not tarry long ere he give us the opportunity of a nearer and more intimate converſation. We will obviate and oppoſe that evil that preſſes moſt hard upon you. We do not think the Croſs of Chriſt,

which you now bear, is the greateſt calamity to which you are expoſed. 'Tis your Glory: and we find by Letters that come from thoſe that perſevere, that God is their Comforter, that he hath prevented our deſires, that he hath given efficacy to a few words, that we have ſent from far, that he hath abſolutely, and without us, wrought upon you, that he hath very much ſurpaſſed our hopes, that he is in you a living Fountain of Conſolations, more abundant than we could dare to hope. There do come Letters from our Confeſſors which are in Chains, in the Galleys, in Holes, and Dungeons of an hundred feet in depth, in dark Priſons, in Torments, which raviſh us, which revive the ancient times, which give a new birth to our ancient Martyrs, which make us know, that the greater the Torments are to which you are expoſed, the greater is the courage and ſtrength that God doth communicate for the bearing and overcoming of them.

That which we moſt fear on your behalf, is Seduction, the Examples that we have ſeen with our eyes make us tremble. Perſons that we looked upon as Pillars, have been broken as Reeds. That which they call Conferences (that is to ſay, the Sophiſtry of falſe Teachers, who employ all their art to deceive) have perverted the Judgments of many, from whom we expected an invincible ſtedfaſtneſs and perſeverance. They oppreſs and confound you with Diſputes. They put into your hands Books, in which Falſhood is clothed in the dreſs, habit and appearance of Truth. They take from you all thoſe things that may protect, and ſecure you from the Poiſon of thoſe venomous Serpents that are perpetually hiſſing in your ears. Whilſt our Hands are bound, and our Tongues tyed, we do with grief behold the Sheep of Chriſt rent and torn from his Fold, to be carried into the dark Priſons of the Prince of Lyes. What is to be done in this caſe? It ſeems to no purpoſe to

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write more Books, there are a thouſand, and a thouſand ready written, and very lately one was publiſhed, as an Anſwer to the malignant Subtilties of theſe falſe Teachers. But it will not come to you, by reaſon of the great care that is taken to prevent honeſt Men from going out of the Kingdom, and good Books from entering into it. If new Books ſhould be wtitten, they would have the ſame fortune. Beſides, 'tis uneaſie to trouble the world with Repetitions, when we cannot have the hopes or conſolation of being profitable unto you thereby. If Repetitions muſt be made, it ought to be with ſome hopes of advantage. For this reaſon we are reſolved to write no more Books, but ſhall content our ſelves with Letters. It may be, that God may cauſe them to flie over all thoſe Ramparts that the new Inquiſition hath raiſed at all the Ports of the Realm. At leaſt there is ſome reaſon to hope, that they will more eaſily get over thoſe Obſtacles and Impediments, which are oppoſed to the deſign that we have to fortifie you againſt Temptation.

We ſhall publiſh theſe Letters every month, or every fifteen days, or more frequently, according to occurrences and neceſſities: and in them we ſhall endeavour to diſcover the illuſions by which we are aſſured that the Seducers will attempt to deceive you. Among others they make uſe of the Diſcourſes and Writings of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, of *Petiſſon* the great Converter, and Monſieur *Nicholas*. They oblige you perpetually to read over the Expoſition of the Catholick Faith, written by that Biſhop, to paint, and colour the Popiſh Religion. Some months ſince the ſame Prelate publiſhed a Paſtoral Letter to the new Converts of his Dioceſs with the ſame deſign and intention, that is to ſeduce you, and withdraw from your eyes the Deformity and Uglineſs of the falſe Religion. They never ceaſe to commend unto

you, the miſchievous difficulties of Monſieur *Nicholas* his Book, intituled, *The pretended Reformed convinced of Schiſm.* There 'tis proved to you, that by the way of Examination and Inquiry, 'tis impoſſible to find out truth, and that you will never hit on it, but by ſubmitting to the Authority of the Church. Monſieur *Petiſſon* hath revived the ſame difficulties in a late new Book. And 'tis one of thoſe Books to which thoſe that have been ſeduced do ſend us, as one of the Sources from whence they have derived their Illuminations. Theſe Books ſhall be the ſubject matter of theſe Letters, not that I intend to examine, and confute them line by line, but only to expoſe and lay open the falſity of theſe Teachers, the impoſture and gullery of their Sophiſms, and the unfaithfulneſs of all their advances and progreſſions, but we will not confine our ſelves within the bounds of Controverſie. We will take care to acquaint you with all things that are moſt conſiderable in this Perſecution, we will inform you in thoſe paſſages of the Life, Death, and Behaviour of our Martyrs, and Confeſſors, which are moſt proper for your eſtabliſhment, and edification. For which reaſon we do intreat all thoſe that know any thing that is certain therein, that they will inform us concerning it, that we may make it publick for the benefit and advantage of the weak.

We will begin with the Paſtoral Letter of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, to the new Catholicks of his Dioceſs. We ſhall paſs by his Prologue, and engage with him in the matter of his Letter, by reflections on the manner whereby the Reformed have been brought to their pretended Change and Converſion. In the mean time I cannot forbear to ſtay one moment on the Title thereof: *The Paſtoral Letter of my Lord the Biſhop of* Meaux *to the new Catholicks of his Dioceſs.* 'Tis one of the pretended Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, which cauſes himſelf to be Printed under the Name and Title of my Lord. Theſe

Theſe Gentlemen are well advanced ſince the Authors and Founders of Chriſtianity, who called themſelves plainly by their own names, without any other Title than that of Servants of Jeſus Chriſt, and Apoſtles of our Lord. My Lords St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* had forgotten to ſet the character of their Grandeur on the front of their Paſtoral Letters or Epiſtles. If the corruption of the World proceed ſo far as to authoriſe the cuſtom of calling Biſhops Lords, methinks their vanity ſhould not be ſo great as to give themſelves that appellation. 'Tis not very edifying to ſee the marks of pride and wordly vanity on the front of a Paſtoral Letter. I do not obſerve this, to give any offence to the Biſhop of *Meaux* in particular; my dear Brethren, 'tis to make you ſenſible of that Religion whereinto they would initiate and engage you; 'tis a Religion the ſoul whereof is Pride, and the principal members and heads thereof are monſters of Emptineſs and Vanity. Chriſtian Humility diſplays its Characters upon all things, but the falſe Religion carries Pride to its utmoſt height, and leaves the footſteps thereof on all things wherewith it hath any converſation. We ſhall one day have occaſion to make you ſee it, in points of much more importance than this, which nevertheleſs is not ſo light, but that it deſerves that we take ſome notice of it. Do not ſuffer your ſelves to be abuſed by thoſe that tell you, That in ſome Proteſtant States the Biſhops retain the ſame Honours. The Biſhops of *England* have this to ſay for themſelves, That they are Peers of the Realm, to which ſtate and condition the Name and Title of My Lord doth appertain and belong: but beſides, I am perſuaded that the wiſer of theſe Gentlemen, will willingly ſacrifice theſe Titles (which do not ſufficiently beſpeak the humility of a Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt) to a general Reformation in the Church, when it ſhall be received. On the contrary, Pride is ſo very much of the eſſence of

Popery, that it will forſake all rather than renounce it.

I come to the manner how Converſions are made in *France* according to my Lord of *Meaux*. *I do not marvel, my deareſt Brethren, that you are returned in Troops, and with ſo much eaſe, to the Church where your Anceſtors have ſerved God. The foundation of Chriſtianity, and as I have already ſaid, the Character of Baptiſm, hath ſecretly called you thither.* Theſe Gentlemen rejoyce at the Facility they have found in bringing back the Proteſtants to their Church, that is to ſay, in forcing Subſcriptions from an infinite number of Perſons, who have conceded either to their threatnings, or the fear of loſing their Eſtates, or the torments and perſecution of the Dragoons. 'Tis true there have been ſeen examples of weakneſs therein, which have been ſtrange and prodigious; and we know that they make a great prejudice and rock of Offence thereof; they tell you, If it were the true Religion, would not thoſe that profeſs it adhere more cloſely to it? Some of our Brethren have wrote expreſly to ſatisfie you againſt this Scandal. They have ſhewed you that things have happened much after the ſame manner in the ancient Perſecutions, and that Defections have fallen but little ſhort of being general. In thoſe times men ran in Troops to offer Incenſe to Idols, as in our days they have been ſeen running to make Signatures and Subſcriptions. At all times there have been few perſons capable of ſuffering torments. Martyrs are choſen Veſſels, upon whom God pours out an extraordinary meaſure of his Grace, to ſtrike with Aſtoniſhment the Enemies of the Truth, to ſhame and confound the weakneſs of thoſe that fall, and to ſupport the Faith of the infirm. Theſe are Miracles, but if they were frequent and ordinary they would not be ſo. If the view and conſideration of ſo many Perſons as have conceded to Violence, or the

Paſtoral Letter, pag. 3.

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fear of Sufferings doth ſcandalize and offend you, look not that way, but behold and conſider the ſtability and courage of your Anceſtors, which eſtabliſhed the Reformation in the laſt Age. Conſider the number of our ancient Martyrs, behold their Conſtancy, their Chriſtian Kindneſs, and the Bleſſings that they gave to thoſe that burnt them. Conſider the ſtrength which ennabled them to bear the moſt horrible Puniſhments and Tortures. They were burn'd by a ſlow fire, they ſaw their Bowels drop out in the flames, before they gave up the ghoſt: they were made to live, by skill and art, in the moſt cruel torments, ſometimes many days, and ſometimes many weeks together, and never did one word of murmuring or impatience eſcape from them: they prayed for their Hangmen, they gave Thanks to God, they ſung his Praiſes, and to their laſt breath called upon his Name. When they tell you at this day, If your Religion were true, you would adhere more cloſely unto it; anſwer them, If our Religion had been falſe, they had never had ſo invincible an Adherence to it, and ſo ſtrong a Paſſion for it, nor had they ever ſuffered death for the defence of it: or if there have been ſome heady perſons that have maintained their Opinions with obſtinacy even to puniſhment and death, their pains and death hath not been accompanied with an humility ſo profound, a patience ſo exemplary, a love and ſweetneſs ſo perfect, a zeal ſo ardent, a piety ſo pure and undefiled, a ſubmiſſion ſo entire, a joy ſo firm, ſolid, bright and ſhining. The Spirit of Lies and Deluſions doth not produce ſuch effects. Theſe are the Characters of the Spirit of God, they are the effects of Grace, and of that Grace that is not given to Reprobates and Martyrs of falſhood and impoſture.

My Brethren, theſe Objects are at a diſtance, they are behind you, and you will find ſome difficulty in reflecting on them, but you will find none in conſider-

ing thoſe that are before your eyes: they are ſufficient to defend you againſt the ſcandal of that Facility wherewith they reproach you, and wherewith they affirm that your Brethren have forſaken their Religion. Oppoſe thereunto above one hundred thouſand perſons that have left the Realm within the ſpace of one year laſt paſt, without counting almoſt as many more that have forſaken it, within twenty years that this Perſecution hath continued, tho not in its height and rage. There are among them, thoſe that have forſaken all thoſe things which are called Goods, Honours, Eaſe, and the convenient Accommodations of Life: certainly they did not find it a thing ſo eaſie to enter with a ſatisfied mind into the boſom of the *Roman* Church. Oppoſe thereunto more than forty thouſand Priſoners that are in the Goals and Cloiſters of the Realm, which chuſe to ſuffer all ſorts of miſeries and calamities there, rather than to embrace the Popiſh Religion. Oppoſe thereunto Perſons of Quality; ſuch are the Marqueſs of *Bordage*, condemned to the Galleys, and afterwards to perpetual Impriſonment; the Marqueſs of *Muſſe*, who every day expects the ſame condemnation; the Marqueſs of *Rochegade*, and the Gentlemen his Sons; the Marqueſs of *Cagni*; Monſieur *Beringhen* and all his Family; the Marqueſs of *Lunge*; the Marqueſs of the *Iſle of Gaſt*, who is in the Citadel of *Angers*; and an infinite number of other Gentlemen, who prefer the Galleys or a Priſon before the pleaſure to which the Biſhop of *Meaux* invites them; that is, of rejoining themſelves to that Church in which their Fathers ſerved God.

Oppoſe thereunto a conſiderable number of Martyrs and Confeſſors, whereof ſome are in Dungeons, that are really the Images of Hell, they being deep, obſcure, dark, and a hundred feet under ground: ſuch are the Reformed of *Diepe*, *Haure*, and other places, which are in the Priſons of *Aumale*, of whom

we

we ſhall be able to tell you particular ſtories at ſome other time. Add to theſe more than ſix hundred perſons that are now actually in the Galleys for their Religion. This is no hyperbolical Computation, but one made by a *Roman* Catholick, a maritime Officer, now living at *Marſeilles:* we have his Letter, and without naming him, we ſhall be able to produce it at a convenient ſeaſon: behold a line or two thereof at preſent, *Here are ſix hundred Gally-ſlaves of the Religion called* Proteſtant, *who by their patience move compaſſion from the moſt hard-hearted and unpitiful of their Officers.* The number of them muſt needs be augmented ſince that time; for the Letter was dated from *Marſeilles* the 27th of *June*, 1686. that is to ſay, more than two months ſince; and without doubt there are more arrived there. 'Tis newly reported, that at this time there are to the number of two thouſand, ſome ſay four thouſand, in that miſerable ſtate and caſe. The famous Monſieur *Lewis* of *Marolles*, Advocate of *Stemenehaud*, was not then arrived there, for he parted not from *Paris*, with the other Priſoners under the ſame condemnation with himſelf, till the 20th of *July*, and came not to *Dijon* till the 30th of the ſame Month, from whence at laſt he arrived at *Marſeilles* laden with a Chain of fifty pound weight about his neck, and a violent Fever, which never left him during the time of that ſad Journey. He is a Confeſſor of Jeſus Chriſt, which all *Paris* beheld at the ‖ *Tournello* loaden with Chains of an extraordinary weight, and preaching in the midſt of his Irons. All *France* have their eyes turned upon him, as on the greateſt example of Courage, Piety, and tenderneſs of Conſcience, that this Age hath ſeen. We ſhall one day give you the Hiſtory of his Confeſſion, and make you to underſtand his Sentiments by his own Letters, where you will ſee the Spirit and Character of

‖ A Court of Judicature in *Paris*, and alſo a Priſon.

of the ancient Martyrs. He is one of our moſt illuſtrious Confeſſors, but he is not alone; God raiſes up others every day, as you ſhall learn hereafter. The ſame Sea-Officer that wrote from *Marſeilles* that there were already ſix hundred Gally-ſlaves of the Reformed Religion there, adds, *'Tis fifteen days ſince, that Monſieur* de Lezan, *a Gentleman of Quality, was condemned to the Gallies, being accuſed and convicted of having been at a Meeting. The day after, many perſons were put to the Rack, to oblige them to accuſe ſome men of Name. Theſe unhappy Wretches endured both the ordinary and extraordinary Rack with ſuch a conſtancy, as affrighted the Judges, and ſoftned the Spirit of the Hangman to that degree, that the chief Magiſtrate was forced to ſtand over him with a Cane to oblige him to turn the Wheel.* Behold here truth in matters of fact, which can never be doubted ſeeing they are atteſted by a perſon of a contrary Religion, who is upon the place, and in the Country where theſe cruelties are committed. Behold Confeſſors, which make it apparent that the Church of *Rome* does not find it a thing ſo facile, (as the Biſhop of *Meaux* reports it) to cauſe the Reformed to enter into their Communion. Behold Examples of Conſtancy that are worthy of your moſt attentive Conſideration. Death is more eaſie to be endured than the ordinary and extraordinary Rack, and thoſe illuſtrious Confeſſors do well deſerve the Title of Martyrs. But will you oppoſe to that Facility which your Converters find, and whereof they make an Argument to draw you into the *Roman* Religion; will you, I ſay, oppoſe to your Seducers Martyrs in all forms? Oppoſe to them, Monſieur *Teiſſier Viguier* of *Durfort* in *Cevennes*, who was hanged in the borders or entrance into that Country ſome months ſince, in a place called *La Salle*, only becauſe he had ſerved God in a publick Aſſembly; as alſo one named *Gyſot*, who was burnt alive at *Nerac*. This poor man was ſo weak as to ſign an Abjura-

Abjuration of his Religion through fear and the perſecution of the Dragoons, or it may be through the weakneſs and infirmity of his Age, for he was more than ſeventy, and drew nigh to eighty years of age. Being fallen ſick, God reſtored to him his Zeal and Courage, that he might obtain the Crown of Martyrdom. He refuſed to communicate after the manner of the Church of *Rome*, and declared, That he retracted that unhappy Signature that they had extorted and forced from him. The Prieſt, that he might execute the Law, that ordains, that at any rate whatſoever, they muſt give the Holy Sacrament to the Sick, forced him to receive the Hoſt, or conſecrated Bread, and put it into his mouth: the old man (according to his duty) ſpit it out; and therefore was condemned to be burnt alive in the fire. He went to this horrible Puniſhment with the joy of the holy Martyrs. He was bound to the Poſt without any appearance of commotion: He ſung the Praiſes of God in the midſt of the Flames to his laſt breath. This Conſtancy made ſo great an Impreſſion upon the Spirits of all the Inhabitants of *Nerac*, and gave ſo great an Aſtoniſhment to the Executioners, that they have not proceeded to execute a like Sentence pronounced againſt one named *Fabiores*, of the ſame City and of the ſame Country, condemned alſo to be burnt alive, for having, as the former, ſpit out the Hoſt, which by force was put into his mouth. We have not yet heard that the Sentence hath been executed; when 'tis done, we ſhall give you notice of it. We have a Martyr of a more ſublime and raiſed Order; 'tis Monſieur *Rey* of *Miſmes*, Student in Theology, who after he had preached eight or nine months in *Cevennes*, was taken, arreſted, condemned to Death, and executed at *Beaucaire* on the 7th of *Auguſt*. The Circumſtances of his Martyrdom, his Courage, his Anſwers, his Piety, are too eminent and peculiar to be wrap'd up and buried in a ſhort Narration.

ration. We do promiſe it you at large, when we ſhall have collected from faithful Records all the parts of the holy Hiſtory of this glorious Martyr.

Behold already, my dear Brethren, many things that you have to oppoſe to thoſe Words of the Biſhop of *Meaux, I do not wonder that you are returned in Troops, and with ſo much facility to the Church.* But this is not all; Set him matter of fact againſt this pretended Facility, and aſſure him, that for more than four months time there have been Aſſemblies almoſt every day in *Cevennes*, and in the adjacent parts, for the offering up Prayers and Supplications to God, ſometimes in Woods, and at other times in Caves, and Rocks, and Dens of the Earth. The Dragoons, which almoſt always ſurprize them, put them to the Sword according to their Inſtructions, they Kill, and Hang, and drag them into Priſons: but all ſignifies nothing, they aſſemble nevertheleſs. In the month of *June* laſt, near the end thereof, the Dragoons having ſurpriſed an Aſſembly near *Niſmes*, they killed many of them on the place, and four they hung upon the trees. The Hangmen withdrew, ſuppoſing that they would have no great inclination to return again to that place. But two hours after there was another Aſſembly in the ſame place, on the dead bodies, and in the view of the Carkaſſes that hung on the trees of the mountains. There is not a week paſſes without like Aſſemblies, and like Maſſacres. They reckon more than ſixty perſons at an Aſſembly that was made between *Uzes* and *Bagnol* in the beginning of *July:* ſome add, That women were raviſhed, and others ripped up. But we reſerve the particulars of theſe things till afterwards, and you may reckon that we tell you nothing but what is true and certain; for which reaſon, we chuſe rather to defer the edification that you might receive from the firmneſs and conſtancy of our Martyrs and Confeſſors, than to tell you any thing as certain that may prove falſe.

falſe. But this is enough at preſent to give the B. of *Meaux* and others of his ſpirit to underſtand, that they have no great cauſe to triumph in our weakneſs, and the facility they find in overcoming us. It may be they have boaſted too ſoon, they are not yet where they thought they were. We do already ſee the vanity of thoſe Bravado's, *That in four months time there would not be any thing heard of a Hugonot in* France. Theſe fine projects are ſhipwrecked, and the difficulty is yet to come. As for you, my Brethren, that which we ſhall ſay, and the Objects that we ſhall ſet before your eyes ought to ſhame you. If you have been ſo weak as to fall, you ought to take courage, and riſe again, and to redouble your ſtrength, if you have not had enough to ſupport you hitherunto. But let us continue to hear the Paſtoral Letter of the Biſhop of *Meaux*.

Not one of you hath ſuffered violence, either in his Perſon or Goods. Let them not bring you theſe deceitful Letters, which are addreſſed from Strangers, transformed into Paſtors, under the Title of Paſtoral Letters to the Proteſtants of France, *who are fallen by the force of Torments. Theſe Letters concern you not any otherwiſe than as they are made by perſons that could never prove their Miſſion. So far have you been from ſuffering torments, that you have not ſo much as heard them mentioned. I hear other Biſhops ſay the ſame. But for you, my Brethren, I ſay nothing to you, but what you may ſpeak as well as I. You are returned peaceably to us, you know it.* Behold one of thoſe objects, whereunto we have not been accuſtomed. *Maimbourg*, *Varillas*, *Brueys*, and multitudes of others have had the front to ſay, that Converſions are made without violence. On that ſubject they have been baffled in a manner ſufficient to have covered impudence it ſelf with confuſion. But 'tis to waſh the Blackmoor's skin. Theſe Gentlemen have Foreheads of Braſs, and can bluſh at nothing. By this little judge of the fidelity of your Converters.

You

You that have ſeen your Goods waſted, your Perſons contained, your Neighbours dragged to Priſons, Women ſhaven, and put into Convents, Chriſtians let down into Holes, where putrified Fleſh and Carrion had been thrown. Others put into Priſons, where the Water runs under their feet, being ſupported by narrow planks, upon which they are mounted night and day, leſt they fall as from a Precipice, and periſh. Others have been burnt and roaſted, and others made fools by watching them without ceſſation or intermiſſion.

All *France* hath ſeen it, all *Europe* is witneſs of it, and they dare affirm the contrary to what your eyes have ſeen. Do you think that theſe Gentlemen dare not lye about the Ages paſt, when they ſpeak to you of Tradition, and of things ſaid and done a thouſand and twelve hundred years agone, when they have no regard to preſent Truths in matters of Fact, whereof there are as many Witneſſes almoſt as there are perſons alive in this part of the World. In the name of God think of it, when they forbid you all tryal and examination of Doctrines, and tell you that you muſt believe the Church; that is to ſay, falſe Teachers, which affirm, that you muſt believe things without taking any knowledge of them. See, I ſay, whether there be any confidence or truſt to be put in ſuch men which have conſecrated themſelves to Lying, and have renounced all modeſty and ſhame.

The Biſhop of *Meaux* hath heard all the Biſhops ſay, that no violence was uſed in their Dioceſſes. We ought to underſtand how theſe Gentlemen do define Violence, and what 'tis they call Torments. Among the Biſhops, he of *Autun* will find difficulty to ſay ſo, and Monſieur *de Meaux*, that thoſe of his Dioceſs had not ſo much as heard of Torments. He went accompanied with the Hangman to Madam *de S. Andrew Montbrun*, Widow of a famous General, which had the Honor to command in chief the Armies

mies of the King, and thoſe of the *Venetians*, with a great deal of Glory. This Biſhop, I ſay, with the Miſſionaries, accompanied with the chief Magiſtrate, and the Magiſtrate taking two or three Hangmen, with all the Inſtruments of Torture, went thus to endeavour her Converſion. If this be falſe, they will do well to convince the Men and Officers of her Houſe, which have ſeen, ſaid it, and writ it. But the Biſhop of *Meaux* hath done nothing, nor ſeen nothing of like nature in his Dioceſs. We have good teſtimony that violence hath been committed there as well as elſewhere. But altho what he ſays ſhould be true, behold a great marvel whereof he hath great reaſon to rejoice! *Paris* and the Country round about it were laſt of all attacked. All *France* had been covered with Fear, Tears and Blood. *Paris* and the *Brie* ſaw nothing round about but bloody Troops, and Emiſſaries loaden with the Spoils of the Reformed, and red with their Blood. 'Tis a great Miracle, that theſe Objects, without drawing nearer have anquiſhed, and overcome them. As if the fear of an Evil, which one ſees within four ſteps of him, were not as capable of doing violence to the mind, as the Evils which are felt immediately. On the contrary, a perſon has fallen under fear, which hath reſiſted pain and torment. The Dragoons of *Bearn*, of *Guienne*, of *Poictou*, of *Languedoc*, of *Normandy* had laboured for the Biſhop of *Meaux*. After that let him glory if he can, of the Facility of Converſions.

But I am weary of confuting theſe impudent Boldneſſes by matters of fact, which our Perſecutors diſpute, and by Witneſſes which they reproach. Let us ſee if Monſieur *de Meaux* will reproach and object againſt himſelf. He wrote his Paſtoral Letter in the Month of *April* laſt, a little before Eaſter, to invite, and prepare the new Converts for the approaching Communion. 'Tis preciſely on the ſame time that he

he wrote to one of his Dioceſs which was fled, the Letter following.

From *Meaux*, April 3, 1686.

MONSIEUR,

I Continue to write to you, notwithſtanding the Anſwer you made to my former Letter. I have there obſerved a Character and Style too much of a Miniſter, to attribute it to you. In a word, I apprehend, that it does not proceed from a Spirit ſuch as yours. But altho it be ſo, I ſhall not ceaſe to invite you to return. I have ſeen in a Letter which you wrote to Mademoiſelle of U. *that the true Church does not perſecute. What underſtand you by that Sir? Do you underſtand that the Church by her ſelf never makes uſe of force? That is very true, ſince the Church hath no other Arms but ſpiritual. Do you underſtand that Princes, which are Sons of the Church, never ought to make uſe of the Sword which God hath put into their hands to abaſe the Enemies thereof? Do you dare to ſay contrary to the opinion of your own Doctors, who have maintained by ſo many Writings, that the Republick of* Geneva *had power and right to condemn* Servetus *to the Fire, for denying the Divinity of the Son of God. And without ſerving my ſelf of the Examples, and Authority of your Doctors, tell me in what Text of Scripture Hereticks and Schiſmaticks are excepted from the number of thoſe Malefactors againſt which S.* Paul *ſays God hath armed Kings and Princes? And altho you will not permit Chriſtian Princes to take vengeance of ſuch great Crimes, becauſe they are injurious to God, can they not take vengeance on them becauſe they cauſe trouble and ſedition in States? Do you not ſee clearly, that you build upon a falſe Principle? And if it were true, they were*

the

the Arrians, Neſtorians, *and* Pelagians *which had reaſon of complaint againſt the Church, ſince it was they that were the perſecuted and baniſhed, and Catholick Princes thoſe that perſecuted and baniſhed them. And at preſent alſo the Catholicks which are puniſhed with death in* Sueden, *and ſo many other Kingdoms, would have reaſon to complain of thoſe that are called the Reformed, and every one in his turn would have right and wrong, right in one place, and wrong in another, and Religion would depend altogether upon uncertainties. But this is enough on this Subject to convince ſo good a Spirit as yours. Only know, that when it pleaſes God to abandon us to our own thoughts, and imaginations, the beſt Spirits are touched, and affected by the leaſt appearances. The fear that you have, that they will make you adore Bread, hath much appearance of truth through your prejudice and prepoſſeſſion. Conſider in the mean time, without entring into that Controverſie, which paſſes the Bounds of a Letter; conſider, I ſay, that it was a fear of like nature which made the* Arrians *and Diſciples of* Paulus Samoſatenus, *that they would not give divine Honors to a Man, an Infant, a Creature, how perfect, and how great ſoever his privileges might be. 'Twas human reaſon, 'twas ſenſe, 'twas prejudice which inſpired them with theſe vain fears. Take heed, leſt your Religion, after their example, do not too much call in Reaſon and human Senſe to its ſuccour, and that your trouble and difficulty do not proceed from the cuſtom of following them. However it be, you ſee that your Reformers have done nothing elſe but renew Controverſies ended ſix hundred years ago, when* Berengarius *moved them. And if you call in doubt the Judgment which was given againſt him, others will doubt with as much reaſon concerning all preceding Councils, and then behold us under an obligation to examine anew all that hath been decreed, as if we began to be Chriſtians, and all that our Fathers had reſolved ſerve for nothing. In one word,*

the meaning is, if Christians, when they are not of an opinion concerning the Sense of Scripture, will not acknowledge a living, speaking Authority, to which they must submit, the Christian Church is assuredly the weakest of all Societies that are in the World, the most exposed to remedileſs Diviſions, the most abandoned to Innovators, and factious persons. This is that to which your Miniſters with all their ſubtleties have never been able to find an Anſwer, and they content themſelves with bringing Examples, where they pretend that Councils have not always determined well. All theſe Examples are falſe or ill alledged. In one quarter of an hours time, you which are a Man of Senſe, will be convinced thereof; and you do receive things with too much credulity, without ever putting your ſelf on the labor to examine them. But without putting you upon theſe Diſquiſitions, conſider only whether it be likely that God who hath permitted ſo many depths in the Scripture, and from thence have ariſen ſo many Schiſms amongſt thoſe that profeſs to receive it, hath not left ſome means to his Church to quiet and pacifie them, in ſuch manner, that there is no remedy for Diviſions, but to let every one believe according to his fancy, and thence inſenſibly to carry Men to an indifferency in Religion, which is the greateſt of all Evils. Think, Maſter, think of it, hear your own reaſon, and not the ſubtleties of your Miniſters, who at what rate ſoever will defend their Prejudices, and not paſs for Teachers of Lies. Think of theſe things: excuſe thoſe Expreſſions which may ſeem a little dark and diſordered; it is much better that you attend to the ſimplicity of a Brother that endeavours to gain a Brother, than a polite and ſtudied Diſcourſe. Come, and aſſure your ſelf, that I will do all for you, whom I eſteem, and who are dear to me; and that I am cordially

Yours, &c. Thus Signed,

J. Benigne, E. de Meaux.

Foraſmuch

Foraſmuch as we have impoſed a neceſſity upon our ſelves, not to go beyond a Sheet, we paſs by our Reflections on this Letter, till another Letter, which we ſhall give you in a few days; for this ſerves only as a Preface. In the mean time, we recommend you to the Grace and Mercy of God. *Amen.*

Sept. 1,
1687.

The SECOND PASTORAL LETTER

IN WHICH

What Monſieur *de Meaux* ſays concerning the right of Perſecutors, for ſubmiſſion to Councils is confuted. A conſiderable error of the ſame Gentleman about a matter of Fact in Antiquity.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

THE neceſſity of concluding, hindered us in our former Letter from adding our reflections upon that which the Biſhop of *Meaux* wrote to one of his Dioceſs that was eſcaped by flight. At preſent we entreat both you my Brethren, and all reaſonable Men in the World, to compare theſe two Letters together, the Paſtoral Letter that is publick, and this which is private, and particular. Will any one find the Biſhop of *Meaux* here? Are they two perſons, or is it but one Himſelf in publick, and the ſame perſon in private? According to Monſieur *de Meaux*'s Writing, and Printing for the new Converts of his Dioceſs, neither he nor the other Biſhops have ever heard any ſpeech of Dragoons and Torments. According to himſelf writing in his Cloſet to a particular perſon, the Caſe

is not the ſame. It is true there is a Perſecution for the ſake of Religion, but it is juſt, it is allowed, it is authoriſed by our example, by that of the Ancients, and by Divine and Human Laws. Good God! How do theſe Men govern themſelves? And what do they think? Could the Biſhop of *Meaux* ever hope that his Printed Letter ſhould never fall into the hands of him to whom this written Letter was addreſſed? I would fain know what will be anſwered thereunto. If Monſieur *de Meaux* hath right and reaſon on his ſide, in his Letter to Monſieur *Dev.*—— why doth he ſay that himſelf and other Biſhops have not heard any ſpeech of Perſecution? It is a pleaſure, and an advantage to us to ſee theſe Gentlemen deny this Perſecution, and thereby againſt publick knowledge, and notoriety charge themſelves with falſhood. It is an homage that they pay to Truth. It is a confeſſion intelligible enough, that violence, and the means that they employ, are contrary to the ſpirit of Humanity, and that of the Goſpel. But what a ſhame is it for them to contradict themſelves, to confeſs in private, what they deny in publick, and acknowledge themſelves falſe Witneſſes by their own peoples declarations.

However it be, behold us carried from matter of Fact to that of Right. It is no longer debated whether there be a Perſecution, but whether they have right to Perſecute for the ſake of Religion. It is a queſtion on which ſo much hath been lately written, that nothing new can be ſaid concerning it. Nevertheleſs, having Printed the Letter of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and becauſe there is ſomthing that is dazling, and apt to deceive in his manner of writing, we think our ſelves obliged to Print alſo a refutation thereof: we will therefore repeat his words, and examine them one after another. *I have ſeen in the Letter that you wrote to* Mademoiſelle de V.—— *that the true*

Church doth not Perſecute; what underſtand you by that Monſieur? Do you underſtand that the Church by it ſelf never makes uſe of force? That is true, ſince the Church hath no other Arms but thoſe that are Spiritual. What means this little Paragraph of Gibberiſh, which is formed and contrived on purpoſe to impoſe upon the ſimple? They are willing that it ſhould mean, that it is not the Church of *Rome* that raiſes the preſent Perſecution, nor is it according to the Principles thereof. For it is that which they perſuade the new Converts. It is by this means that they take away the ſcandal that the new Papiſts take at the Conduct of their Church. It is the King, ſay they, that doth it, it is not the Church, for it ſerves it ſelf only of Spiritual Weapons: if what is done be diſapproved, it ought not to be imputed, they ſay, to their Religion, which neither appoints nor adviſes it. That which was written to us not long ſince, by one of their moſt illuſtrious, and beſt ſatisfied Converts comes to this. *I do not anſwer,* ſays ſhe, *to all that which you have ſaid concerning the ways that are made uſe of to gain Converts. I believe that nothing is to be imputed to any Religion, but what it appoints to be believed, and practiſed.* This anſwer is very Gentile, and worthy of a Lady that thinks herſelf obliged to anſwer to nothing. But it ought to be remembered that there is a Tribunal where anſwers muſt be made one day, without any regard to the difference of Sexes, where no evaſions will be permitted us, and that we ſhall be puniſhed there, for having been unwilling to attend to thoſe things which might have made us underſtand the nature of that Religion that we had newly entertained. However it be, theſe Gentlemen perſuade their Diſciples that it is not the Spirit of the *Roman* Church that doth cauſe this Perſecution. *Nothing muſt be imputed to any Religion, but what it appoints to be believed. The*

Church

Church never ſerves it ſelf of force, for it hath no other Arms, but ſuch as are Spiritual. There is among the Doctors of the *Roman* Church, on the one hand, an impudence, and hardneſs of Face, which is inconceivable, and on the other hand there is in their Diſciples an abyſs of credulity that is incomprehenſible. Can hardineſs, and ſhameleſneſs be greater than to ſay that Perſecution is not of the ſpirit of the *Roman* Church. One of our * Brethren hath written concerning it a little while ſince, with ſo much brevity that every one may read it, and with ſo much ſtrength as to convince them of the falſhood thereof. We prove that the Perſecution is of the ſpirit of the Church of *Rome* by its Principles, its Doctrine, and its Practice. I do not know whether there can be any other ſource, or fountain of proofs when we treat of matters of Fact. The Principles of the *Roman* Church are, that all thoſe that are ſeparate from their Church are damned eternally. Its Doctrine is that the Secular Power, with Fire and Sword, may be employed for the extirpation of thoſe that ſhe calls Hereticks. The Council of *Conſtance*, which *France* eſteems as the moſt Authentick, that hath been theſe thouſand years, hath ſo determined, and ſo it practiſed. For it cauſed *John Lous*, and *Jerome Oſprague*, to be burned. The *Albigenſes*, *Waldenſes*, *Bohemians*, and many others were not Maſſacred but by order of Councils, and Popes who publiſhed *Cruſadoes* againſt them, and gave Indulgences, and promiſed Pardon of ſin to thoſe that ſhould deſtroy them. The Tribunal of the Inquiſition, which burns all thoſe that are either ſuſpected, or Convicted of Hereſie, is a Tribunal of the Church, eſtabliſhed, and maintained thereby; and it is looked on by the Popes as the great Rampart and Defence thereof. Never were there any Maſſacres committed which

* *See the Letter of Doctor* Sonſtelle.

were not either Commanded, or Approved by Popes. They are matters of Fact notoriouſly known, and no body dares to diſſent unto them. *Rome* hath ſung *Te Deum*, that is, *We praiſe thee O God*, &c. and given thanks to him for the Perſecution of *France*. Nothing is more proper to make known what is the Spirit of the *Roman* Church, than the Conduct of the Court of *Rome*. We have ſaid that the Pope publickly commends what hath been done in *France*, and hath cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung for it. In the mean time it is certain, that all Men of good ſenſe in the Court of *Rome*, do both deteſt, and ſcoff at the Conduct of *France*. Whence comes it then that this Court ſeems to approve in publick, that which it condemns in private. It is not to flatter the King, for they have no reſpect or regard for him in that Country, and every one knows the indignation that they have againſt him. But it is becauſe that *Rome* dares not declare againſt the Principles of their Religion. If the Pope ſhould condemn ways of violence againſt pretended Hereticks, he would mutiny his whole Church againſt himſelf, and make himſelf worthy of depoſition. He would condemn his Councils, he would reproach the memory of his Predeceſſors, he would overturn his own Principles from top to bottom. So that the publick approbation which he gives to Perſecution, is the Sacrifice which he makes of his Conſcience, to his duty in quality of a Pope. But like a Man of good ſenſe, he reſerves the right of condemning in private all that which he publickly approves. The Letter of the Queen of *Sueden*, which hath been made publick in the News of the Republick of Learning, hath conjectured diſcreetly concerning it. For it is not to be believed that Queen *Chriſtina* would dare ſo openly to declare her ſelf againſt the Sentiments of the Court of *Rome*, if that Court had approved of this

this manner of Converſions. Behold a ſecond Letter of the ſame Queen, which tells us ſomething more exact, concerning the Sentiments which prevail in the Country where ſhe is.

A Letter of Queen *Chriſtina* to *M*——.

'TIS with aſtoniſhment that I have ſeen my Letter made publick in your Parts, I do not underſtand how it is come to paſs, and I do aſſure you, that it is not I my ſelf that have publiſhed it: Nor do I believe, that he to whom it was written, would ſo far diſoblige his Maſter, as to be willing to do me that pleaſure. However it be, I do not repent that I wrote it, for I do not fear any man. I pray God with all my heart, that this falſe Joy and Triumph of the Church, do not one day coſt her true tears and ſorrows. In the mean time, it muſt be known for the honour of Rome, *that all thoſe that are men of merit and underſtanding here, and animated with true Zeal, do no more lick up the Spittle of the* French *Court in this caſe than I do. They behold (as I alſo do) with pity, all thoſe things which paſs in the World, where there is given ſo much reaſon both of grief and laughter to thoſe that are the Spectators thereof. Our only conſolation is, that God will not abandon his Church, but give a glorious iſſue to all its Calamities, which are far greater than are imagined; but it behoves us to adore God and the incomprehenſible diſpoſitions of his holy providence in every thing that betides us. I heartily wiſh you proſperity.*

From Rome,
May 18. 1686. Chriſtina Alexandra.

It behoves us to ſpeak as the caſe is, the Court of *Rome* diſapproves the conduct of the King, becauſe it is his Enemy. The Perſecution is of no value, becauſe 'tis he that doth it: However it be, we are in no condition

condition in *France* to make uſe of the moderate Sentiments of *Italy*. For the *Galican* Church hath renounced this moderation. She pays Men of Learning, to prove that ways of Violence are permitted.

At this day all the Realm is full of Writers, which labour to juſtifie, *compel them to come in.* They quote S. *Auguſtin*; they report his opinions concerning the Perſecution that was raiſed againſt the *Donatiſts*. 'Tis notorious that the Clergy of *France* have been the Authors of the Perſecution. They cannot deny that they have drawn up all the Edicts, and that they have ſollicited the execution of them; ſo that we cannot comprehend how the Converters can endure that their Diſciples ſhould ſay, *That we ought not to impute any thing to a Religion, but that which it appoints to be believed and practiſed*, and that the *Roman* Church doth not appoint any Violence to be practiſed againſt Hereticks.

But the Biſhop of *Meaux* finds a very pleaſant means to juſtifie her, *the Church never ſerves it ſelf with force by it ſelf*, ſays he, that is to ſay, it calls to her ſuccour the ſecular Power to cut off Heads, to hang, and burn; therefore it ought not to be imputed to her. A Sovereign Magiſtrate contents himſelf to be Judg, and to condemn to Death, but he doth not execute, he leaves that to the Hangman; by conſequence, if he condemn the Innocent and cauſe them to die, it ought to be imputed to the Hangman, and not to him. The Church doth a very fine honour to Magiſtrates, ſhe makes them her Hangmen; ſhe herſelf doth not kill, but ſhe conſtrains Princes to kill and burn. She conſtrains, I ſay, by Excommunications, Cenſures, Exhortations, Seductions, Sollicitations; and the end thereof is, ſhe would be able to ſay, *The Church dips not her hand in Blood, the Church by it ſelf never makes uſe of force.*

Did the Devil ever cheat after a more impudent and frontleſs manner? I will not ſay after a more fine and ſubtil manner; for it is to lye without any hope to deceive, the Snare is ſo broad and ſo ridiculous. It

It were better without Craft to take the way that the Biſhop of *Meaux* takes at laſt, and to maintain that Chriſtian Princes, as ſuch, have right to puniſh pretended Hereticks with Death. *Underſtand you*, ſays he, *That Princes who are Sons of the Church, never ought to make uſe of the Sword to abuſe the Enemies thereof? Do you dare to ſay contrary to the opinion of your Doctors, which have maintaind by ſo many Writings, that the Republick of* Geneva, *had power and right to condemn* Servetus *to the Fire for having denied the Divinity of the Son of God?* It muſt be avowed that theſe Gentlemen are admirable in their confidence. *Do you dare to ſay?* Yes we dare to ſay it, ſince we ſay it with moſt part of the Ancients, and with the wiſeſt and moſt underſtanding of the Moderns. We dare ſay that the Doctrine which the B. of *Meaux* maintains here, is bloody and cruel, and that the Church ought to leave it in ſhare to him who was a Liar and Murderer from the beginning. *Servetus* was burnt at *Geneva*, therefore it is lawful to burn Hugonots, and the Calviniſts. God forgive theſe unhappy men which have the Cruelty to compare us with *Servetus*. This man was not only an Enemy of the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, but he was an Enemy of all Divinity, he was impious, he was a Blaſphemer. And although he made profeſſion of believing one God, the irreverent manner wherewith he ſpeaks of Holy Myſteries, makes it plain enough, that he had renounced all Religion as well as all Shame. It ought to be permitted us to quit our hands of ſuch men. They object unto us the Sentiment of our Doctors. I anſwer, Our Doctors never did believe that we ought to perſecute and burn men that confeſs God and Jeſus Chriſt, according to the three Creeds. They never put Papiſts to Death for the ſake of their Religion. But although ſome of our firſt Writers ſhould have gone too far in ſpeaking concerning the puniſhment of Hereticks; it ought to be known, that our Authors

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are not our Teachers; we have but one only Teacher, and that is Jeſus Chriſt, ſpeaking by his Prophets and Apoſtles. We ſwear to no mans words, but to thoſe of God. *And without ſerving my ſelf of the Examples and Authority of your Doctors, tell me in what place of Scripture Hereticks and Schiſmaticks are excepted from the number of thoſe Malefactors, againſt whom S.* Paul *hath ſaid, that God hath armed Kings and Princes?* It appertains not to us to ſhew you, that Hereticks are not of the number of thoſe againſt which God hath put a Sword in the hands of Princes. 'Tis for you Gentlemen Perſecutors, to prove to us that they are comprehended there: For we have ſenſe, reaſon, piety, and humanity on our ſide; and beſides, we have the conſent of ſound Antiquity, for more than four hundred years. How could the Church be able to put the Sword in the hand of Magiſtrates for the puniſhment of her Enemies, in a time when the moſt ſcrupulous Chriſtians found it difficult to conſent to the Death of thoſe Criminals that diſturbed the publick peace, and that of particular perſons, and did maintain, that Chriſtians without exception, never ought to dip their hands in Blood.

In what Dictionary hath Monſieur *de Meaux* found, that evil thinkers and evil doers are the ſame thing? Princes have right to puniſh evil doers with Death, therefore they have alſo right to puniſh evil thinkers with Death. They have right to puniſh thoſe whoſe Crimes are apparent to the publick ruine, therefore they have right to burn men whoſe Crime is in the Conſcience, the Empire whereof appertains only to God. If the Church have right to call in the Secular Power for the puniſhment of Hereticks, why did S. *Paul* ſay ſimply, *A man that is an Heretick reject, after the firſt and ſecond admonition?* Why did he not ſay, *Deliver him to the ſecular Power that he may be burnt?* Did he not know, that in a few Ages Princes would become

become Chriſtians, and have the Sword in their hands? Did he only give Precepts for the preſent time and ſtate? Hath this Cruelty of Maſſacring honeſt, well-meaning, but miſtaken Perſons, any affinity with the Precepts of Jeſus Chriſt, which commands us to ſerve our ſelves with Sweetneſs, Humanity, Prayers, Exhortations, and reaſons for the reduction of them? It is then permitted to Maſſacre the Jews, for there are none greater Enemies to the Church than they are. Is that the Spirit of the Goſpel which promiſes a return and converſion to that Nation? How ſhall they return if they be deſtroyed? Will men never be aſhamed of this Antichriſtian Barbarity? Will they never know that it is the Beaſt in the Revelations, who makes himſelf drunk with the Blood of Saints, devours their Fleſh, makes War upon them and overcomes them, and is therefore called *Beaſt*, *Lion*, *Bear*, and *Leopard*. For he muſt have renounced reaſon and humanity, and be transformed into a Savage Beaſt, that behaves himſelf towards Chriſtians, as the Church of *Rome* behaves it ſelf towards us.

Monſieur *de Meaux* affirms, that what they do againſt us at this day, is nothing but a lawful exerciſe of the Power that Princes enjoy by Authority from God, for the puniſhment of Offenders. And I will prove to him in three words, that it is falſe. 1. Princes in the uſe of the Sword againſt Malefactors deſign their ruin; that publick Societies be no more troubled with them. 'Twas the end that was heretofore propoſed in Perſecutions for Religion. 'Twas the end that *Charles* the Ninth pretended to have in the Maſſacre of S. *Bartholomew*. 'Tis the end of the Inquiſitors who burn all thoſe that are ſuſpected of Hereſie. It hath been the end of all Perſecutors in paſt Ages. But this is not their end at this day; they intend not the Deſtruction of the pretended Hereticks, but their Converſion: Therefore although it ſhould be true,

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that Hereticks are not eccepted out of the number of thoſe Malefactors, againſt whom God hath armed Princes; this will be only a power granted to puniſh them, not to endeavour their Converſion by Torments. 'Tis an abominable means of Converſion, which only makes Hypocrites. 'Tis ſufficiently known, that reaſon cannot be gained thereby: The purging of Societies is the end of the Sword; but Perſecution at the rate that it is at this day managed, will corrupt and ruine Societies by filling them with ſecret Hereticks, who will diſperſe their Venom in a manner by ſo much the more dangerous, by how much it is more private and ſecret. What is there therefore of likeneſs between their treatment of us? Is the lawful uſe of the Sword againſt Malefactors? Do not lightly paſs over what I have now ſaid, but give attention thereunto. If that which Monſieur *de Meaux* hath ſaid, to prove that Heretiques are not excepted out of the number of thoſe Malefactors, that Princes are appointed to puniſh, ſeem a little to ſtartle you; tell him that is not the queſtion; it is not debated whether obſtinate Hereticks may not be puniſhed with Death; his Catholick Authors do affirm it: But we would learn whether they ought to extort Subſcriptions, Confeſſions, Communions profane and ſacrilegious, becauſe joyned with Hypocriſie and Incredulity; by Force, Plunder, Violence, and all kind of Torments. Now that is it which all the World with one accord condemn, and is abominable, according to the Principles of the rigid *Inquiſition*, as well as our own. 'Tis that which the Clergy of *France* have lately invented and practiſed, and 'tis that which will render their preſent conduct, the horror of all future Ages.

2. The uſe of the Sword that God hath put into the hands of Princes, hath Juſtice and Righteouſneſs for the reaſon and foundation of it, for it is for the exerciſe of it; and ſecondly, Fidelity and Faithfulneſs,

neſs, for it is to preſerve and maintain it. But that which is perpetrated upon us at this day, is an uninterrupted courſe of Iniquities, Acts of injuſtice, violence, fraud, falſhood, breach of Promiſes, contradiction of Edicts, violation of Oaths, and of all things that can be imagined moſt horrid and affrightning. Doth not this well reſemble the Sword of good Princes armed againſt Sins and Crimes.

3. To conclude, the uſe of the Sword for the preſerving and avenging the rights of God, preſerves alſo the rights of Men. It hath for its end the honour of God, and the ſalvation of Souls: For Juſtice is exerciſed for the ſalvation of the Souls of the wicked, by the puniſhment of their Bodies. But in the preſent Perſecution, they neither reſpect or regard the rights of God, or the ſalvation of the Soul, but only the Honour of the King. They labour plainly, not for the ſalvation, but damnation of Souls; and they take all imaginable care to make it ſure. There is no man that is not ignorant of what is done, to whom what I have ſaid will ſeem an extravagance and exceſs of diſcourſe. But behold the proof thereof: The Dragoons come into a Town or Village, and without any antecedent inſtruction, demand in the Name of the King, from all the Inhabitants thereof, Subſcription and Abjuration, on penalty of waſting their Goods, beating, impriſoning, and torturing their Bodies with all other evils except Death. All the People faint and fall, they own the Romiſh Religion without believing it; they ſign the Condemnation of their own, they anathematize and damn *Luther*, *Calvin*, and all the Reformers. He goes to Confeſſion, he goes to Maſs, he communicates, he adores the Bread, he aſſiſts at the invocation of Saints, and outwardly conſents to that Worſhip that they give to Images. He believes none of all this, but abhors it at his Heart. In the mean time they are content, they have all that they deſire,

deſire, and they demand no more. Now what have they made? They have made Hypocrites that ſay one thing and think another, prophane perſons that hate what they adore; Idolaters, that worſhip what they account Creatures, and the workmanſhip of mens hands. Behold what they have done, and what they have deſired to do. For to ſay, that by the Dragoons they deſired the Calviniſts to renounce their Hereſie, is the moſt fooliſh of all extravagances; 'tis well enough known, that they are no proper Arguments to perſwade: Therefore they intended and deſired to make Hypocrites, profane, ſacrilegious perſons, abuſes of Sacraments and Idolaters. Now if theſe men be not in the high way to Damnation, I know not who are. So therefore plainly the end of theſe Perſecutions, 'tis to damn men.

But behold farther I do maintain that they take all kinds of ſecurity to be certain of the damnation of the new Converts when they die. This appears by the Declaration of the nineteenth of *April*, 1686, by which it is appointed, *That if any of our Subjects of either Sex, which have abjured the pretended Reformed Religion, happening to be ſick, do refuſe to receive the Sacraments of the Church, from the Curates, Vicars, and other Prieſts, I do declare, that they will perſiſt, and die in the pretended Reformed Religion. In caſe the ſaid ſick perſons do recover their health, Proceſs being made againſt them by our Judges, they ſhall be condemned, if they be Men, to make honorable ſatisfaction, and to the Gallies for ever, with confiſcation of their Goods; and if they be Women, or Daughters, to make honorable ſatisfaction, and be impriſoned, with confiſcation of their Goods.* This is the Declaration that the Prieſts make to a perſon that thinks himſelf on his Death-bed, when he refuſes to communicate. There is no Man ſo ſick but he may recover. He that at firſt (according to his own conſcience) refuſes to communicate after the

manner

manner of the *Romiſh* Church, at length begins to think, that if he recovers, he muſt away to the Gallies: theſe thoughts affright him, and as the Diſeaſe of the Body increaſes the weakneſs of his mind, he falls under the fear of that hideous puniſhment that muſt laſt as long as life. He communicates, again he abjures the Truths which are in his heart, he adores that which he believes to be but Bread, he is profane in hating an holy thing, he is ſacrilegious in uſurping the Sacraments, he is an Idolater in worſhiping a Creature. The Prieſt which hath ſeen him in theſe Conflicts, in theſe long Oppoſitions, in his Refuſals to communicate, in Acts of Incredulity, and Averſion for theſe Miſeries, conſtrains him by fear, and the Declaration of the King. Thereby he gains an aſſurance of the damnation of this wretch, and makes him dye in the moſt fearful diſpoſitions in which a perſon can die. Theſe are no far fetched conſequences, to diſcern them their needs neither Natural nor Artificial Logick. This is to cauſe him to renounce God before Death hath ſtabbed him at the Heart. All the World were ſtruck with horror by the Declaration of the twelfth of *July* laſt, which condemned all thoſe, that ſhould make any uſe of the Reformed Religion, to death. They cryed out that at this ſtroke the Perſecutors could no more diſtinguiſh the Conduct of this day, from that of *Charles* IX. and *Henry* II. They ſaid that never did any Perſecution proceed further than blood, and that there was no further pretence to ſay, that they ſerved themſelves with moderate ways for our Converſion: but this Declaration of the month of *July*, is nothing in compariſon of that of the month of *April*, for I dare ſay that Hell never produced any thing more horrible. I impute not this to the Supream Powers, who have ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed to publiſh ſuch an Edict. A ſpirit ſo imployed with de-

ſigns of finiſhing his Work, as is that of our King, is not capable of giving attention to any thing elſe. But I impute it to the Counſel of Conſcience, to the Biſhops, and Jeſuits which draw up the Decrees, and cauſe them to be ſigned with blinded Eyes. I do maintain that never was there any Society gave ſo great marks and ſigns of reprobation, as that which forms and executes theſe projects. After that Monſieur *de Meaux* hath ſaid that that which is done at preſent, is an exerciſe of the right Fidelity and Juſtice that Princes have to imploy the Sword for the puniſhment of Malefactors. Let us ſee how he goes on, *And although you will not permit to Chriſtian Princes to revenge great Crimes, becauſe they are injurious to God, may they not revenge them becauſe they cauſe trouble and Sedition in the State?* Without doubt thoſe that trouble the State of what Religion ſoever they be, be they Orthodox, or otherwiſe, may be puniſhed. But who are theſe that trouble the State, are they thoſe which Kill, which Maſſacre, and Plunder, or thoſe which live peaceably, and demand nothing but liberty to worſhip God according to their Conſciences, and agreeably to the Edicts which have been granted them, with all ſorts of promiſes and ſecurities? What trouble do we make in the State? What evil have we done in putting the Crown in the Family of *Bourbon*, and in hindering it from falling from the Head of *Lewis* XIV. during his minority? Where are our Seditions and Revolts? *Europe* knows and ſees who they are which trouble the State, whether we, or they which lay waſt the Provinces, which diminiſh the Revenues of the King, which weaken and aboliſh Trade, and force more than a million of ſouls to ſearch out ways to get out of the Kingdom. The Biſhop of *Meaux* adds, *Do you not clearly ſee that you build upon a falſe Principle? If it were true they were the* Arrians, *the* Neſtorians, *and the* Pelagians

gians *that had reaſon to complain of the Church, ſeeing they were thoſe which were Baniſhed, and Perſecuted, and Catholick Princes were thoſe that did Perſecute and Baniſh them.*

Firſt of all, I ſay, that they rendered to the *Arians* no more but what they had done to the Church. They had removed, and chaſed away the Orthodox from their Churches: they had Baniſhed the Orthodox, and they Baniſhed them. Secondly, I anſwer that it is falſe, that Catholick Princes ever did that againſt the *Arrians*, the *Neſtorians*, and *Pelagians*, that is this day done againſt us. Let Monſieur *de Meaux* a little unfold his skill in Hiſtory, and let him make us ſee, that the Emperors did ſend Armies into the *Arrian* Villages, and by the moſt cruel treatments force Abjuration. Let him make us ſee, that they did exact ſubſcriptions, that they did beat, impriſon, ſend to the Mines, or Gallies, thoſe that refuſed it. To conclude, I ſay, that there is a great deal of difference between Baniſhing, and Tormenting of Hereticks. A Prince that will preſerve his State clean may ſend Hereticks, whoſe Doctrine he would not have diſperſed, with their Families, and Goods elſewhere. If the King had been contented to have Baniſhed us with our Families and Goods, we had had ſubject of complaint, becauſe of the falſe opinion, that they have entertained concerning us; that we are Hereticks, doth not give them any right to treat us as ſuch, and to break the Confederations made with us, and our Anceſtors. But nevertheleſs we would have ſuffered this injuſtice patiently, becauſe it would have been nothing in compariſon of what is done againſt us at this day.

And at preſent alſo the Catholicks which are puniſhed with death in Sueden, *and ſo many other Kingdoms, would have reaſon of complaint againſt thoſe that call themſelves Reformed, and every one in his turn would*

have right and wrong, right in one place, and wrong in another, and Religion would depend upon uncertainties.

Let not Monſieur *de Meaux* be diſpleaſed, it is not honeſt to advance matters of Fact ſo barbarous as theſe without any proof, yea matters of Fact the falſity whereof are notorious.

They puniſh the Catholicks in Sueden, *and many other Countries with death.* I demand for the Publick, in the Age preſent, and in the Age to come, Juſtice for this Calumny. Nothing is more falſe, and more known to be ſo, for there is not a Proteſtant State, where the Papiſts have not permiſſion to live, and live according to their Conſcience, although in ſome places they have not the publick exerciſe of their Religion, and they are very few: I know not whether *Sueden* be one of them. The reſt of that period, *every one has right and wrong*, &c. is a Riddle which covers at the bottom the moſt frightful Doctrine that ever was publiſhed. It is that every Prince in his Dominions hath right to exterminate by Fire, and Sword, all thoſe which are not of his Religion. It is the eſtabliſhed Law, which according to Monſieur *de Meaux* ought to be the ſame every where, to the end that it be not expoſed to uncertainties. It is, I ſay, the moſt horrible Doctrine that a Chriſtian can teach. For according to it, the *Turks* have right to cut the Throats of Chriſtians in all places where they are Maſters. Behold the argument of Monſieur *de Meaux* weakned and overturned, if I do not miſtake; nevertheleſs it is certain that it comprehends in brief the beſt of all which theſe Gentlemen have to ſay on that behalf.

I had deſigned to leave the reſt of Monſieur *de Meaux* his Letter, becauſe the Chapter concerning the Adoration of the Euchariſt, and that of the Judge of Controverſies, which he touches tranſiently, will have

have their place in the following Letters, and there be handled ſomthing at large. But I have thought, that the Readers love to find an Antidote wherever they find Poiſon, for which reaſon we will ſay ſomething thereon, that the weakneſs of what he doth advance may appear, to the end that they may not be impoſed upon by theſe appearances of demonſtration.

He touches the Adoration of the Bread, and ſays, *The fear that you have that they will make you adore Bread, hath ſome appearance of truth according to your prejudice.* I am well pleaſed that they do acknowledge, that our fear hath ſome appearance of truth at leaſt. If the real preſence were engraven in the Scripture as with a beam of the Sun, as they ſuppoſe, in producing thoſe words, *this is my body*, our fear would have no foundation. To defend us againſt this prejudice, Monſieur *de Meaux* produces the falſe fear of the *Arrians*, and the Diſciples of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, who feared *leſt they ſhould be made to worſhip a Man, an Infant, a Creature, however perfect, and highly priviledged he were.* Let not Monſieur *de Meaux* be diſpleaſed, behold a ſhred of Antiquity ill placed, and diſpoſed for a perſon, that prides himſelf of knowledg. It ſuppoſes that the *Arrians* and *Samoſatenians* have heretofore refuſed to adore Jeſus Chriſt, under pretence that he was a Creature, a Man, an Infant, juſt as we refuſe at this day to adore the Sacrament under pretence that it is but Bread. I would be very glad that he would a little ſhew us thoſe places in the Ancients, where the *Arrians* refuſed to adore Jeſus Chriſt becauſe he was nothing elſe but Man. Firſt of all they did not ſay he was a mere Man, they acknowledged he was *God of God, and Light of Light*, and that he was before *Abraham*, but they ſaid he was a God created before all Ages, and afterwards incarnate. And as for the adoration, they ſo little refuſed to

give it to Jeſus Chriſt, that all the Fathers made it their Crime, and convinced them of Idolatry, because ſuppoſing Jeſus Chriſt was a Creature, they nevertheleſs adored him. It is good my Brethren, that you obſerve this paſſage, and that you conclude that theſe Gentlemen know not how to quote the Ancients, without impreſſing ſome footſteps of their falſneſs and perfidiouſneſs on thoſe quotations. They ought to find an example about vain fear in Antiquity like unto ours, they can find none, and therefore it is expedient to make one. But although it were true, that the *Arrians* did refuſe to adore Jeſus Chriſt for fear that they ſhould adore a Man, an Infant, they had been miſtaken, and we ſhall have reaſon to be unwilling to adore the Sacrament for fear of adoring Bread. For the Orthodox did invincibly prove to the *Arrians*, that this Man was the Eternal Son of God, but the Papiſts will never prove that the Sacrament is the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt.

Your Reformers have done nothing but renew the Controverſies ended ſix hundred years ſince, when Berengarius *moved them. And if you call in doubt the judgment that was given againſt him, others with as much reaſon will doubt concerning preceding Councils, and behold us then obliged to examine anew all which hath been Decreed, as if we began to be Chriſtians, and that all that our Fathers have determined is good for nothing.*

It is not true that we have done nothing elſe but renew Controverſies ended ſix hundred years ago. We acknowledge no Authority in an Antichriſtian Church, ſuch was that in which *Berengarius* lived, to determine Controverſies. It hath no right to determine them, or at leaſt we have right to have no regard to her deciſions. It is preciſely that which our *Arrians* do now at this day ſay unto us, your Divines

and

and Schoolmen have done nothing elſe but renew Controverſies already determined more than twelve hundred years ago in the Councils of *Tyre*, *Jeruſalem*, *Millan*, and *Ariminum*. The date is a little older, and the Authority in my opinion a little greater. For the Church of the *Arrians* was much more pure than that of the *Man of Sin*.

It had been a great marvel if Monſieur *de Meaux* had neglected to bring into this ſhort Letter the Sophiſms about the Judge of Controverſies. Theſe Gentlemen have nothing elſe to ſay, it is their only Rampart, it is neceſſary they always return thither. *If it be permitted us to reject the Councils that have condemned* Berengarius, *behold us under a neceſſity to examine anew all the Councils which have decided the Controverſies againſt the* Arrians, Neſtorians, *&c.* This ſignifies nothing, neither according to my Principles, nor thoſe of Monſieur *de Meaux*. Hath Monſieur *de Meaux* forgotten that according to his Principles no Councils are infallible, but thoſe that are General? Wherefore then doth he demand the ſame ſubmiſſion for the Councils that condemned *Berengarius*, as for thoſe that condemned *Arrius*, *Neſtorius*, and *Eutyches*? Theſe laſt are conſidered as Oeconomical, and by conſequence as Infallible in the Church of *Rome*. But a Council of *Tours*, of *Verſeille*, a Council of *Rome*, which have condemned *Berengarius*, were but particular Councils. Therefore they were not Infallible. Some of them had the Pope for their Head, yea, but according to Monſieur *de Meaux*, a great friend of the Theology of the *Gallican* Church, the Pope is not Infallible, nor can he communicate it to any one. Let theſe Gentlemen fix their Principles, or let them not delude us by comparing Councils which can err, to Councils which according to them are Infallible, and cannot be miſtaken.

If this be worth nothing according to the Princi-

ples of Monſieur *de Meaux*, it is worth leſs according to mine. Theſe Gentlemen will not take it amiſs if we have more veneration for Councils held in the fourth Age, where they judged by the word of God, than for Councils of the eleventh Age, held in a time in which the Church was plunged into an abyſs of Corruption, according to the confeſſion of *Baronius*, and others like unto him. Therefore one may doubt of the truth of deciſions of the Councils of that Age, and not doubt of thoſe of all the preceding Councils. But becauſe we are willing to have ſome ſubmiſſion for the deciſions of the Councils of the fourth Age, muſt we therefore pluck out our Eyes? Muſt we ceaſe to ſee that they did decide conformably to the Scripture? Muſt we ceaſe to build the ſubmiſſion, that we have for Councils, principally upon the conformity of their deciſions with the Holy Scriptures?

Behold us obliged to examine all anew as if we began to be Chriſtians. Behold us obliged to examine all anew, yea, every one for himſelf. And does not every one of us begin to be Chriſtian when he begins to live, and to make uſe of his reaſon. Monſieur *de Meaux* is at agreement, that when a Man begins to be a Chriſtian he has right to examine. Societies, and Confederate Churches do not always begin to be Chriſtians, and therefore it is not always neceſſary that they examine. And when once they have formed their Confeſſions upon the word of God, it is not neceſſary that they repeat it, at leaſt unleſs it be made appear that they have erred, and be miſtaken. But every particular perſon begins to be a Chriſtian, he hath therefore right to examine. And ſo behold the right of ſingle perſons re eſtabliſhed by the reaſoning of Monſieur *de Meaux*.

We will not touch the reſt of the private Letter of

of Monſieur *de Meaux* at this time, becauſe what he adds concerning the Judge of Controverſies, and the reflections which we have to make thereon, will fall in very well with what follows in his Paſtoral Letter, to which we ſhall return when we have finiſhed the examination of this. To fill up our ſheet we will give you a Letter of one of our moſt famous Confeſſors, which will begin to acquaint you with the Hiſtory of his Confeſſion. And afterwards you ſhall have ſome other Letters which have followed this.

At *Paris* from the *Tournel*, *May* 16. 1686.

IT is ſo advantageous, in tryals ſo barbarous, as that in which I have been, for ſix months laſt paſt, to be aſſiſted by your good Prayers, that it was my deſign, Monſieur, to deſire them from the very moment of my confinement at Strasburgh. *But the difficulty which I find to get paſſage for my Letters out of the Kingdom, hath deprived me of this benefit. Now when it ſeems, that I have more occaſion than before to procure for my ſelf this happy aſſiſtance, I do deſire it Monſieur with all earneſtneſs poſſible, and intreat you in the name of God not to refuſe me. The ſecond of* December *laſt, I with my Wife, and four Children, which God hath given me, were arreſted two Leagues on this ſide* Strasburgh, *and conducted to a Priſon in that City, where we all were almoſt ſeven weeks. My Wife fearing to ſee our dear Family ruined fell under the temptation, and did what the Declaration of his Majeſty demanded of her. For my ſelf I have always ſupported my ſelf by the Grace of God, and have ſuffered all that, which Zeal hath been able to inſpire into the puiſſant Body of the Jeſuits, to make me fall, but God hath perfected his ſtrength in my weakneſs, and has given me the Grace boldly to maintain his Truth both with*

Heart

Heart and Mouth. From thence we were conducted by order of his Majeſty with a good guard to the Priſon of Challons, *where I was juſt ſix weeks, fifteen days whereof I paſſed in a Dungeon, without being ſeen of any perſon, unleſs it were once or twice by my Wife. I was viſited by many Eccleſiaſticks, and amongſt others thrice by Monſieur Biſhop of* Challons, *of whom I received nothing but civilities. I was tempted by ſweetneſs, by many offers of ſervice, and in concluſion by ſeverity, and God by his Grace having rendered all the means employed to ſeduce me ineffectual, the ninth of* March *laſt the Preſident condemned me to ſerve the King for ever in his Gallies, and my Goods to be Confiſcate as thoſe of a Gally-ſlave. Two days after I was removed, and carried to* Paris, *where I was put in a dark Dungeon, and where I have been two whole months. After my arrival, I was twice preſent with the Procurator General in a Chamber of the Priſon. I anſwered to all that he ſaid to me, that which Jeſus Chriſt inſpired me withal according to his holy promiſes. He viſited me alſo once afterwards, and gave me this teſtimony, that it was rare to ſee me do that for error, which peradventure not one of them would do for truth. A little after Monſieur the firſt Preſident cauſed me to be taken out of the Dungeon, after the moſt civil manner in the World. When I was in the Chamber where he expected me, he cauſed all his retinue to go out, (which was made up of ſix or ſeven perſons of worth) and honoured me with his diſcourſe Face to Face for the ſpace of two hours, he teſtified a great deal of kindneſs towards me, and deſire to ſerve me, and as ſoon as he was gone out, he returned to his company and told them, as one of my friends which was preſent reported to me,* I come from diſcourſing an honeſt Man. *Monſieur, theſe are but words, nevertheleſs there is ſomthing of conſolation in them. I have alſo received many marks of favour from Monſieur* de Meſme, *Preſident of the* Tournel *Chamber of Juſtice, where*

where I was condemned, he talked with me at the entrance of the Dungeon, and after a little diſcourſe told me, that it was with grief he ſaw me there, and that he wiſhed me ſome gentle ſickneſs, that he might have occaſion to take me thence, and put me in the Hoſpital, and that as often as I deſired to ſpeak with him, I had no more to do than to tell the Goaler of it, who would give him knowledge thereof, and he would not fail to come to the Priſon, and ſee me. All theſe civilities had their deſign, but they were (thanks be to God) utterly ineffectual, God hath put into my Heart to be faithful to the death if there be occaſion for it. In concluſion, upon the ninth inſtant I was brought into the place of Judicature, and preſented to my Judges, they brought me to the Bar, and after I had taken my Oath, and they had drawn from me a confeſſion, whereof I glory, the Preſident after ſome diſcourſe of Religion ſaid to me, Monſieur, bethink your ſelf well, you know that the Declaration of the King doth expreſly determine your condemnation. I anſwered him, my Lord, I am paſt deliberations in this caſe, I am ready to ſuffer all thoſe penalties to which the Court ſhall pleaſe to condemn me, how rough ſoever they may be, they will be leſs troubleſom than to act againſt my Conſcience, and to play the part of an Hypocrite, who is an abhorrence to God, and Men. They appointed me to withdraw. Nevertheleſs, contrary to the uſual method, I was not condemned that morning, but the Tueſday *following, the fourteenth inſtant my condemnation was confirmed by a Decree of the Court, and about three hours after I was drawn out of the Dungeon; they put Irons on my Hands, they put me in a Coach, and I was carried to the* Tournel, *where they put the perſons condemned to the Gallies. The Governor here willing to treat me like an honeſt Man, put not the Chain but on my left foot, but on the morning the fifteenth inſtant, Monſieur the firſt Preſident, and the Procurator General told me, that they beheld my misfortune with grief, and that the King intended they ſhould*

put

put the Chain about my Neck, as is uſually done to thoſe that are the lewdeſt Villains. This news was ſoon brought to me, I told our Governor I ſhould obey the orders of the King with a very reſpectful ſubmiſſion. At the ſame time they took the Chain from my Foot, and put another about my Neck which weighed full fifty pound. Behold Monſieur the abridgment of my miſery, or to ſpeak more truly of my glory, for I give thanks every day to my God for the honour that he does me in not eſteeming me unworthy to ſuffer for his name. Join your prayers to mine I intreat you, Monſieur, to obtain from the Mercy of God his aſſiſtance ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him to continue my ſufferings. Let Mademoiſelle your Wife, if ſhe pleaſes grant me the ſuccour of her Prayers. Pardon the little order you will find in a Letter written by pieces, and by ſtealth, and in the midſt of twenty ſeven Gally-Slaves. I pray God to heap upon you both the moſt precious of his bleſſings.

I intreat you, my Brethren, to mark here, the Character of ſweetneſs and Chriſtian patience, which is peculiar to thoſe that ſuffer for the Truth; his modeſty hinders us from naming him, but in ſeeing him behind his Curtain, you will learn from him after what manner we ought to ſuffer all things for the Truth, and to ſuffer with patience, as our Lord has given us example. The Grace of God be with you all.

Septemb. 15.
1686.

The

The Third PASTORAL LETTER, AND Confutation of what Monſieur *de Meaux* ſays to eſtabliſh the neceſſity of a living, ſpeaking Authority, concerning a Succeſſion of Chairs, without a Succeſſion of Doctrine: General Methods for making good the Sophiſms and Fallacies concerning the Authority and Infallibility of the Church.

My Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be unto you from God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

YOur Temptations which increaſe every day, do alſo redouble our grief, and cauſe us to deſire with the greater paſſion to give you aſſiſtance and ſuccor, for which reaſon we proſecute what we have begun. 'Tis to furniſh you with Lights, for the diſpelling of that Darkneſs wherewith they endeavour to obſcure thoſe Truths which you have learned from your childhood. Among

mong other things they make great and prodigious attempts to take you off from that adherence that you give to the holy Scriptures, and to oblige you to forſake thoſe living Fountains, and to run after the broken Ciſterns of *Egypt*, which will hold no water. The laſt periods of Monſieur *de Meaux* his private Letter, and the ſecond Article of his Paſtoral Letter look that way. They are theſe Periods, and this Article upon which we ſhall make our Reflections, and we do beſeech you to give attention to them. Behold then how Monſieur *de Meaux* proſecutes his Letter to Monſieur *de V* ——

In a word, the meaning is if Chriſtians, when they cannot agree upon the ſenſe of Scripture, do not acknowledge a living, ſpeaking Authority to which they do ſubmit, the Chriſtian Church is certainly the weakeſt of all Societies in the World, the moſt expoſed to remedileſs Diviſions, and moſt abandoned to factious Innovators. This is it to which your Miniſters with all their Subtleties have never been able to find an Anſwer. In truth 'tis to put great confidence in the Credulity of Men, to tell them with ſo much impudence, that the Miniſters have not been able to find an Anſwer to this Sophiſm. I do not think that there is any which hath been rejected with more force and more ſucceſs. And we do defie Monſieur *de Meaux*, and Monſieur *Nicholas* to anſwer any thing that's reaſonable, to what hath been ſaid againſt the Infallibility of this pretended living, ſpeaking Judge, in the Anſwer which hath been lately made to the Book of M.— *Nicholas*, intituled, *The pretended Reformed convinced of Schiſm.* We have there anſwered it, and will anſwer it again. But this is no place to anſwer to it at large. We will content our ſelves to intreat you, my Brethren, to make two general Reflections thereon. Firſt, That Remedy can never be good, which never produces the effect, which Men ſay it doth always produce. M — *de Meaux*

Meaux pretends, that this certain, living, ſpeaking Authority is an infallible Remedy againſt Diviſions and Hereſies. *For without it*, ſays he, *the Church would be of all Societies moſt abandoned to Diviſions, Innovations and Factions.* If this Remedy be ſo good, why hath it never produced its effect? Was not *this living, ſpeaking Authority* in the world, was it not, ſay I, from the times of the Apoſtles, and the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity? Why therefore have we ſeen from the beginning ſwarms of Hereſies and Hereticks, *Simonians, Corinthians, Baſilidians, Marcoſians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Manicheans*, and multitudes of others? Wherefore in the fourth and fifth Ages of the Church was it torn in pieces by *Arrians, Neſtorians, Eutychians, Photinians*? Why do they account to the number of two or three hundred Hereſies? Why did this brave Remedy againſt Diviſions permit the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, more than three hundred years? That of the *Eutychians*, more than twelve hundred? That of the *Neſtorians*, as long? Why doth not this excellent Remedy put an end to the Schiſm of the *Greeks*, after the duration of near eight hundred years? Was it this living, ſpeaking Authority which ſuppreſſed the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*, or the Fire and Sword of *Simon de Montfort*, and his Villains? Why hath this *living, and ſpeaking Authority* permitted the *Latin* Church to be torn in pieces in theſe latter Ages? Behold, in truth, a fine Remedy good for nothing, and which over and above is eſtabliſhed upon inconſiſtent Principles, as hath been proved an hundred times.

The other general Reflection which I deſire you would make, is on the great inconvenience that Monſieur *de Meaux* finds in acknowledging, *That the Church is the weakeſt of all Societies in the World.* I do profeſs, that it appears very uneaſie to me, as well as to him, and I am not without all inclination to reaſon with him, and ſay, There is no appearance

or

or probability that the Church ſhould be the moſt impotent of all Societies under the Heavens, and by conſequence 'tis not likely that it ſhould have been the Tennis Ball of Perſecutors, of Tyrants, of malignant Spirits, of Schiſmaticks, of Hereticks, of factious Innovators, and vitious corrupters of the Truth, and Worſhip of God. And ſo all that hath been ſaid of Perſecutions, Puniſhments, Hereſies, Seditions happening in the Church, Strife among Biſhops, their Quarrels and Diviſions, of the fury of Schiſms, of the horrible corruption of Manners that hath been ſeen in ſome Ages, and is ſeen in this, all theſe things, ſay I, are falſe. For 'tis impoſſible, that the Church ſhould be the weakeſt of all Societies, which it would be, if what hath been ſaid, yea, and what our eyes ſee, be true. So that it muſt needs be that all Hiſtories be Romances, and all Objects that we ſee Illuſions, and that there be a Wall of Fire about the Church that hinders all ſorts of Evils from approaching it. 'Tis a Prodigy in my apprehenſion, that Men ſhould be found that will deſtroy truths in matter of fact, ſenſe and experience by Diſcourſes in the air. Theſe Gentlemen do never enter into the depths of God's ways, they do not perceive nor underſtand, that 'tis indeed by the order of his Providence, that to the apprehenſion of ſenſe the Church is the moſt feeble of all Societies, moſt given up to the will and luſt of Perſecutors, and Men of Faction and Innovation. Where is the Society that hath been given up, and expoſed to ſo many Schiſms, Diviſions and Perſecutions as the Church? But the Power of God, and the Stability of the Church conſiſts in this, that it ſubſiſts in deſpite to all Aſſaults, and that God preſerves in the midſt of thoſe Schiſms and Diviſions, Errors and Superſtitions, thoſe fundamental Truths, and Precepts of Morality, by which the Elect are preſerved, notwithſtanding the general corruption that doth involve,

and

and overwhelm it. Herein is the ſtrength of the Church, and 'tis a Miracle, and on the occaſion thereof we ought to ſay, 'Tis the Finger of God.

Without putting you upon Inquiries, and Diſquiſitions, conſider whether it be likely, that God who hath permitted ſo many depths in the Scriptures, and that from thence have arrived ſo many Schiſms among thoſe that profeſs to receive and believe them, hath not left ſome means in his Church to quiet and determine them. Is it likely, that there ſhould be no remedy for Diviſions, but that every one may believe according to his own fancy, and the minds of Men be thence led inſenſibly to an indifference in Religions, which is the greateſt of all Evils? Is not this what I ſaid but even now? To diſcourſe in the air againſt known matters of Fact, and againſt ſuch Truths as all the World confeſs and avow! Let us ſay with Monſieur *de Meaux*, it is not probable that God ſhould leave ſo many depths in the Holy Scriptures, from which ſo many Diviſions might ariſe, and not leave to his Church ſome means to put a period to them. Behold the Principle. And who can deny ſo plauſible a Maxim? But behold my Concluſion. Therefore there have been never any Diviſions about the ſenſe of Scripture, which the Church hath not found means to determine. Therefore it hath well and eaſily determined the Diviſions which continued well nigh the ſpace of four hundred years about the Senſe of thoſe Words, *The Father is greater than I.* Therefore it quieted the Difference about the Senſe of thoſe other Words, *The word was made fleſh.* And 'tis not true, that there are millions of Chriſtians in the Eaſt, *Neſtorians* and *Eutychians* that have not agreed with the Church of *Rome* about the meaning of them for 1200 years paſſed. Therefore it hath raiſed the Diviſions about the Senſe of thoſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt to S. Peter, *Feed my Sheep.* And it is not true that all the Greek Church is at a Schiſm with the *Latin* Church

thereon, and are not of the mind that they mean that the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be univerſal Paſtor of all Churches. They ſay, and 'tis believed, that the *Latin* Church hath been divided almoſt two hundred years, about the Senſe of thoſe Words, *This is my body.* The *Lutherans* give one ſenſe, the *Calviniſts* another, and the *Romaniſts* a third ſenſe concerning them. But that is not true, 'tis a popular Error, and an illuſion. It is not probable, that God ſhould not leave any means to his Church to quiet the Differences that ſhould ariſe about the Senſe of Scripture. A Man would think theſe Gentlemen had a deſign to ſcoff and deride Mankind; they form an *Eutopia*, a world made at pleaſure, out of their own imaginations, and tell us, that the preſent world is ſo made, and that we are in it, and very well and ſafe there. 'Tis in vain that we deny it, and ſay 'tis not ſo, we ſee the contrary, the world is not made as you report it. They anſwer us, you deceive your ſelves, you are blind Buzzards, and ſee nothing; you ſeem indeed to ſee the contrary, but nevertheleſs it can be no otherwiſe than we ſay, and we will demonſtrate it by reaſon. My Brethren, you may there perceive the falſeneſs and illuſion of the method of your Converters. Learn from hence in three words what is the proper method of confuting them, have recourſe to experience, and tell them you will prove, that it ought to be ſo, and I ſee with my eyes the contrary to what you ſay ought to be.

It is not therefore true, that God hath given a ſure and eaſie means to quiet the Differences, which may ariſe about the Senſe of Scripture. God will ſave his Elect, but he will abandon his Enemies to blindneſs. 'Tis his pleaſure, that there be Difficulties in the way of Faith and Salvation, but he hath filled the Holy Scriptures with Light to diſſipate theſe Darkneſſes with reſpect to his Elect. And as for the Reprobates, he permits this ſpiritual darkneſs, which hinders them from

from ſeeing the ſparkling and lightſome Truths, which are in the Scripture, to remain upon their Hearts. God hath not left certain means to prevent and pacifie Diviſions, we are convinced of that by experience. For Diviſions do continue among Chriſtians, and have done ſo for fifteen Centuries, what means ſoever have been uſed to heal them. But he hath left means ſufficiently certain for the conduct of his Children to eternal Life, by the way and path of Truth. 'Tis his Holy Word, together with the direction of his Spirit, which conducts infallibly, not whole Societies, but all that are his in particular, in all the Truths, that are neceſſary to Salvation, and preſerves them from all thoſe Errors, that are mortal to their Souls. *Think, think of that, Mr. hearken to your own reaſon, and not to the ſubtleties of your Miniſters.* Think, think of that my Brethren: conſult both your reaſon and your ſenſe, attend to that which your eyes report, and don't hearken to the vain reaſonings of Men, who diſcourſe not upon that which is, but upon that which ought to be according to their imaginations. Behold, that which we have to ſay at preſent about this important matter, which Monſieur *de Meaux* touches in his private Letter. We muſt now return to his Paſtoral Letter, and ſee how he proves the Title of his ſecond Article.

The ſecond Article has for its Title in the Margin, *That the Paſtors of the Catholick Church are the only true Paſtors.* He proves it by two Mediums. The firſt is, That the Paſtors of the Church of *Rome* alone have the advantage of mutual ſucceſſion in place and ſeat one to another. *Monſieur* de Meaux *maintains that he is in the place af thoſe that planted the Goſpel in his Dioceſs.* And all other Biſhops, he ſays, have the ſame Glory. The ſecond proof is, that they have alſo a ſucceſſion of Doctrine. 'Tis well when theſe two things go together, for otherwiſe to glory of a Succeſſion

ceſſion of Seats, without a Succeſſion of Doctrine is, in my opinion, the moſt pitiful glory that any one can aſcribe to himſelf. The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who, according to Monſieur *de Meaux*, is a Schiſmatick, he and all his Predeceſſors for above 800 years, is alſo in the place of thoſe who planted the Goſpel in thoſe Countries. Nevertheleſs the Biſhop of *Rome* hath anathematized him an 100 times, and doth anathematize him every year on Good Friday, in the Bull *De Cœna Domini*. The *Arrian* Biſhops did hold the place of the Apoſtles in the Eaſt; and at this day the Biſhops of *Denmark*, *Sueden* and *England* are alſo in the place of them which planted Chriſtianity in thoſe Countries.

Monſieur *de Meaux* perceives well, that the Glory of Succeſſion can do him no great good without Doctrine, and therefore does very fairly renounce it. *To ſeparate ſound Doctrine from the Chair of Succeſſion, is to ſeparate a ſtream from the Channel*, ſays he. 'Tis true, the Channel remains in the Church of *Rome*, we agree with them in that, from the firſt Biſhop of *Rome* to the laſt we ſee no conſiderable interruption; either Hiſtory is not to be credited, or Biſhops have ſucceeded one to another. Behold the Channel mark'd and noted. But by misfortune they have ſeparated the River from the Channel, and in this Succeſſion of Biſhops there has ſucceeded a dirty and impoiſoned River, to pure water, and to a clean and clear River. Monſieur *de Meaux* is very happy therefore in his compariſon in this ſmall Paragraph, but he is not ſo altogether in that which follows, *And to vaunt* (ſays he) *themſelves of the underſtanding of the Scripture, when they acknowledge they have loſt the ſtream of Tradition in their Paſtors, is to vaunt of having preſerved the Waters after the Pipes are broken.* Surely, if the Waters were no where but in the Channel, Monſieur *de Meaux* and his Brethren had ſome reaſon on their ſide, but 'tis happy for us, and miſchievous to them,

that

that the Water is in the Fountain before it can be in the Channel. The Channels may be broken, the Biſhops Succeſſors of Seats may become Antichriſtian. The Fountain of the Goſpel-Doctrine continues always pure in the Holy Scripture. It had been very fine, if they had reaſon'd ſo at the time when Jeſus Chriſt came into the World. The Phariſees and Doctors of the Law were in *Moſes*'s Chair, and, as ſuch, Jeſus Chriſt commanded to hear them; but according to the new Philoſophy of our Doctors, our Lord ſhould have done otherwiſe: for inſtead of thundering againſt the vain Ceremonies and falſe Gloſſes of theſe Doctors which corrupted the Law, he ought to have followed them, and cauſed his Diſciples to do ſo to. For to *boaſt of underſtanding the Scripture, when they acknowledge they have loſt the ſtream of Tradition in their Paſtors; is to vaunt of having preſerved the Waters after the Pipes are broken.* The Pipes, that is, the Doctors were broken, but did not the purity of the Law remain in the Books of *Moſes*, as in his Fountain? Let that be remembred therefore, and never be forgotten. The Goſpel-Church in this regard is in no better condition than the ancient Synagogue. This had its Phariſees and falſe Prieſts in the Chair of *Moſes*, that hath its falſe Biſhops in the Chair of the Apoſtles, and Founders of Chriſtianity. Let it be remembred alſo, that when the Pipes are broken, and the Rivers corrupt, we have the Fountain. Jeſus Chriſt had recourſe thither: he ſaid, *From the beginning it was not ſo.* Frankly therefore 'tis to delude, and ridiculouſly to delude when they ſpeak of a Succeſſion of Chairs, at leaſt, unleſs it be proved, that Truth hath remained in them, and that Infallibility hath always been placed there, and that in matters of Doctrine there have been made no Innovation. And thither Monſieur *de Meaux* comes at laſt. The Doctrine and underſtanding of Scriptures, ſays he, is come even to him, without any

change or alteration. *And it has been the pleaſure of God that it ſhould come to us from Paſtor to Paſtor, and from hand to hand without any appearance of Innovation.* This is eaſily ſaid, but I do not underſtand, how perſons that write in an Age ſo knowing, and illuminated, as ours is, ſhould have the impudence to advance ſuch a thing, that ſince S. *Paul* to the Biſhop of *Meaux*, the Doctrine is come down without any Innovation. My Brethren, 'tis an important point, 'tis an Article about which they do miſerably blind you, 'tis a voice that ſounds perpetually in your ears, and does almoſt make you deaf. Antiquity, Tradition, conſtant Succeſſion and Perpetuity of Faith; and how do they prove it to you? They tell you the Church is infallible, therefore it can't err, nor turn aſide from ſound Doctrine. Secondly, Monſieur *de Meaux* tells you, *If there had been ſuch changes among us, the Authors thereof would have been named, the Spirit of Truth which is in the Church would have noted them, and their Names would have been infamous, as that of the* Arrians *and* Neſtorians, &c. *So that all which has been told us concerning inſenſible changes in Doctrine, whereof they do not produce any example in the Chriſtian Church, is nothing but a vain accuſation.* Thirdly, To conclude, they take up certain Shreds of the Fathers, which they ſet to be ſeen with Gloſſes and in a falſe light, and afterwards tell you boldly, behold the Conformity of the Fathers with us, behold the Succeſſion of the ſame Opinions in the ſame Seats. There has happened no change or alteration.

This, ſay I, deſerves that we ſtay on it a little, for 'tis the fountain of Illuſions, by which they have ſeduced, and made ſome new Converts. Concerning the firſt of theſe three Proofs, which is drawn from the Infallibility of the Church, we hope at ſome time to ſhew you the abſurdity of that pretenſion. We will prove, that all that which M. *Nicholas* and M. *Peliſſon* have advanced

advanced to prove the neceſſity of this infallible Authority, without which, according to them, truth cannot be found, is a Contexture of Fallacies, which lead Men directly to impiety. But in expectation thereof (my dear Brethren) we intreat you to give attention to what we are about to ſay concerning this ſovereign and infallible Authority of the Church of *Rome*. I will give you two general methods, by which, without any great difficulty, you may be able to quit your ſelves of the Fallacies of your Converters. Firſt tell me, is there any reaſon can hold good againſt experience? The Church of *Rome* can't err, I'll prove it, ſay they, by juſt proofs and demonſtrations, becauſe the Church can't be left without a Guide, becauſe private and particular perſons can't underſtand the Scriptures, becauſe there is a neceſſity, that an Interpreter which ought to guide others cannot himſelf be deceived. Behold, that which is the moſt ſtately and magnificent reaſoning in the world. But by blowing upon theſe pompous Reaſons of Right, I will make them vaniſh by one ſole Proof and Demonſtration of Fact. 'Tis that the *Roman* Church hath erred an hundred times by introducing Images into Churches, and eſtabliſhing the Invocation of Saints, in taking the Cup from the Laity, and in cauſing a Sacrament to be adored, &c. Call to mind, my Brethren, the Man, to whom the Philoſopher proved by ſubtleties, which he could not anſwer, that there was no ſuch thing as motion. After having long labored under the weight of his Fallacies, he roſe up briskly, and walk'd about the Room. You find your ſelves often perplexed with the Sophiſms invented to ſupport the ways of Preſcription, and to prove the blind ſubmiſſion which ought to be had for the Church of *Rome*. I do not doubt but you are oftentimes in ſome perplexity in this reſpect. But go briskly out of that perplexity, and always come to

this. The Church of *Rome* hath erred, therefore it can err. You will put your Converters, in their turn, into ſome kind of perplexity. For there will be a neceſſity either that they hold their peace, and ſay nothing but abſurdities, or elſe that they endeavour to prove by diſcuſſion of Opinions, that the Church of *Rome* has not erred, and 'tis a Head of Diſcourſe where I am in no fear or concern for you; for how little ſoever you are inſtructed in the Word of God, you will eaſily diſmount the moſt able Sophiſters, when you endeavour to prove, that neither Tranſubſtantiation, nor the Worſhip of Images, nor the Invocation of Saints, nor the Adoration of the Euchariſt, nor the Maſs, nor Purgatory, are in the Scripture. There needs no greater ability for that, than for a Man to prove that a Chamber is empty when there is nothing in it. They object unto you, that the Scripture has not ſaid all, but 'tis a ſenſible abſurdity, that the Scripture ſhould be given to inſtruct us concerning what we ought to adore, and it ſhould forget three fourth parts of the objects of our Adoration. It ſpeaks not to us but of the Adoration of God; and nevertheleſs Religious Worſhip muſt be given to Saints, to Images, to Reliques, and to the Sacrament of the Altar. Are you ſo ſilly as to be taken in ſo pitiful a ſnare? The Scripture has not ſaid all, let it be granted with reſpect to the Ceremonies and Orders of Diſcipline, which are not of the Eſſence of Religion; but to believe that the Scripture has not told us all which is of the Eſſence of the Chriſtian Religion, is ridiculous: I do maintain, that he ought to have loſt all ſhame, that ſhall advance it, and to permit himſelf to be perſuaded thereof, he muſt have loſt all reaſon, and be degenerated to a Beaſt. Was it agreeable to the Wiſdom of God, imperfectly to inſtruct the Apoſtolick Church, and to leave to poſterity the charge of adding thoſe eſſential parts which were wanting? But

provided

provided you can draw your Converters from theſe Methods of Preſcription, which are the true Snares of the Devil, invented as his laſt Remedies, I ſhall not fear, or be concerned for you, altho they ſhould batter you with the Arms of Tradition, and tho they ſhould tell you an hundred times the Scripture has not ſaid all, Tradition adds the reſt. For you will always have an infallible Refuge in the Scripture, and you will be able to ſay, if Tradition may add to the Scripture, at leaſt, it ought not to deſtroy, and teach or command that which the Scripture condemns. After which it will not be difficult to prove, that not only the Scripture ſays nothing of Tranſubſtantiation, or the taking away of the Cup, or the Sacrifice of the Maſs, of Purgatory, or the Worſhip of Images, or the Invocation of Saints, *&c.* but that the Scripture does formally condemn them. Behold the firſt general method for ruining the fallacious Arguments on the behalf of Infallibility.

Behold another, the moſt ſenſible proof, (and that unto which you will be obliged to have regard, when they would prove that you ought to have a blind ſubmiſſion to the Church of *Rome*) is Texts of Scripture. 'Tis for example, that which our Lord Jeſus ſaid, *Matth.* 16. *That he hath built his Church upon S.* Peter, *in ſuch ſort, that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* That which S. *Paul* ſays in 1 *Tim.* 3. 15. *That the Church is the pillar and ground of truth.* There's that which is their ſtrength. But firſt of all demand of theſe Gentlemen, whether the Church of *Rome* be mentioned there? Say, I grant, that Text ſignifies, that the Church is infallible, and that the Devil never can introduce any Error; but how ſhall I know that 'tis the *Roman* Church to whom this glorious promiſe of Infallibility is made? The *Greek* Church, that of the *Neſtorians*, *Jacobites*, or *Eutychians*, are very great Communions in the Eaſt, which call themſelves Chriſtians

Chriſtians upon as good a Title as the Church of *Rome*. The Apoſtles certainly founded the Eaſtern Churches, it is without peradventure, and it is apparent, that Jeſus Chriſt hath left the privilege of being infallible to them. Why ſhould he cauſe it to paſs from the Eaſt to the Weſt? To that they will ſay, you ſee that 'tis to the Church of S. *Peter* that the promiſe of Infallibility is made: *Upon thee will I build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* Now the *Roman* Church is the Church of S. *Peter*. Upon that, demand that they prove by the Scripture theſe two Articles: Firſt, That this promiſe was not made but to the Church of S. *Peter*. Secondly, That S. *Peter* is the Founder of the Church of *Rome*. The firſt thing is impoſſible to be proved. 'Tis a prodigious abſurdity, that of the twelve Apoſtles to whom Chriſt Jeſus ſaid, that they ought to found Churches, he ſhould have no regard but to S. *Peter*, and to the Church which he ought to found. 'Tis more clear than the day, that that which our Lord promiſed, he promiſed to the twelve Apoſtles and to other Churches. But your Converters will have yet more trouble to prove by the Scripture, that the *Roman* Church is the Church of S. *Peter*. There appears not any Foot-ſtep thereof in the whole New Teſtament: on the contrary 'tis clear, there was a Church at *Rome*, before S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* had been there. It may be, one may prove, that S. *Peter* was never at *Rome*. At leaſt it may be proved, that he never reſided there in the Quality of Biſhop. For S. *Paul* ſays expreſly, that S. *Peter* was the Apoſtle or Biſhop of the Jews, or Circumciſion; and that he was the Biſhop of the Gentiles. Therefore S. *Peter*, in the Quality of the Biſhop of the converted Jews, ought to have his Seat either at *Jeruſalem* or *Babylon*, in the Confines whereof was the main body of the diſperſed Jews. Moreover he writ and dated his Epiſtles from *Babylon*. You may therefore

therefore hold your ſelves there, and ſay, I am well content that there be an infallible Church on earth; but when I ſee with all my eyes, that the *Roman* Church has erred, you ſhall permit me to ſearch an infallible Church elſewhere, and to keep me where I am expecting till I find it.

You may, I ſay, keep you there, but don't do it; move on further, and tell your Converters, Gentlemen, I perceive, that theſe words, *the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church*, may have two ſenſes. For they may ſignifie, that the Devil ſhall never introduce any error into the Church, of what nature ſoever it be. Or it may ſignifie, that the Devil ſhall never ruin the Church, that he ſhall never entirely deſtroy it by ruining its Foundations, *i.e.* its fundamental Verities. Tell me, do theſe words ſignifie neceſſarily the firſt, that is to ſay, that the Devil ſhall never introduce any capital or conſiderable Errors into the Church, or to ſpeak better, that the Church ſhall never fall into any Error? Not at all: For if one ſay to a Prince, I will take care that your Enemies ſhall never prevail upon you, that will not neceſſarily ſignifie, that the Enemy ſhall never have any Victory upon him, or gain any conſiderable advantage againſt him. Altho this Prince ſhould loſe ſome Villages, yea, and ſome Provinces, yet if the groſs and capital parts of his Empire always ſubſiſt notwithſtanding, he would have the accompliſhment of the promiſe made unto him. Provided therefore, that the Church ſubſiſt in all Ages, altho corrupt, provided that the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity remain throughout in their integrity, the promiſe, *the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it*, hath its accompliſhment.

But your Converters will tell you, theſe words ſignifie not ſo; for they ſignifie that the Church can never fall into any Error. Anſwer them, That is the thing that is in queſtion between you and me. But who

ſhall

ſhall judge for us, concerning the ſenſe of theſe words? It muſt not be you, for you are a party; and who can better judge than Scripture, and Experience? Now 'tis clear by the Scripture, that the ſenſe of theſe words, *the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt the Church*, is not that the Church ſhall never ſuffer any conſiderable Errors in its Faith. All the Holy Scripture affirms the contrary. It complains ſometimes that the ancient Church was become idolatrous, and had ſerved other gods. It foretels in expreſs words, that the Chriſtian Church ſhould corrupt it ſelf: *That grievous wolves ſhould enter into the fold not ſparing the flock. That there would be perilous times in which there would be an Apoſtacy from the Faith, and ſeducing Spirits would teach Doctrines of Devils. That Antichriſt the ſon of perdition ſhould ſit in the Temple, and in the Church of God. That the Church ſhould be hid, and as in a deſart for the ſpace of one thouſand two hundred and ſixty prophetick days, that is one thouſand two hundred and ſixty years. That when the Son of Man ſhall come he ſhall not find faith, nor love among Men. That falſe Prophets, and falſe Chriſts ſhall ariſe, and deceive many.* To conclude, for one Text by which it may be proved that the Church cannot err, we can produce an hundred that do affirm, that falſe Teachers ſhould introduce Errors thereinto.

Let us leave the Scriptures, and paſs to Experience, and ſee whether the Church hath not actually erred. It is proved clearly that ſhe hath erred, becauſe ſhe hath eſtabliſhed a Worſhip directly oppoſite to that pure, and ſimple Worſhip, the Model whereof is found in the New Teſtament, (*viz.*) of Images, of Saints, and Sainteſſes, of a ſecond ſort of Mediators, of Maſſes, Sacrifices, and a hundred other things, that have not the leaſt ſhadow of appointment there. Let us return to our Text, *The Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church.* It is diſputed whether this

Text

Text doth ſignifie that the Church can never Err in any wiſe, or whether it ſignifies that the foundations and fundamental verities of the Church can never be overturned. In truth, the laſt ſenſe is that of Jeſus Chriſt. And all that can be granted to the Papiſts, is that they are capable of the other. But is it not very clear that we ought to chuſe the latter, ſeeing the Holy Scripture and experience determines us thereunto by a manner wholly invincible? It is true, and we ſee it, that by a ſingular Providence, God hath not permitted the Foundations of Chriſtianity to be ſubverted in any of the Chriſtian Communions, all receive the Creeds of the Apoſtles, *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, yea even that attributed to St. *Athanaſius*. Behold therefore what our Lord would mean thereby. But beſides this we ſee that there is no Communion that hath continued pure, all have embraced Errors, and ſome of them ſuch as are filthy, ſhameful, and mortal. Therefore it is not that which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt would ſay, it is not a promiſe of abſolute infallibility that is made to the Chriſtian Church. Without doubt he foretold what is come to paſs, and not that which never happened. Behold, my Brethren, two general methods by which you may be able to reſcue your ſelves from the Sophiſms, and fallacious Arguments, which they call ways of Preſcription, till we can clear up thoſe difficulties that you your ſelves cannot reſolve, about that ſubmiſſion that people ought to have for their Guides, to the end that they may walk ſafely.

The ſecond medium, or argument, wherewith all theſe Gentlemen ſerve themſelves, and whereof Monſieur *de Meaux* ſerves himſelf here to prove that they have a ſucceſſion of Doctrine, as well as a ſucceſſion of Seats, is the impoſſibility of inſenſible changes. If the Invocation of Saints, ſay they, the worſhip of Images, Maſſes without Communicants, the

the taking away of the Cup had been newly introduced, the Innovator would have been known, and his name would have been branded with infamy, as that of *Arrius*, and *Neſtorius*. I do not think that ever any thing hath been done more oppoſite to reaſon, and fidelity, than the diſputes theſe Gentlemen have thought fit to raiſe againſt inſenſible changes and alterations. I ſay firſt it is oppoſite to fidelity: For it is not poſſible that theſe Gentlemen can believe what they ſay, when they tell us, that we cannot determine the Authors, nor the times of the principal Changes whereof we complain, ſeeing on the contrary we obſerve to them the times, the principal Authors, and the noiſe that theſe Innovations made in the World. Does not every one know, that the introduction of Images into the Church, the taking away of the Cup, and the eſtabliſhment of the Papal Authority did make a terrible noiſe, ſuffer great contraditions, cauſe great troubles, and even the ſhedding of much blood in the Church? It is therefore notoriouſly to diſpute againſt honeſty, and fidelity, to deny that we are able to give any account of the moſt eminent, and principal Innovations.

But is it not to diſpute againſt reaſon, and ſound judgment, to ſay as Monſieur de *Meaux* doth, that if there had been any Innovators in the Church, the ſpirit of Truth would have marked them, and their names would have been infamous, as thoſe of *Arrius*, *Neſtorius*, &c. How could the names of theſe Innovators be infamous, ſeeing their Innovations were received, and entertained. The Authors of Hereſies, and Superſtitions which are rejected, are indeed noted with infamy, but thoſe that are received are Canonized, and adored. Therefore thoſe of the fourth Age, which introduced the Invocation of Saints had no note of infamy put upon them, becauſe the beginnings of that unhappy Superſtition were greedily imbraced.

imbraced. The reaſon why thoſe things, in thoſe Ages, were not treated as Innovations, and the Authors of them as Innovators, was becauſe they adopted and received them. Had they aſſigned any note of infamy upon them, they had condemned the worſhip which they admitted, they had accuſed it of Novelty, and by conſequence the Authors thereof of boldneſs, and temerity, ſeeing it is an opinion that hath always prevailed, that it is a Criminal enterpriſe to Innovate in Religion. And ſo the Superſtitions of the fifth Age were well content to ſuffer poſterity to believe that the Invocation of Saints, and the Adoration of Relicks were more ancient than the preceding Age.

To conclude, about inſenſible changes, whereof the poſſibility is denied, I beſeech you my Brethren, obſerve the ſpirit and temper of your Converters, and tell me what name ought to be given to them. We prove to them the changes that are happened in the Church by proofs more clear, and evident than the light of the Sun. For example we ſhew them that in ſuch an Age, there was no Invocation of Saints or Angels. We ſhew it them, I ſay, not only by negative proofs, as we uſe to ſpeak, that is to ſay, by the ſilence of the Writers of ſuch an Age, but by poſitive proofs, and becauſe the opinions of the Writers, and the practice of the Church then were wholly oppoſite thereunto. Afterwards we ſhew them the firſt beginnings, the original, and the progreſs of Error, Superſtition, and Idolatry. In one Age we ſee plainly that ſuch worſhip was not practiſed, in the Age following it is as plain that it was practiſed. I do maintain that a Man muſt have renounced all ſhame to ſay as theſe Gentlemen, that from ſuch an Age to the following there was no change, and the foundation of this impudence is becauſe no ſingle perſon is found, whoſe name is known,

that

that did ariſe, and laboured to introduce ſuch, or ſuch an Error, or Superſtition, which met with great oppoſition, but at length ſurmounted them all. They that pleaſe to make uſe of their underſtandings, and conſult with Hiſtory, may find that this affirmation hath no truth, nor place but in changes that happen at a puſh, and all together, the Novelty whereof doth affright, and ſtir up oppoſition; but in Cuſtoms, and Opinions that prevail gradually, and by little and little, it is not ſo. The Invocation of Saints, and the Worſhip of Images were not eſtabliſhed by one ſingle perſon, nor at one ſingle heat. A whole people by a falſe Devotion, permitted themſelves inſenſibly to fall into certain practices, that ſeemed very Innocent, and it may be they were not very Criminal. They which came after thruſt forward this Superſtition, and in fine it came to Idolatry. I will ſay yet once more, I know not how a Mans mind and ſpirit muſt be made to ſay that ſuch manner of changes are impoſſible. Theſe Gentlemen cannot deny that the Worſhip of the Church of *Rome* at this day, is very much different from that of the Apoſtolick Church. Take it for granted, my Brethren, that there is no *Roman* Catholick Doctor, who will not acknowledge that the Liturgy of the Maſs at this day is more compounded, and leſs ſimple than it was in the days of St. *Paul.* Were theſe additions made in a ſenſible manner? Were not theſe changes introduced by little and little? The more ſincere of theſe Gentlemen, as Monſieur *Baluzius*, and the Author of the Dialogues againſt the Iconoclaſts of the Sr *Maimbourg*, do acknowledge that in the firſt three Ages of the Church there were no Images; and we do affirm that in the fifth and ſixth Age there were many. We cannot name the firſt Author of this attempt, and of the introduction of Images into Churches. Will Monſieur *Baluzius* therefore affirm

that

that from the time of the Apoſtles there were Images in Churches?

But What? It is to ſmall purpoſe to ſpeak; theſe Gentlemen perſevere to maintain that no change hath been made in the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church, and that none can be made: and we do maintain it can be made, becauſe it hath been made. We have preciſely the ſame thing to ſay which we ſaid concerning the infallibility of the Church: the Papiſts ſay it hath not erred, for it is infallible, and we ſay it is not infallible, for it hath erred. Alſo, they ſay there has been no change made in the Doctrine of the Church, for it was impoſſible any ſhould be made there; and we ſay it is very poſſible changes ſhould happen there, for ſo it is come to paſs. Who is it that reaſons beſt? That depends only on the queſtion in matter of Fact. We muſt ſee whether changes have actually happened in the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church. Now it is my deſign to make it apparent that changes have arrived there; this is neceſſary for the diſſipation of an unhappy illuſion wherewith they ſerve themſelves to blind you. It is Antiquity, Tradition, Conformity with the Religion of St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, and St. *Ambroſe*. I ſhall therefore undertake to give you a ſhort Hiſtory of the changes which have happened in the Church, at leaſt for the firſt five Ages thereof. It is the ſureſt method to ſhew you how falſe the impoſſibility of inſenſible changes is, and this will be the ſureſt remedy to leſſen the charm of falſe Antiquity, by which they endeavour to deceive you. This ſhall be the matter of our following Letters, where we will ſet before your Eyes the State of Chriſtianity, and the changes which are arrived there during the ſpace of five hundred years.

☞ To finiſh this Letter, my dear Brethren, I will ſet before your Eyes an example which ought

to ſhame the moſt of you. If you confeſs God, it is in ſecret, if you ſigh it is in your own Boſom: the moſt part of you dare not give any publick mark, though never ſo little bright and ſhining of the Sentiments, that are in the bottom of your Soul. Learn the Conduct of our poor Brethren the Inhabitants of *Cevennes*. The Edict of *Nantes* was made void the year paſt, on the month of *October* : the Paſtors were chaſed away, and all exerciſe of Religion forbidden upon great penalties expreſſed by the Declaration. But theſe Inhabitants of the Mountains began their private Aſſemblies from the month of *November* following. And God raiſed up from among them perſons that without Study, and without Learning, put themſelves at the head of theſe Aſſemblies for their Edification. I will not tell your their names, leſt I ſhould put them in hazard and danger.

There was a private perſon of the place called *V.* — to whoſe word God gave ſo much efficacy, that after ſome Aſſemblies where there were but a few perſons, one night he had the pleaſure of comforting many hundreds. And theſe Aſſemblies continuing almoſt every day, one day a little before night, there were found more than eight hundred perſons upon the Mountain of *Brion* near to *Caderles*. They had there the conſolation of hearing two excellent Prayers, and one Sermon: after all, thoſe that had the courage to reſiſt temptation, did partake in the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord.

Many of thoſe which had fallen, with a great many fears, deſired the Communion; among others a Woman of Quality was very deſirous thereof weeping, and profeſſing that ſhe would never go to Maſs; but it was refuſed her, until they ſhould receive greater marks of the ſincerity of her return and repentance. A few days after there was another Aſſembly in a Deſart, under the covert of a Barn, in the Pariſh of St. *Martin*

St. *Martin de Carcones*, where there were full out ſixteen hundred perſons. It was in the night, and continued until two hours before day. Two days after there was another Aſſembly in the Pariſh of St. *John de Gardoningue*, where there were ſeven or eight hundred perſons. The day after, on the Lords day, in the Pariſh of St. *Croſs de Caderles*, there was another, where there were about fourteen hundred perſons from all the Neighbouring Villages. They had knowledge of this Aſſembly. The Intendant and Judges ſent an Advocate named *Joly*, to inform them concerning it; all their diligence went no further than to diſcover three or four perſons, there was ſo much fidelity among thoſe that made up theſe Aſſemblies. They took one which they threatned with death, he ſeemed to comply, and promiſed to tell what he knew. But whether indeed he knew no body, or was not willing to name them, he diſcovered at firſt but two perſons. Nevertheleſs thoſe of the Village of St. *John*, who believed that they had been all diſcovered by the perſons that had been taken, fled and ſaved themſelves in the Woods. This flight diſcovered them, and the way with which they ſerve themſelves to force confeſſions, learnt the Perſecutors almoſt all thoſe which had aſſiſted at theſe Aſſemblies. But they found the number of them ſo great, that it forced them, and alſo conſtrained them to ceaſe theſe Perſecutions, ſeeing that they muſt depopulate the Country if they proceeded rigorouſly againſt the accuſed. They therefore reſolved to ſend them back upon promiſe that they would return thither no more, reſerving nevertheleſs liberty to themſelves of chaſtiſing thoſe which they called Heads of theſe undertakings.

Theſe threatnings and theſe Perſecutions could not oblige the faithful to give over, and a few days after, without more delay, they had another Aſſem-

bly in a Meadow in the ſame Pariſh of St. *John*, where there were near two thouſand perſons. There was Prayer, Preaching, and the Communion. As they were in the middle of this exerciſe, a voice was heard to ſay that the Dragoons drew near, upon which, he that performed the Office of a Paſtor, cryed out *La* thoſe that fear depart; but not one perſon ſtirred, every one prepared himſelf to ſuffer Martyrdom. The Dragoons came not on the place until the day after. They ſaw the Graſs trodden, and thereupon the Prieſt which accompanied them, ſaid that the Devil had kept his Sabbath there the day before. They made Priſoners ſome of the Peaſants of the neighbouring Villages, and carried them to *Montpellier*, where they took their Depoſitions, and releaſed them. Theſe methods of proceeding were deſigned to affrighten them, but they prevailed nothing, for the *Monday* following there was another Meeting or Aſſembly of two thouſand perſons in another place of the ſame Pariſh. An unhappy Apoſtate of the Town of *Caderles*, named *Mazel*, went and accuſed, and diſcovered them to the Curate of the Village of St. *John*, who went thither the day after with ſome Officers of Juſtice, that he might repair to *Bebe*, which was the place where the Aſſembly was held, they muſt paſs over Precipices, and Rocks, which made them think it was impoſſible, that they ſhould paſs that way by night, and the Curate ſaid in a Language common enough with thoſe honeſt Men, I do not know how theſe Devils could paſs here in the night.

I would, my Brethren, that you ſhould compare your tenderneſs with this unwearied Zeal. This is nothing to what you will ſee afterward, but it is nevertheleſs enough to ſhew you, that God hath choſen the weak things of the World to confound the ſtrong. Theſe poor Inhabitants of the Mountains, with

their ignorance, and ruſticity, will riſe up in judgment againſt you. We hear that you run in troops to the Popiſh Churches, to hear their Sermons. It is not there that you ought to ſeek the word of God. You will not find it there, but corrupt, and mingled with human Traditions, and although ſome Preachers ſhould affect, and chuſe to Preach nothing but Morality unto you, nevertheleſs there will be danger in going to hear them. But we intend to diſcourſe you more at large on this ſubject, till when we recommend you to the Grace of God.

October 1.
1687.

The Fourth
PASTORAL LETTER
TO THOSE

That frequent the Popiſh Churches. Aſſemblies of Chriſtians in *Cevennes*. The Martyrdom of many Chriſtians of that Country, and particularly of Sr *Fulcran Rey*, Student in Theology.

My dearly beloved Brethren in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God.

WE will begin our Letter where we ended the precedent. We have learn'd that thoſe among you which have not yet been prevailed on to go to Maſs, do nevertheleſs fill the Popiſh Churches at the hours of Service, and worſhip, particularly in great Cities, as *Paris*. You intend thereby to ſatisfie your Perſecutors in part, you think by this means to turn away, or at leaſt delay the violence wherewith they threaten you, that they may force you to go to Maſs, and communicate. And beſides you imagine that you do no evil, becauſe you go to hear Men that preach

preach the Word of God, tho not in a manner ſo pure as you deſire it; and you think your ſelves ſufficiently able to ſeparate the good from the bad. Moreover among Preachers you chuſe thoſe, that out of complaiſance and kindneſs to you, ſpeak little of Controverſie, and with very much moderation, and entertain you for the moſt part of the time with Truths which are common to us, with the Church of *Rome*, and Duties of Morality, the neceſſity whereof is acknowledged by all Chriſtians. It is better, ſay you, to hear the Word of God in this manner, than not to hear it at all. Behold, theſe are your Excuſes. But I pray, my Brethren, give heed to what I am about to ſay. You do not perceive whither this conduct will lead you. 1. In frequenting conſtantly the exerciſes of Devotion of the Romiſh Religion, and being often in the Popiſh Churches, you will inſenſibly abate in the averſion you ought to have for thoſe places of Devotion, which Superſtition hath rendred entirely profane. You enter without indignation into thoſe places in which the great God, jealous of his Honor, is provoked to jealouſie by Idolatry. You accuſtom your ſelves to ſee Images before which men proſtrate themſelves, and to which they give Religious Honor, contrary to the expreſs Commandment of that Law which was given in the midſt of Thunders, to ſignifie that the Tranſgreſſors thereof ſhould be ſmitten with the juſt Thunders of the Divine Vengeance. You behold without emotion thoſe Altars where that unhappy Sacrifice is offered, which is ſo great a ſhame to the Chriſtian Religion, and doth expoſe it to the reproach of Infidels, who reproach Chriſtians as Furies, and mad Men, that offer their God in ſacrifice every day, and eat him when they have done. You account this nothing. We ſee the Images and Altars of the *Roman* Church, you ſay, without indignation, but we have no Faith, or Veneration for

their Myſteries, and in this reſpect we are at the ſame diſtance that ever we were. Alas, how ill are you inſtructed in the windings and turnings of the Heart of Man! The Devil ſerves himſelf of every thing; by diminiſhing the averſion that you have had for the places where this Worſhip is performed, you will inſenſibly loſe your averſion for the Worſhip it ſelf. After you have beheld, without any emotion of mind, the Altars on which they ſacrifice, by little and little you will accuſtom your ſelves to be Spectators thereof, and in concluſion you will ſoon come to partake therein. Believe me, you can never be too much on your Guard againſt Error and Superſtition. They will gain upon you at ſuch places where your Guard is weak; and with much more eaſe will they find means to enter into you by ways ſo ſenſible, and ſo open. A Chriſtian, that hath any tenderneſs of Conſcience, grows into ſome paſſion when he goes into a Moſque, or into a Pagan Temple. A tender perſon cannot behold thoſe places, wherein his Parents or Friends have received violent outrages, without ſome commotion of Spirit. And how can you, without any turning of your Bowels, enter into thoſe places, in which a Worſhip is practiſed, by which God is offended and diſhonored, and for which hitherunto you have no kindneſs, or adherence? Do you not remember that your Fathers were burnt, torn in pieces and quartered, becauſe they would not meddle with this falſe Worſhip, and that they ſacrificed them to thoſe Idols of Jealouſie that are before your Eyes? The memory of the outrages offered to the Blood that runs in your Veins, ſhould preſerve a juſt reſentment thereof in your minds.

Conſider moreover that thereby you do not only accuſtom your ſelves to the places of Superſtition, but you do alſo habituate your ſelves to behold the *Romiſh* Religion on its beſt and faireſt ſide. They preach

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to you the fundamental Truths of Chriſtianity, they diſplay with great pomp the moral Precepts of Jeſus Chriſt. In a little while you will come to ſay, yea, you do ſay it already, that the *Romiſh* Religion is not ſo bad as it hath been deſcribed; our Miniſters have deceived us. Unhappy people who labor to deceive your ſelves! Have we ever ſaid, that there was nothing of Chriſtianity in the *Romiſh* Religion? Why have we received its Baptiſm, if there be nothing in it that is Chriſtian? But doth that which it hath of good hinder it from having an infinite number of things that are evil? 'Tis an Idol's Temple built upon the Chriſtian Religion, but 'tis an Idol's Temple for all that. 'Tis a part of the Church, but 'tis that part where the Son of Perdition ſits, according to the expreſs Prophecy of Saint *Paul, That the ſon of perdition ought to ſit in the temple of God.* Doth the good Morality that they preach, hinder it from being true, that there are perſons tolerated there, that teach that we may commit ſins without offending God but in a venial manner? That we may kill to preſerve our Honor entire, and without ſpot? That we may ſteal with impunity? That we may continue in the habits of ſin, when we cannot free our ſelves of it? That ſimple Fornication is no great ſin? That Repentance is not neceſſary during life? That we may be ſaved without having exerciſed one ſingle act of love to God all the days of our life? That we may kill Kings when we are perſuaded that they are become Tyrants? We do not ſay that theſe Men are tolerated, but that they tolerate others; for they are far the greateſt number. They do not ſhew you Popery on that ſide, nor on the ſide of its Idolatries, Images, Saints, and Sainteſſes, which they have ſet ſo near to God, that they cauſe them to partake with him in his Glory: nor on the ſide of its Pilgrimages, and the Reliques which it adores, and a thouſand other Superſtitions: notwithſtanding it is certain, that

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by accuſtoming your ſelves to like and fancy the Preachers of the Popiſh Church, you will ſoon come to like all that they ſhall pleaſe to preach, and teach you. When an object hath two faces, the one fair, and the other foul and deform'd, to the end that we preſerve in our ſelves that juſt averſion that we ought to have for it, 'tis neceſſary that we always look on it on the ill-favoured ſide. The way to Hell hath its Roſes, bus 'tis the way to Hell for all that. If you look not on it but on the ſide of its Flowers, you will forget that there are Thorns wherewith your Souls will be pierced, and wounded with wounds incurable. Once more, my Brethren, run not to thoſe Sermons where that which is good cannot pleaſe, without diminiſhing the hatred that you ought to have for the evil that is found there.

This is not all; by going to theſe Sermons, you fill thoſe Churches where they celebrate thoſe unhappy Myſteries, for which you ought to have a very great averſation; and there you are at the very hour that thoſe Myſteries are celebrated. I underſtand, that from ſeven in the morning you fill theſe Churches, to hear a Sermon, which is not preached till nine or ten. And in the mean while, in the Chappels round about you they ſay Maſs, they elevate and adore the Hoſt; and you call that no going to Maſs, becauſe you have not your eyes preciſely turned towards the Prieſt that celebrates, and are not obliged to change your poſture in the moment of Elevation, becauſe you are removed at ſome diſtance from it. But good God! do you think, that he whoſe Eyes are ſo pure, and Spirit ſo clear, will approve a conduct ſo faulty? Is it not a conſent to Idolatry, to be found in the ſame place with Idolaters? They are there for the Maſs, and you are there for the Sermon. But in expectation of a Sermon don't you aſſiſt at the Maſs? You ſee it at a diſtance, but you will accuſtom your ſelves very

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ſhortly to behold it nearer hand. And is it not to this very end and purpoſe, that at preſent they leave that, which they call the Holy Sacrament, always expoſed in their Churches, that you may not be able to enter there, without ſeeing perſons proſtrate at the Feet of the Altars of Superſtition, and being your ſelves conſtrained to bear a part in that criminal Worſhip.

To conclude, you aſſiſt at the Sermons of theſe Popiſh Preachers with a great deal of diligence; are you aſſured of what they will tell you? At the beginning they affect to ſpeak nothing to you, but things that will not affright you; but very ſhortly they will take the liberty to ſet the Opinions and Worſhip of the *Roman* Church in open light. Are you aſſured you ſhall be able to reſiſt theſe deceitful Charms, theſe curious Devices, theſe falſe Appearances, theſe gilded Sophiſms, this ſtudied Eloquence, this Logick full of artifice, wherewith they ſerve themſelves to cover the uglineſs of Falſhood, and to obſcure the Beauty of Truth? 'Tis viſibly to expoſe your ſelves to a Temptation, againſt which God hath made no promiſe to protect you. So that, my Brethren, if you do not give over frequenting Popiſh Churches, I do foretel, that God will permit the bud of Truth, which is yet in you, to die, and that he will abandon you to a Spirit of Error.

But you will ſay what ſhall we do then? Muſt we live without all Exerciſe of Religion? Muſt we be deprived of the Word of God? No; but you muſt enquire after the Word of God in your Houſes, and amongſt your Brethren. You muſt aſſemble amongſt your ſelves as often as you can, read the Scripture together, and good Books of Chriſtian Morality, and you muſt recal what you can remember of former Sermons. You muſt mutually comfort one another by good Prayers, and good Converſations, and good Diſcourſes, which without being ſtudied

are oftentimes of greater edification than Sermons, on which the fancy of a Preacher hath toiled and labored many days. To conclude, you muſt imitate the zeal of our Brethren of *Languedoc*, of whom I have ſpoken ſomething already, and will now go on to purſue their Hiſtory.

☞ We left their Aſſemblies in the midſt of Winter. And we have ſeen, that in deſpite to the rigor of the ſeaſon, the Precipices wherewith the ways are bordered, and the darkneſs of the night,, theſe believing Chriſtians did not fail to be found in thoſe places, in which they agreed to meet together, and pray to God. The laſt of the Aſſemblies whereof we ſpake in the precedent Letter, was that which was made in a place called *Bebe*. We have ſeen that the Prieſt and Officers of Juſtice having removed themſelves thither, found no Body but the Wife of him that dwelt in the Farm with her Child. They carried her Priſoner, with many other perſons of the neighbouring places, which had not ſigned their Abjuration. They put them in the Caſtle of S. *John*, where they were for the ſpace of a Month, to oblige them either to change, or to confeſs thoſe who were found at theſe Aſſemblies. They made them a Fire with Leaves and Straw, and all that which might make a dark and thick ſmoak to choke them. They endured this kind of Torment. At the end of a Month they ſeparated them, to the end they might cauſe them to fall the more eaſily. They ſaid to one that his companion had ſubſcribed; to another that he had confeſſed thoſe that were found at theſe Aſſemblies. All this ſignifying nothing, they carried theſe poor People to *Montpellier*, where after three Months Impriſonment, they were condemned, and ſent to the Gallies, except one old Man, named *Mauris*, who was impriſoned with ſome Women in the Tower of *Conſtance*.

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There happened at that time a thing conſiderable. A Man without Learning, of the Village of *Colignac*, being one night in Bed with his Father, believed he had a Viſion, and heard a Voice ſaying, *Go comfort my People.* I know not whether it were the force of his zeal, and imagination which produced this effect, or whether it were actually a Voice from Heaven; however it were, all the reaſonings and warnings of his Father, who turned both his Viſion and Deſign into Ridicule, could not hinder him from following this Call, which he eſteemed as coming from Heaven: he gathered Aſſemblies, he ſpake there with ſo much ſucceſs, and with ſo much order and method, for a perſon of his quality, that every one was ſurpriſed at it, and all that heard him edified by it. Under his Direction Aſſemblies were made of three thouſand perſons; amongſt others, one in a place called *Cabanis*, near S. *Hypolite*, and another in a Farm of the Parſonage of S. *Roman*, ſituate upon the Mountain *Gezas*, there were full five and twenty hundred perſons in that Aſſembly. After the Sermon they named many Elders for the ſeveral parts of *Cevennes*, and charged them with giving notice of the places, and hours of Aſſemblies. Of theſe many have been ſince taken, and ſent to the Gallies, as Monſieur *Arnaud* of S. *Hypolite*, and Monſieur *Nadal* of the Village *de la Salle*. There is no danger in naming of them, and 'tis an Honor we owe them, ſeeing they are at this day among the Confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt, in the Gallies of *Marſeilles* or *Thoulon*. Many others, which we will not name, becauſe they are not taken, were hanged in effigie. In the ſame Aſſembly they agreed to give to him, that ſhould preach to them, power to adminiſter the Sacraments. In which we may not imagine that they committed any Irregularity. For the true Call depends on the People, and on the choice of Aſſemblies. The Miſſion of one Paſtor

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by another is but a form, which ought to be obſerved in peaceful times of the Church, but may be neglected in caſes of neceſſity. Before they departed they cauſed all thoſe that were preſent, to enter into new obligations, not to go to Maſs; and reſolved to make another Aſſembly the Wedneſday following, between S. *Felix* and *Durfort*. The Curate of S. *Roman* (or the Incumbent whereof the Farm depended, where this Aſſembly was made) cauſed a Veſſel of Holy Water to be carried thither, and ſprinkled it about every where, to expiate the place, as if the Devil had kept a Sabbath there.

The Aſſembly was made the *Wedneſday* following according to the project, and there met near four thouſand perſons, which was the cauſe they left the Farm which at firſt they had choſen, and aſſembled in a Field, and hung up Lamps on a Pear-Tree that was found there. This Aſſembly was diſcovered, they ſent thither ſome Dragoons under the Conduct of one called *Villeneufeu*, an Apoſtate of the Town *de la Salle*; but the Dragoons durſt not draw near, becauſe they believed themſelves too weak to attack ſo great a people: therefore they kept themſelves in Ambuſhcade, and when the people began to depart, they took of them ſuch as they could. Among others one named *Pouget*, of the Town of *Valeſtalieres*. They Arreſted alſo ſome days after in his own Houſe, Monſieur *Teiſſier*, of the Town of *Durfort*, who freely confeſſed that he was at the Aſſembly of St. *Felix*. Among many Priſoners, they choſe *Pouget* of *Valeſtalieres*, and Monſieur *Teiſſier* of *Durfort*, to make examples, as they ſpeak, that is to ſay, to make Victims of their fury. They were condemned to dye in the Village *de la Salle*, by the Intendant, and Preſident of *Niſmes*. Monſieur *Teiſſier* publickly confeſſed the Crime for which he dyed, and declared that if he had eſcaped their hands he had continued

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it, and would yet continue it if it were poſſible for him. Upon the Ladder he ſung theſe words of Pſalm xxxi. *Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed me O God of truth.* *Pouget* was ſo weak as to change his Religion on promiſe that they would give him his life, but they hanged him for-all that. Their vengeance did not ſtay upon theſe Victims, it proceeded even to things inanimate. They pulled the Farm down to the ground where the Aſſembly was made, they plucked up the Pear-Tree by the Roots, on which they hung the Lamps, that they might ſee to ſing Pſalms. It is a circumſtance very ſingular, and which makes known how far the fury of falſe Zeal may go. It is well nigh to what they do by the places where Sorcerers have celebrated their horrible Myſteries, and where *Sodomites* have exerciſed their abominable Brutalities. There happened on this occaſion a thing which ſeems to me very ſurprizing. It is that at the ſame hour that they condemned Monſieur *Teiſſier* of *Durfort* to dye for having been at Aſſemblies; one was made at mid-day in a Farm of St. *Roman*, two Leagues from *de la Salle*, where there were found fourteen, or fifteen hundred perſons. And the day after the Execution, another was made at mid-day alſo, near to *Valerangue*: whilſt they were at Sermon an Apoſtate named *Couchon*, of St. *Andrew*, went away, and made haſt to advertiſe the Dragoons thereof, which were in their Quarters at *Valerangue*.

The Intendant, and the Marqueſs of *Trouſſe*, being in a rage, when they ſaw that nothing would hinder theſe nightly Aſſemblies, cauſed ſome Files of Dragoons to be drawn off, which ran too and fro all night over the Mountains, but they could meet with no Aſſemblies. But they made Priſoners all the ſingle perſons that they found, ſuppoſing they had been at Aſſemblies, or were going to them. The Lords Day after

after the death of Monſieur *Teiſſier*, another Aſſembly was made on the top of the Mountain *Liron*, to the number of four or five hundred perſons. A while after there was another in a Farm near St. *Germain*: it was ſo numerous that the Planchers of the Room cracked and brake under the weight of them. But there was none hurt but one old Man, whom they were forced to carry away. The day after there was another near *Connas*. Whilſt they were preaching, a Sentinel, that they had ſet at the entrance of the place, went and advertiſed the Dragoons, and Curate of S. *Germain*, and betrayed the Aſſembly. The Dragoons diſcharged upon theſe poor people, who had no other intention than to pray to God. Many were left upon the place dead, and wounded; others betook themſelves to flight, and in flying fell into a great Gulph of Waters, where a great number of them were drowned; others hid themſelves in the Rocks, whither the Soldiers went, and apprehended them. 'Twas in one of theſe Aſſemblies that one of the Gentlewomen of *Belcaſtell* was wounded, by a great blow on the Head. A Prieſt or Jeſuit ſtanding by, cryed out, *Make an end of her.* But nevertheleſs they were content with leading her, and many others, away Priſoners.

A few days after another Aſſembly was made, near a place called *Boucovitan*, where there were found full two thouſand perſons, and there they gave the Communion. Many perſons which were preſent at this Aſſembly were diſcovered, and made Priſoners, and the Men were ſent to the Gallies.

We here take no notice of any Aſſemblies, but thoſe that are conſiderable, for a great number of others have been made in Caves, and Woods, and private Houſes, and the moſt part of them have been made peaceably enough, and without being diſcovered. It was this inconceivable firmneſs of reſolution to

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assemble in despight to so many punishments, and persecutions, which produced that terrible Declaration of the twelfth of *July* last, by which the penalty of death is imposed upon all those that shall be Convicted of having exercised any Religion but that of the Church of *Rome*. Before that time, the Dragoons had orders to put to the Sword all such as were found at Assemblies. And they discharged their Commission very well, as it appears by what we have reported concerning the precedent Assemblies, which were all made since *October* on the last year, and *June* on this. It was thought that the Order that the Dragoons had to Massacre, and the Declaration of the twelfth of *July*, would have put an end to these Assemblies. Nevertheless they are as frequent as ever, and many times at mid-day. And from that time there have been Massacres and effusion of blood.

On the thirtieth of *June* there was an Assembly of about two thousand persons, upon the Road, from *Calmette* to *Barutet*. The Dragoons of *Nismes* were there, and took about thirty or forty Prisoners, which they carried to the Tower of *Vineliere*, it is a Tower that is joyned to the Walls of *Nismes*, above the *Arenes*. The *Thursday* following there were two Assemblies, the one at St. *Cesari*; a Village half a League from *Nismes*, the other at Iron Cross, which is not above a quarter of a League from the same City. There have been many others in those parts; and every where there have been Massacres, bloodshed, and persons Hanged upon the place, and great numbers made Prisoners. But the most considerable Massacre was that which was made near *Uzes* upon the Road to *Bagnol*. Upon the seventh of the month of *July*, there were found on that place twelve hundred persons. The Dragoons of *Uzes* being informed thereof, hasted thither, and found them at

their Devotions. They compaſſed them round. Theſe Chriſtians did nothing, but with Hands, and Eyes lift up to Heaven, fell on their Knees, and in that poſture expected death. The Dragoons diſcharged upon theſe poor people without Arms, and without defence. They ſucceeded ſo well therein, that beſides the wounded, the field was covered with the dead. An Eye witneſs that paſſed over the place three weeks after, found then there the bodies of thirty Women half rotten. Beſides this, the Dragoons ſtrangled many with the Halters of their Horſes. They took more than three hundred Women, which they knocked, and beat upon the Breaſt and Sides with their Daggers, they cut off their Coats to their Hips, they ſtripped them naked, and having covered themſelves with their Cloths, they returned with their ſpoils, and Priſoners to *Uzes*. Behold on one ſide how the Devil defends his Goſpel. And on the other part, it was thus that the Primitive Chriſtians, and our firſt Reformers planted the Goſpel of Chriſt in the midſt of Paganiſm, and Antichriſtianiſm, that is to ſay by Courage, Patience, and Sufferings.

Since the month of *July*, *Languedoc*, and *Cevennes* have been a field of blood, and ſlaughter. The Dragoons, under pretence of Aſſemblies, kill all they meet, and Letters from thoſe Countries report that a Man can ſcarcely take four ſteps upon the Mountains without finding a Carcaſe, either Hanging on a Tree, or lying on the ground. On the thirteenth of *July*, a Lieutenant of Dragoons having been informed that there was a Man near the old Caſtle of *Vauvert*, about three Leagues from *Niſmes*, that ſung Pſalms, he ran thither, and finds this poor Man at the foot of a Tree, reading in his Pſalm Book, having no other company, but another poor Man ſleeping by him. He cauſed this to Hang the other upon the ſpot. The Intendant, and Marqueſs of *Trouſſe*, publickly

lickly commended this action. A little before this a barbarous action was committed upon a Gentleman of five or six thousand Crowns Annual Rent, at the Bridge of *Montvert* in *Gevaudan*. This Gentleman that he might avoid the temptation of Abjuring his Religion, had passed seven or eight months in Caves. At last being forced from thence, being able to subsist there no longer, he returned to his House. As soon as the Commander of the Dragoons had notice of it, he sent a Detachment of eight or ten Dragoons, who having found him at one of his Houses, wounded him in the presence of his Wife, Plundered the House, threatned to cut off her Fingers, because she refused to give them the Rings that were on them. The Gentleman at the end of five days dyed of his wounds, and being about to expire, he called the Villain that wounded him, (for he never stirred from his House) he took him by the Hand, and assured him that he forgave him with all his Heart, and in this disposition of mind gave up his Soul to God. The Widow with three Children that she had, was carried to *Nismes*, the Children were taken from her, and sent to *Beaucaire*, and she had liberty to go whether she pleased upon her word.

All these cruelties have nothing abated the Zeal of the Reformed in this Country. They continue their Assemblies, although they have taken from them one of their principal Guides, under whose Conduct they held and observed them. It is Monsieur *Fulcran Rey*, a Native of *Nismes*, and a Student in Theology, who was hanged at *Beaucaire*, on the seventh of the month of *July*. I promised you an exact relation concerning him; but it hath been Printed since that time: it is worth your search and inquiry, that you may know the acts of the passion of this Martyr; we shall content our selves to observe here the principal passages thereof, to the end that if these Let-

ters go further than the intire relation thereof, thoſe which ſhall not be able to read that, may know at leaſt ſomething thereof here.

This young Man was not above twenty four years of age when he ſuffered Martyrdom. He had been Conſecrated from his childhood to Divinity, by his Father and Mother. By the Declaration of *October* in the year paſt, he was obliged to go out of the Kingdom in fifteen days, as well as the other Miniſters of the Goſpel: he either could not, or would not go out in the time appointed, inſomuch that he was found and impriſoned in the Kingdom, and expoſed to the penalty of the Gallies, according to the terms of the Declaration in caſe he were taken. God put it into his Heart to uſe no endeavours to go out, which without doubt he might have found, as well as ſo many others, who had that advantage. As yet he was only Student in Theology, the malignancy of the times hindering him from Ordination, but an extraordinary Call ſupplied that defect. He underſtood that when the Houſe was on fire, all the World ought put to their hand for the extinguiſhing thereof, and that God who derives Praiſe from Children that ſuck, may very well ſerve himſelf of him to edifie his Servants, notwithſtanding his Youth and meanneſs of Learning. He traverſed the whole Province of *Languedoc*. He went from *Montaub* to *Milhaw*, from thence to St. *Affrique*, from thence to the Bridge of *Cammares*, from thence to *Niſmes*, and to *Montpellier*, every where ſearching out perſons that were willing to be edified. But the fear was then ſo great, that it had ſtifled all other Thoughts and Sentiments. Nevertheleſs they recovered a little, and this young Man found opportunity to gather ſome Aſſemblies in the Neighbourhood of *Niſmes*, which coſt liberty, or life to many perſons, for of them ſome were Hanged, Maſſacred, and

and Impriſoned, and others ſent to the Gallies. And this put a ſtop to the courſe of theſe Aſſemblies, and our Martyr himſelf ran a great hazard by the treachery of one named *Audoyer*, which made profeſſion of friendſhip to him. He eſcaped this danger becauſe his hour was not yet come, and God would yet make uſe of him ſome time for his Work. After he had made ſome Journeys to and fro on the borders of *Caſtres*, at laſt he returned to *Cevennes*, where he found a great many people diſpoſed to hear him, and he reſolved to fix himſelf to the edification of that part of the Country, becauſe he believed he ſhould there do moſt good. Nevertheleſs well underſtanding that he could not long eſcape the vigilance of Perſecutors, who had filled that Country with Dragoons and Spies, he wrote to his Father a Letter of farewel, by which he declared he was perfectly ready to offer himſelf in Sacrifice to God, and ſuffer Martyrdom, and prepared his Father to hear ſoon the News of his being taken, and conſequently of his death. This preſage was not falſe, for it was not two months wherein he had edified the Faithful by his Sermons, by his Viſits, and his private Diſcourſes, before he was apprehended at *Auduze* by the falſeneſs of one *Almeras*, an Inhabitant of that Village. This wretch had accompanied our Martyr in all the places of *Cevennes* where he had been, inſomuch that he believed he had reaſon to confide abſolutely in him. Nevertheleſs it was he that delivered him into the hands of the Dragoons. He was then at a Houſe out of the Village, they took him on a *Saturday* night, whilſt he was employed in Meditation. One of the Miniſters of the fury of the Perſecutors took him by the Hair, caſt him to the ground, and cruelly beat him. Our Martyr complained thereof with great moderation, adding that God would puniſh him for an outrage ſo unjuſt. This Propheſie had its accom-

pliſhment, for the Soldier was ſlain two days after by one of his Companions, with whom he engaged in a quarrel. The Martyr was put in the Priſon of *Anduze*, where he was loaden with Chains, and treated with all the ſeverity they uſe to exerciſe towards the greateſt Criminals. It was there he was firſt examined, they asked him whether he had Preached. He confeſſed it, and gloried therein, and declared that he had done his duty, and that he would yet do the ſame thing if he were in condition. They endeavoured to learn from him the places where he had Preached, and what perſons had been preſent at his Sermons. But to that he would ſay nothing, becauſe he would bring no perſon to hazard. After he had undergone this interrogatory, they put him into the hands of thirty Dragoons which carried him to the Priſon of *Alez*, where he was to undergo the Perſecution of the Monks of all Orders, beſides the ſeverity of the Judges. But he anſwered to all theſe people with firmneſs, and an admirable preſence of mind, which touched them with admiration and compaſſion; a ſentiment which is not ordinary with perſons of this Character, when they are Perſecuting true Chriſtians. They ſaw well, that ſeeing the Monks were touched with his Diſcourſes, they might produce the ſame effect upon others, for which reaſon they forbad all perſons to ſee him. A few days after they took him from the Priſon of *Alez*, to remove him to that of *Niſmes*. Thoſe that had been hindred from ſeeing him when he was in Priſon, were willing to recompence the loſs which they had ſuſtained; an incredible multitude of people of all Ages, and Sexes, pouring out tears, followed him on the Road, accompanying him with their Prayers and good wiſhes: he returned them bleſſings, and added vehement Exhortations to riſe ſpeedily from their fall, and to glorifie God, as he did, by their

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Sufferings. Whilſt he was in Priſon at *Alez*, there were no ways imaginable which were not employed to oblige him to change his Religion. The Eccleſiaſticks ſerved themſelves of ways of Seduction, the Judges with that of Authority. They promiſed him not only impunity for what was paſt, but all kinds of Favours and Advantages. He equally reſiſted all, and with the ſame courage ſurmounted theſe different temptations. Whilſt they carried him from the Priſon of *Alez* to that of *Niſmes*, approaching the place of his Nativity, and that where his Father and Kindred dwelt, he felt ſome movings of his Bowels, which made him fear, leſt that ſhould be the place where he was to endure the ſtrongeſt temptations, through the ſoftneſs and tenderneſs of nature. He earneſtly deſired of the Judges, that they would not let him ſee neither his Father, nor his Relations. Therefore he did not ſee them, but was content to let them know, that they might be aſſured of his ſtability, of his conſtancy and perfect reſignation to the will of God. They kept him but a few days in the Priſon of *Niſmes*: the Monks and Eccleſiaſticks of that City engaged him in new Combats, but 'twas with as little ſucceſs as thoſe that went before. They had no intention to put him to death at *Niſmes*, becauſe that City was full of Men of the Reformed Religion. They feared either ſome emotion, or at leaſt, that the beholding the Martyrdom of this young Man, and his Conſtancy, ſhould waken the Conſcience of a great many People, who preſerving the truth in their Heart, hid it under the veil of Diſſimulation. They carried him therefore from *Niſmes* to *Beaucaire*, a Village where all the People are of the *Roman* Religion. 'Twas there his Proceſs was to be made, and he to receive the Crown of Martyrdom. 'Twas there alſo he was to ſuſtain the moſt terrible Aſſaults. The Intendent was preſent, who

began by Engines of Sweetneſs and Promiſes, adding thereunto all that which is moſt terrible in death. But to his Promiſes he anſwered, *I love not the world, nor the things of the world, I eſteem all thoſe advantages whereof you ſpeak as dung, I tread them under my feet.* Unto the threatnings of puniſhment he ſaid, *My life is not at all dear to me, if ſo be I may finiſh my courſe with joy, and gain Jeſus Chriſt, whatſoever death is prepared for me, it will be always glorious if I ſuffer it for God, and for the ſame cauſe for the which my Saviour died.* An incredible company of other people came to ſee him in the Priſon, all to the ſame end; and nothing was forgotten of all that which might ſoften the mind, and weaken the firmneſs of his courage. All theſe means being unſucceſsful, in concluſion the Intendent proceeded to his condemnation. He appeared at the Bar: when he was there, the Intendent ſaid to him, *Mr.* Rey, *there is yet time for your preſervation. Yea, my Lord,* anſwered he, *and for that reaſon I will employ the time that remains, in endeavouring my ſalvation.* He replyed to him: *But you muſt change, and you ſhall have life. Yea,* ſaith he, *I muſt change, but 'tis to go from this miſerable world, and go to the Kingdom of Heaven, where a happy life attends me, which I ſhall ſpeedily enjoy: don't promiſe me the preſent life, I am intirely diſengaged from it, death is much more eligible. If I had been afraid of death, you had not ſeen me here. God hath cauſed me to underſtand his truth, and does me the honor to die for it. Speak no more to me of the good things of the world, they have no ſavour or taſte with me; for all the Treaſures of the Earth I will not renounce that which I expect in Heaven.* When the Judges ſaw him thus firm and ſtedfaſt, they gave over vexing him about his Religion, and proceeded to make his Proceſs. He anſwered to all their Queſtions with a reſpect, ſweetneſs, and moderation, which melted all the Auditors. When they were ready to pronounce

nounce his Sentence, they ſolicited him anew to have pity on himſelf, and not by an unhappy obſtinacy ſacrifice a Life which was given him to preſerve. *I am no more,* ſays he, *in condition to adviſe about what I am to do; I have made my choice, here is no farther place for bargains, I am ready to die, if God hath ſo appointed it. All the promiſes which can be made will never be able to ſhake me, nor hinder me from rendering what I owe to my God.* Therefore they read his Sentence, by which he was condemned to be hanged, and put to the Rack before he was led to the Gibbet. He heard his Sentence read without any commotion; and when it was ended, he ſaid, *They treat me more gently than they treated my Saviour, in condemning me to ſo eaſie a death; I had prepared my ſelf to be broken on the wheel, or be burnt.* And lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he added, *I give thee thanks, Lord of Heaven and Earth, for all the Bleſſings that thou haſt beſtowed upon me. I give thee thanks, that thou haſt found me worthy to ſuffer for thy Goſpel, and die for thee. I give thee thanks alſo, for that thou haſt called me to ſuffer ſo eaſie a death, after I had prepared my Heart to ſuffer the moſt cruel death for thee.* In execution of the Sentence he was put upon the Rack, he ſuffered it without any complaint, or one word of murmuring; anſwering no other thing, but that he had ſaid all, and had nothing more to anſwer. And when he was taken from the Rack, turning to the Judges, he told them, *I have not ſuffered the pain which you would have made me ſuffer, I believe that you have ſuffered more than I, I have had no ſenſe of pain, I do profeſs before you.* 'Tis an extraordinary effect of Grace; for altho we ſhould not give credit to thoſe relations which tell us that the Rack was ſo violent, that it was believed, that he could not have made uſe of his Legs to go to execution; it is nevertheleſs certain, that naturally it cannot happen, that a perſon ſhould be on thoſe Inſtruments of Torment without

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feeling very great pains. But 'tis a Miracle which hath a hundred and a hundred Examples in the Hiſtory of the Martyrs, both of the ancient Church, and that of the Reformation.

They bring back our Martyr to the place where he was to prepare himſelf for death: he dined becauſe they would have it ſo; and whilſt he was eating, he ſaid to thoſe that gave him his meat, very calmly, *Others eat to live, and I eat to die; this is the laſt Repaſt that I ſhall take upon earth; but againſt the Evening there is prepared a Banquet in the Heavens, to which I am invited, and whither I ſhall be conducted by the Angels. Theſe happy Spirits will ſuddenly remove me to make me partaker with them of the Delights of Paradiſe.* The reſt of the day they let looſe upon him many Monks, who received no other Fruits of their Aſſaults but diſappointment, and confuſion. Amidſt all thoſe Diſtractions, into which they endeavoured to caſt him, he employed himſelf in ſinging of Pſalms, in lifting up his Soul to God, and preſenting fervent Prayers to him. About the Evening, as he went forth of the Priſon, to go to Execution, two Monks drew near to him, ſaying, *We are here to accompany, and comfort you.* He anſwered them: *I have no need of you, I have a Comforter that is more faithful, and which is within me for my Conſolation. I have a Guard of Angels round about my Perſon, and which have aſſured me they will be with me to my laſt Breath.* He marched toward the place of Execution with an appearance of ſatisfaction, and tranquillity of Spirit viſible to all the Spectators; and having obſerved ſome of our Brethren, that were fallen, pouring out floods of tears while they ſaluted him, ſaid to them, *Weep not for me, but weep for your ſelves, I ſhall be ſoon out of Sufferings, and far from this Vale of Tears; but I ſee, and leave you there. In the name of God recover, and repent, and he will have pity upon you.* When he was in

a place and diſtance that he could ſee the Gibbet, where he was to end his Combat, he cryed out with tranſport of Joy, *Be ſtrong, be ſtrong, this is the place which I long ſince propoſed to my ſelf, and for which God himſelf hath prepared me; how welcome doth this place appear to me? I there ſee the Heavens open to receive me, and Angels coming to accompany me thither.* He would afterward have ſung a Pſalm, as he drew near to the Gibbet; but the Judges, which ſaw, that the Crowd was moved, and pierced, by the ſigns and tokens of his conſtancy, impoſed ſilence on him, and forbad him to ſing. He obeyed, becauſe they conſtrained him; and arriving to the Foot of the Ladder, he ſaid, *Oh, how welcome is this Ladder to me! ſince it muſt ſerve me as a ſtep to finiſh my courſe, and mount to Heaven.* They permitted him to ſay his Prayers at the Foot of the Ladder. And when he was aſcended, he ſaw Monks aſcending after him, which obliged him to repel them, ſaying. *Retire; I have told you, and I tell you again, I have no need of your ſuccor. I receive enough from my God to enable me to take the laſt ſtep of my Journey.* He would have gone on, and given a Reaſon of his Faith to that innumerable Crowd of People, above which he was raiſed. But they feared the effect of a Sermon preached from ſuch a Pulpit, and by ſuch a Preacher. They well foreſaw, that he would ſpeak, and therefore had ſet round about the Gibbet many Drums, which they appointed to be beaten at once. 'Tis a new kind of Gag, which is not altogether ſo frightful, as that of another kind, but produces the ſame effect. The Spirit of Hell is always the ſame, and hath always the ſame fears. He hath often felt the force of thoſe Preachers which preach from Gibbets, and out of the Piles of Wood, he fears their Eloquence, and judges it moſt ſafe to impoſe ſilence on them. Our Martyr therefore ſpeaks not but for himſelf, but his Countenance, his Eyes, his Hands beſpeak

beſpeak his Courage, his Faith, and Conſtancy; and this Language was ſo effectual, that the Village of *Beaucaire*, altho wholly plunged in darkneſs and prejudices for Popery, was moved thereby in an extraordinary manner.

I do very earneſtly wiſh, that three or four ſorts of perſons would make Reflections on this death. 1. The Enemies of Truth. Is it poſſible, that they cannot obſerve therein the Character of true Religion? I do conjure them to conſider what moſt reſembles Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, whether a Man that dies, as we have ſeen this young Man die, or perſons which cauſe him to die for his Religion, and becauſe he would not renounce it? 2. I ſet this Object before the Eyes of the new Converts, who being ſeduced either by their Paſſions, or Illuſions, behold the Religion which they have left as abominable, and ſuch wherein the Spirit of God is not to be found, can they well perſuade themſelves, that ſo much Courage, ſo much Piety, ſo much Conſtancy, ſo much Moderation, ſo much Sweetneſs doth proceed from him, who is the Father of Lies, and the Fountain of Abominations? If it be the Spirit of God which produces theſe miraculous effects in our Martyrs, then our Religion is not deprived of it, then God has not forſaken us, then we are not out of his Church, out of which there is neither Grace, nor Holy Spirit. To conclude, I demand here the attention of the weak, of thoſe Men who bleſs themſelves becauſe they yet preſerve the Truth in their Hearts, and which perſwade themſelves, that the Fault which they have committed in ſubſcribing is very light, I demand of them, are not you obliged to do what this Martyr has done? Has he given to God more than he owed him? Who is he that is not obliged to ſeal and confirm the Truth by his Sufferings? You have withdrawn your ſelves from paying that which you have received from God,

God, in the opportunities which he has offered you. And you have withdrawn your ſelves by a faulty weakneſs, and negligence, by a lye both of Heart and Hand. In what eſtate ſhould we be, if God had not left us a Remnant? We ſhould be like unto *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, we ſhould not have had one Martyr, *i.e.* one Witneſs of the Truth of our Lord Jeſus. You will ſay, all are not capable of ſuffering Martyrdom. At leaſt confeſs then, that you are in this reſpect in a great degree of Imperfection, and that your Fault is great. Don't juſtifie your ſelves at all, recover your ſelves by Repentance, if you would that God ſhould pardon you.

I have given you the Hiſtory of the Vigor which our Brethren of *Languedoc* have had to continue their Aſſemblies without interruption, and thereby expoſe themſelves to Martyrdom and Death, with deſign to convince you of that which I have proved in the beginning of this Letter, *i.e.* that you ought not to procure to your ſelves conſolation by hearing the Word of God in Popiſh Churches, where you will find it ſeaſoned, and tempered in a way mortal to your Souls.

It is neceſſary, that you ſearch it after the manner that our Brethren (of which I have been ſpeaking) have done. I know well that your Fleſh hath many things to ſay to me concerning it. Some will ſay they are a great People in that Country, and we are here but a handful of Men. The more eaſily may you communicate together, the fewer you are in number, the leſs are your motions perceived. Others will ſay, theſe People are favoured by the ſituation of their Country, we are in Cities where they watch us night and day. Hath the ſituation of their Country hindered them from the danger of being diſcovered, hanged, and ſent to the Gallies? Have they been diſcouraged by having been diſcovered once, yea, twenty

times? I do declare to you on the behalf of God, if you don't renounce this Spirit of Fear, and put on the Spirit of Martyrs, God will forſake you; you will not find a Man that will be able to comfort you; yea, you will not receive Letters to ſupport you. You are afraid of the ſhadow of danger. God will be very much beholden to you, you will love him, and you will enquire after him when there ſhall be no danger therein. But 'tis at preſent, that you ought to make it appear, whether you yet love God, in expoſing your ſelves to all dangers, as often as you ſearch conſolation for your Souls, and edification for your Faith. I pray God to have pity on your ſtate, and that he will give you ſuch ſentiments as you ought to have. The Grace of our Lord be given to you again. *Amen.*

Octob. 15.
1686.

The

The FIFTH PASTORAL LETTER.

THE

Chriſtian Purity of the Apoſtolick Church oppoſed to that of Popery. Letters of ſome Confeſſors.

My well beloved Brethren in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God.

IN our third Letter, we promiſed to give you a brief Hiſtory of the changes that have happened in Chriſtianity, in the firſt five hundred years of the Church, that from thence you may underſtand the unfaithfulneſs of Monſieur *de Meaux*, and your Converters, which tell you with ſo much impudence, that Chriſtianity is come down from the Apoſtles to them without alteration. We have been obliged to delay the performance of that promiſe, that we might make ſome reflections upon an information, that hath been given us concerning the Conduct of the new Converts. This was the ſubject matter of our fourth Letter. We will return again at this time to the matter which we have diſcontinued, and give a ſhort pourtraiture, and deſcription of the Chriſtianity of the firſt Age, that you may ſee the changes that have happened in the Ages following.

The

The first Age of the Church.

WE cannot know the opinions, and practices of an Age, with any certainty but by the Authors of that Age. We have no Authors of the first Age of the Church, but the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts. And though others ſhould be found, that may be referred to that firſt Age, we ſhall leave them to the ſecond, to which alſo they do belong, becauſe it is certain that thoſe, (*i. e.* the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts) do ſuffice to teach us what was the Religion of the Apoſtolick Church. It is above all things juſt, that we ſee what was the Religion of that firſt Age, and by conſequence we muſt conſult the Writers of it. This is the more certain, becauſe they were Divinely inſpired, and are the only infallible Doctors that we have. In ſo much that if the *Romiſh* Religion be founded in theſe infallible Writers, we are content that you abandon, and give up your ſelves to your Converters. But on the contrary, if nothing thereof be found there, it is juſt that you believe, that all that we reject hath been added to the Chriſtian Religion.

It is a prodigy that ſurpaſſes all belief, that Popery ſhould be the Chriſtian Religion, and that the Founders thereof ſhould not ſpeak one word concerning it. It is true, the Evangeliſts, and Apoſtles, learn us to believe one God in three Perſons, and one Son of God made Man, who dyed for the ſins of Mankind, Roſe again, Aſcended into Heaven, and will come again to judge the quick and the dead, and to ſend one part of them into everlaſting Torments, and to give the other Rewards infinite, for extent and duration. But this is not Popery, this is Chriſtianity. Popery is a Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of our Lord, every day offered to God for the ſins of the living

and

and the dead. It is a new Jeſus made of Bread, deſcending at all hours between the Hands of the Prieſt, which they adore as the great God. It is the Worſhip, and Invocation of a ſecond ſort of Mediator, and Interceſſor, to whom they build Temples, erect Images, and Altars, to whoſe honor they Sacrifice Jeſus Chriſt, by whoſe name they ſwear, to whom they make Vows, and in one word to whom they give all thoſe divine Honors that are given to God himſelf. It is an intermediate ſtate betwixt Heaven and Hell, called Purgatory, in which for a time Souls endure the pains of fire, and the torments of the damned; Purgatory which is the foundation of a thouſand other Worſhips, Penances, Prayers for the dead, Maſſes, indulgences, Stations, Jubilees, Mortifications, and human ſatisfactions. To conclude, for I will nor ſay all, Popery is an inſtitution of a new Head, and Spouſe for the Church, into whoſe hands the Lord Jeſus hath committed all his Authority, and Rights to pluck up, and to plant, to build, and to deſtroy, to bind and to looſe, to make and unmake Kings, and to keep the Keys of Heaven and Hell. Behold what Popery is, and once more I will ſay, it is a prodigy that God ſhould give us Scripture to inſtruct us in his Religion, and that he ſhould not ſay one word of the greateſt, and moſt conſiderable parts of it there. In the Name of God, my Brethren, be not taken in this unhappy ſnare, into which I perceive that ſome of you are fallen. The Scripture could not ſay all, ſay they, it hath left Commiſſion to the Church to ſay the reſt. Now is it poſſible that perſons can permit themſelves to be taken by ſo groſs an illuſion? If the thing under debate were ſmall, peradventure it might be conceded, but it is about Adoration of the Sacrament, that is to ſay a piece of Bread, and giving religious Worſhip to Creatures, and Images. The thing debated is about Celebration

of a Sacrifice, the moſt important thing in the World in Religion, yea about the Sacrificing of Chriſt himſelf, the greateſt Sacrifice that can be imagined. And can it be believed that God will ſend us to Tradition concerning it. It is to have renounced all honeſty to advance ſuch a propoſition, and to be credulous even to blindneſs, to believe it. Therefore if I can prove that the Scripture ſays nothing at all for the eſtabliſhment of Popery, I have gained my Cauſe, at leaſt for the firſt Age, in which I now am, and have proved ſufficiently that Popery was then unknown. Let us proceed to ſome of its Articles.

The Sacrifice of the Maſs makes a great figure in the *Roman* Religion, and holds a principal place there. It is the Idol for which they have the greateſt jealouſie. We cannot better underſtand what hath been the Opinion, and Sentiment of the Church in all Ages, concerning it, than from the Ceremonies, Actions, and Words which have been practiſed in the Celebration of the Euchariſt.

To ſearch the Sacrifice of the Maſs in the Old Teſtament, as the Papiſts do, is an extravagance that hath no example, for the Old Teſtament ſpeaks only of the Worſhip, and Ceremonies of the ancient Religion. To ſearch it in other Texts of the New Teſtament, than thoſe which teach us the manner of its Celebration, is to ſearch it where naturally it ought not to be found. It is therefore preciſely in the Inſtitution of that Sacrifice that we muſt find the Nature of it. Now the Evangeliſts, and St. *Paul* tell us with one conſent, that what Chriſt Jeſus did in that memorable Action is there. *The night in which he was betrayed, he took Bread, he bleſſed it, brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying take eat, this is my Body. Afterwards he took the Cup, bleſſed it alſo, and ſaid this Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, which*

is

is ſhed for you, drink ye all of it, take, and divide it among your ſelves, do this in remembrance of me. In fine they ſung a Hymn, that is certain Pſalms according to the Cuſtom of the Jews. *They aroſe, and ſo the Ceremony was ended.* On that, I beſeech you my Brethren, call to witneſs the Conſciences of your Perſecutors, and Converters, and enquire a little of them, what there is in it, that can have any reſemblance with the Maſs? Where is the Gradual, the Introit, the Canon, the *Ite, Miſſa eſt?* But you will ſay theſe are but indifferent Ceremonies, which may be added. It is a great queſtion whether they might be added, yea, or no. Nevertheleſs let us let that Point alone at preſent. Let them ſhew you at leaſt what is eſſential therein. Where is the Oblation? Where is the Elevation? Where is the Adoration? Where is the Genuflection? Where is the Sacrifice, and preſentation of the Victim? Jeſus Chriſt took Bread, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying this is my Body. In the *Roman* Church theſe words are not ſaid to the Communicant, they are ſaid at the Conſecration, a long time before the Communion. Jeſus Chriſt gave Bread to his Diſciples to be eaten without Cremony, or Myſtery. They were ſitting, or rather lying upon Beds, at a Table, as the manner of the Ancients was. It was a prodigious ſtupidity in the Diſciples not to caſt themſelves on the ground, and Adore the great Miracle of Tranſubſtantiation, and the Real Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt, lying hid under the Species of Bread and Wine, whilſt they bore him in their own proper Hands. Theſe ignorant perſons ſo prone to admiration, who Adored Chriſt Jeſus when he appeaſed a ſtorm at Sea, which was an action aſſuredly, that a Spirit of a Nature infinitely inferior to God could do, would they not have Adored him, when he did a Work ſo great as the Creation of the World. But if the Diſciples were ſo ſtupid as not to

Adore this Miſtery, would Jeſus Chriſt be ſo negligent as to ſuffer them in this ſtate of impiety and indevotion? It was that which the Diſciples did, or rather did not do. Hath it any thing in Commune with the Service of the *Roman* Church, with that Action by which the Hoſt is lifted up that it may be Adored, with that Worſhip that all the World give to it, by kiſſing the ground at the ſight thereof, with the Cuſtom of carrying it in Pomp about the Streets that it may be Adored. Preſs your Converters, and enquire of them, did the Apoſtles Adore it? If they ſay yea, ask them why they continued ſitting, and why they never ſaid one word of it? If they confeſs that they did not Adore, ask them why they will conſtrain you to do it? Why do you deſire that we ſhould do more than the Apoſtles?

And as to the Oblation and Sacrifice, where are they? The Oblation of the Victim cannot be made till after the Tranſubſtantiation, after that the Body of Chriſt is made preſent by Conſecration, after theſe words, *This is my Body.* Now after theſe words, Jeſus Chriſt preſented nothing to God, he preſented to his Diſciples, yea he did not pronounce thoſe words, *This is my Body*, but as he was giving the Bread to his Diſciples. The Oblation therefore is not neceſſary, the Sacrifice is not eſſential, for Chriſt Jeſus did not practiſe it.

Stay not there. Preſs theſe Doctors to tell you, whether Chriſt Sacrificed himſelf in the firſt Inſtitution of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt? You will ſee them perplexed, if they ſay that he Sacrificed himſelf. Ask them why he Sacrificed himſelf upon the Croſs the next day? The firſt Sacrifice of his Body which he made by breaking the Bread, was it not Propitiatory for the ſins of the Living and the Dead? Behold then the ſins of Men expiated before his Death, and therefore there was no need of his Death to make

that

that expiation. The Sacrifice of the Maſs is at this day, ſays Monſieur *de Meaux*, a Sacrifice of Commemoration.

Now the Sacrifice which Jeſus Chriſt offered in the firſt Euchariſt was no Sacrifice of Commemoration, for we do not Commemorate a future event, and a thing which is not yet come to paſs, ſo that the Sacrifice which is at this day made, is not the ſame thing with that which was made by Jeſus Chriſt in the firſt Euchariſt. The Sacrifice of the Maſs is the Sacrifice of the Fleſh of our Lord bruiſed, and his Blood poured out, but in the firſt Euchariſt the Fleſh of Chriſt was not broken, nor his blood ſpilt. So that Chriſt Sacrificed that which yet was not, and preſented an Oblation under a relation under which he did not yet ſubſiſt. There be certainly a thouſand abſurdities in ſaying, that Jeſus Chriſt Sacrificed himſelf in the firſt Euchariſt, many Papiſts have acknowledged it. If your Converters have as much ſincerity as many of their Doctors have had, to confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt did not Sacrifice in the firſt Euchariſt, demand of them by what right they Sacrifice at this day? For they ought not to do any more than Chriſt did. And he has not commanded them in ſaying *do this*, to do any thing but what he himſelf did. So that if he did not Sacrifice, he hath not commanded them to Sacrifice afterward. Therefore it ought to remain certain, that in the firſt Age the Sacrifice of the Maſs as well as its Ceremonies were intirely unknown.

As to what appertains to other Sacraments, as is that of Marriage and Penance, he muſt have a mind blinded by prejudice beyond all imagination to believe they may be found in the Scripture. Marriage and Penance are indeed found there, but there is not one word which does eſtabliſh them as ſacred Ceremonies deſigned to ſeal the Covenant of Grace,

and to confer forgiveneſs of ſins. Confirmation is found there, *i. e.* the cuſtom of laying on of hands for the giving the Holy Spirit, and that of Anointing the Sick to recover them from Diſeaſes. Some of the Proſelytes of theſe Gentlemen make a great buſineſs of it, and have ſaid to us, as a great reproach, that we have taken away Confirmation and Extreme Unction. It is a great pity that minds which ſeem inlightned, ſhould ſtumble at trifles. And is it not clear, that this Impoſition of Hands, and Extreme Unction was deſigned for doing of Miracles, which are long ſince ceaſed? But they ſay that the following Ages did nevertheleſs practiſe it. That we ſhall ſee afterward.

The Invocation of the Holy Virgin and Saints, the Worſhip of Relicks, Adoring of Images, and the Service of Creatures in Popery, is an affair ſo conſiderable that it fills almoſt all. Nevertheleſs the Scripture of the New Teſtament ſays nothing of it. Nor is it poſſible, that Men well Educated can perſuade themſelves, that theſe are Apoſtolical Traditions, when we ſee not the leaſt footſteps of them in the Writings of the Apoſtles. It is a blindneſs which cannot be underſtood. As to matter of Fact we can have no diſpute with Papiſts concerning it. They muſt acknowledge that the Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts ſpeak not one word, either of the Invocation of Saints and Angels, nor of the Veneration of Relicks, nor of the Adoration of Images. As to matter of Right, if the Church has power to introduce theſe new Worſhips, let it be proved, and put paſt doubt and Controverſie: for I do affirm that he muſt be ſmitten with a ſpirit of blockiſhneſs, that maintains that we may Religiouſly invoke creatures without the Authority of God, and order of his Apoſtles. Plainly it will be ſaid, that the Apoſtles have appointed the Invocation of Saints; and that they themſelves

ſelves have practiſed it, but they have left nothing written concerning it. I do affirm, that he muſt have a Forehead made of Braſs who ſhall ſay ſuch a thing. And the new Converts, who can be perſuaded of it, make no uſe of their reaſon. It will never enter into the mind of a reaſonable Man, that the Apoſtles have appointed Invocation of Saints, and ſaid nothing of it in their Writings.

Purgatory, which they would have paſs for a little thing, is nevertheleſs a very great one. For Prayers for the dead, publick and private Maſſes, and almoſt all the *Roman* Worſhip is founded thereon. So that the Holy Spirit could not let it ſlip. If there be a Purgatory, it muſt be in the Scripture, or there is none. I take it for granted, and 'tis to ſcoff People, to go ſearch this pretended Fire, *in the priſon whence we muſt not go out till we have paid the utmoſt farthing, in the fire that ought to try all things at the end of the world, in the priſon where are the Spirits to which* Noah *preach'd.* If Heaven and Hell were no other ways revealed in the Scripture, the profane would have a fair opportunity to laugh at us.

The Authority of the Pope is the laſt of thoſe Articles of Popery that I have repreſented. 'Tis an Affair about which there can be no Controverſie, which has any foundation in the World. Ask your Converters where is the Pope in the Scriptures, they will quote to you the Words of Jeſus Chriſt to S. *Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.* Call a Turk, a Jew, or any other Man, that hath common ſenſe, and ask him, whether he ſees therein, that God hath eſtabliſhed a Man at *Rome* with full authority to guide the whole Church, to damn, to ſave, to judge of all Differences, to determine without Appeal, to excommunicate Kings, Princes and Sovereigns, he will believe you laugh him to ſcorn. The new Converts which ſee therein the Apoſtolick Chair

from S. *Peter* to *Innocent* the Eleventh, have very good Eyes.

I beſeech you, my Brethren, take your Converters a little to thoſe Texts of Scripture, where S. *Paul* enumerates the Officers of the Church. He has given ſome to be Paſtors, Teachers, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Biſhops, Deacons, Elders and Prophets; in thoſe places where he declares the Duties of thoſe who enjoy the Offices of the Church. Preſs them, ſay I, and demand of them, whether they dare ſay, that the Apoſtle hath omitted the firſt of all Offices, an Office alone in its kind infinitely ſuperior to all others. Ask them if they do believe in good earneſt, that S. *Paul* declared the Duties of Biſhops in general, and that he ſaid nothing for the Regulation of the Biſhop of Biſhops. I am perſuaded, if you preſs them earneſtly thereon, they will bluſh in your Faces.

Behold, I do maintain, that I have ſaid enough already for the Hiſtory of the firſt Age. The ſilence of the Scripture about all the Articles of Popery is an indiſputable proof, that then it was wholly unknown. But there is much more, you have an hundred poſitive Proofs, that then the Chriſtian Religion was wholly oppoſite to Popery. Againſt the Real Preſence you have all thoſe Paſſages where the Euchariſt is called Bread, and a Commemoration of the Death of our Lord; all thoſe where 'tis ſaid, our Lord is on high, and not here below. Againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs you have all the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. Againſt the Worſhip of Creatures you have the Decalogue, and a thouſand other Commandments which do appoint, that you adore and invoke God alone. Againſt the taking away the Cup, and the Adoration of the Euchariſt, you have the Hiſtory of its Inſtitution. Againſt Purgatory you have an hundred Texts which tell you, that after this life Believers go to Heaven. Againſt the Pope

you

you have all thoſe places, where our Lord, and the Apoſtles forbid the Domination of Church-Men, both over their Flocks, and one another. This is not a place to engage in a long Controverſie by the Scripture; we compoſe a Hiſtory, not a Diſputation. Know therefore hiſtorically, in the following Articles, what was the Primitive Chriſtianity. Behold what was the form of the Apoſtolick Church.

1. Chriſtians having as yet no Churches, aſſembled where they could for the Service of God; and it was almoſt always from Houſe to Houſe. This is apparent both in the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles of S. *Paul.*

2. In the Aſſemblies they preached, and declared the Word of God. This is alſo certain, and read in divers Texts in the Book of the Acts.

3. They brake Bread from Houſe to Houſe, the Sacred Scripture ſays ſo expreſly, that is to ſay, they had no Altars, Pattins, Communion-Cloaths, or holy Habits to remove from place to place. The Myſteries were celebrated in a perfect Simplicity.

4. Ordinarily the Sacrament was celebrated at ordinary and ſober Meals, where Chriſtians came by invitation. About the end of the Meal they brake Bread, preciſely with thoſe Ceremonies which S. *Paul* deſcribes in 1 *Cor.* 11.

5. The Sacrament of Baptiſm was alſo adminiſtred with the ſame ſimplicity, they contented themſelves with dipping perſons in Water, with the Invocation of the adorable Trinity. As is ſeen in all the Baptiſms ſpoken of in the Book of the *Acts.*

6. It had been an Abomination to have ſeen Images. And thoſe which have the confidence to ſhew at this day Images, as made by S. *Luke,* and from the time of the Apoſtles, are impudent beyond all imagination. Altho theſe Images ſhould be things indifferent in Religion, how is it that the Apoſtles ſhould ſcandalize

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the Jews, who had Images in that horror, that they broke in pieces the Enſigns of the *Roman* Emperors. How is it, that the Jews, which ſought pretences againſt S. *Paul* to deſtroy him, as an Apoſtate, and Violater of the Law, never objected to him, that he propoſed Images to be adored?

7. In the Holy Places there was no Altar, but to conſecrate, and communicate they ſerv'd themſelves of the firſt Table that came to hand, they ſprinkled no Holy Water on thoſe that entered their Churches, they made no Sign of the Croſs in the Celebration of the Myſteries.

8. They ſpake and Preached in a Language underſtood by all the world; they officiated in *Greek* throughout all *Greece*, in *Latin* at *Rome*, and in all the Weſt to every one according to their Language.

9. They gave the Communion to all under both kinds.

10. Celebration without Communicants was a thing altogether unknown; for the Euchariſt was called a Supper or common Meal. Now a Meal where one Man drinks and eats alone was never called a Supper, or common Repaſt.

11. The Paſtors were equal amongſt themſelves. Not to enter into the Controverſie about the Difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter, which is not at all neceſſary for you. It is certain, that all the Biſhops of different Churches were all equal among themſelves.

If we falſifie in any of theſe Articles, your Converters ſhall do well to ſhame us; but they will be obliged to do it by Holy Scripture. For they and you muſt remember, that we are upon the Hiſtory, and that we follow the Ages in their order; and ſo it's neceſſary, that in the firſt Age they ſhew us all by the Writers of that Age, which are the Apoſtles and their Diſciples.

Seeing

Seeing it is not at all in our Deſign to make a Treatiſe of Controverſie upon the firſt Age, no more than on thoſe that follow, this is ſufficient for its Hiſtory, and we muſt paſs to the ſecond. But foraſmuch as we cannot, at the preſent, go very far in the ſecond Age, we will delay the Hiſtory thereof to a following Letter, and we will finiſh this with ſome Letters of our Confeſſors, where you will ſee the Character of true Chriſtianity, and Martyrs; you have already ſeen one Letter of a famous Confeſſor, behold another of the ſame Author. You will underſtand the Lovelineſs of this ſecond Letter the better by reading that which was the occaſion thereof, which was an Anſwer to the firſt. And therefore you ſhall have them both here.

May 27, 1686.

To our Dear Brother Monſieur *de M*— Confeſſor, and Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, condemned to the Gallies at the *Tournelle*.

I *Have received your Letter, my dear Brother, dated from the* Tournelle. *It hath cauſed me more joy than if I had received one from the Pallace at* Verſailles, *or* Louvre, *written by the Hand of the greateſt King in the World. You do me much greater Honor than I do deſerve, to chuſe me to whom you may impart the glorious advantages that God beſtows upon you. Another, it may be, would anſwer by condoling, and complaining of the Evils that you ſuffer. But as for me, God forbid, that I ſhould look upon you as unhappy. Your ſtate is worthy of Envy, your Chains are heavy, and your Irons ſhameful, according to the opinion of the world; and if you bore them with any other Spirit than you do, I ſhould complain thereof.*

thereof. But with the Courage and Piety, which you ſeem to me to have, I do not believe, that there is a perſon in the world more happy, and more glorious. The Yoke of Chriſt is heavy to the Men of the World which are weak; but it is ſweet and eaſie to faithful Souls that bear it with patience. Your Sentiments and Diſpoſitions are Chriſtian, my dear Brother, and worthy of emulation, but beware of one thing, that is Pride. If you continue this glorious Work as you have begun it, your name will be put in the Catalogue of holy Martyrs, whoſe names yet live laden with Bleſſings. God will diſtinguiſh you in his Rewards, you ſhall be with Jeſus Chriſt amongſt the firſt raiſed from the dead, which ſhall judge others. But attribute the Courage that you have to the Grace of God, which works this great Work in you, ſo worthy of admiration. Alas, we have ſeen pillars broken by the wind of Temptation, Men fall unhappily, which we had called the Succeſſors of the Martyrs, but which have been found Succeſſors to Peter, *who through weakneſs denyed his Maſter. Who is it that hath ſuſtained you among ſo many Falls, but the Hand of the Almighty God, who ſupports whom he pleaſeth, and permits to fall whom he will by the unſearchableneſs of his Judgments? What an Honor is it, my dear Brother, to have been willing to chuſe you, and make you an example of that holy perſeverance which is ſo rare at this day. Be of good courage in the name of our great God, and moſt compaſſionate Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and remember, my dear Brother, that you ſuffer for him who ſuffered for you, and render to him that which you have received from him. Remember that the loving Saviour offers you a Crown at the end of your Race, and that he ſays to you, Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt be of good courage,* Fight the good fight, he which overcomes, I will cauſe to ſit down on my throne, as I alſo have overcome, and am ſet down with my father in his throne. *Remember, that the Angels, are at preſent, Spectators of your Combat, that they wait the iſſue, and*

that

that they prepare a place for your holy Soul in their holy Society. Either you will continue in theſe Torments, or you will ſurmount and eſcape them. If this laſt happens, as I very much hope, how glorious will you be among your Brethren! You will have right to ſay as S. Paul, Let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks, and ſcars of our Lord Jeſus. *We ſhall kiſs your wounds, and we ſhall behold you with envy and admiration. If you loſe your life in your ſlavery and pains, God will prepare for you in the Heavens a Glory diſtinct from others; for you muſt believe the Crown of Martyrs is more rich, and illuſtrious than that of ordinary Believers. Say then,* All things well conſidered, this light and tranſient Affliction is not worthy to be compared to the Glory which is to come, and which ſhall be revealed in me. *Would to God I could depaint before you the Glory of Heaven, the Joy of Souls which ſee God and poſſeſs him, the Satisfaction of the Bleſſed, which are plunged in an Ocean of Delights, the Tranſports of Saints, which embrace their Divine Saviour, which are in the glorious Society of the Patriarchs, which ſing the Praiſes of God with Angels, and are full of Joy, which exceeds all underſtanding! In the name of God, dear Brother, lift up your eyes that way, and let that grand object ſupport you.*

Take heed of the perilous Temptations, to which the World, and your own Heart may expoſe you. 1. *Your Heart may peradventure ſay, the Difference which is between the* Roman *Religion and mine is ſo little, that 'tis not worth the while to ſuffer Martyrdom for it. Say thereon,* Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me. Rome *is that ſpiritual* Babylon, *concerning which, God has ſaid,* Go out of her my people. *The Church of* Rome *is the* Court trod under foot by the Gentiles for the ſpace of twelve hundred and ſixty days. *The Papiſts are the Gentiles, which tread under foot the Church of God, and oppreſs it; their Images are the Idols of the*

ancient

ancient Pagans, and their Saints are in the place of the falſe Gods of Antiquity. The Sacrament which they appoint to be adored, is an Idol which cannot be adored, without ſtirring up the holy Jealouſie of the true Jeſus Chriſt. Remember, my dear Brother, that our Truths are not leſs important than they were an hundred and fifty years ago, when our Fathers went joyfully to death, in defence of them. They deſerved that they ſhould die for them then, they deſerve that we ſhould ſuffer for them at this day.

Take heed of another very grievous Temptation. Your Heart will ſay, What, muſt I condemn to Hell all thoſe perſons that have fallen through weakneſs, which go to Maſs by conſtraint? Without doubt God will ſhew them mercy, and ſave them. He will do the ſame by me, I will follow their example, I ſhall have the ſame lot with them. To that, remember the Precept of Jeſus Chriſt, Judge not that ye be not judged. *Leave the Brethren that are fallen to the Judgment of God. We do hope that God will ſhew them mercy, that is to ſay, that he will give them Repentance of their great fault; but in the name of God, be not tempted to imitate them. Is it not certain, that the ſtate in which they are, is at leaſt doubtful? And is not yours certain? Will it not be then a madneſs to quit a ſtate, and way which certainly leads you to the greateſt Glory of Paradiſe, to put your ſelf in a way which may lead you to ruine and damnation; this is the beſt that you can think of it. Moreover, my dear Brother, you ought to remember, that where much hath been given, much will be required, the Favours which God hath beſtowed upon you hitherto are ſo great, that you can never make ſufficient acknowledgments for them. He hath given you a courage and reſolution that hath few Examples. Oh! how precious is the Talent that you have received? But alſo how faulty will your lazineſs be if you go dig and hide it? When a perſon falls at the beginning of his Race, it will be ſaid he was not fit for ſo long a Courſe, and*

Men will excuſe him. But if he run vigorouſly within two ſteps of the end, and having his hand already upon the Crown, lets it go, and loſes it, all Men will blame him, and treat him as wretched, and ſloathful. Run you therefore the race that is ſet before you with patience, and perſeverance, ſeeing you are encompaſſed with ſo great a Cloud of Witneſſes. *Look to that Cloud of holy Martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt, which have gone before you, which have been Burnt, Tortured, torn with Pincers, ſometimes whole years together, which have ſeen their Bowels fall out in the Fire before they gave up the Ghoſt. The Chain which you wear about your neck is fifty pounds, but it is more ſupportable than flames of Fire. Say therefore,* We have not yet reſiſted unto blood fighting againſt ſin. *How glorious is the Chain that you bear about your neck! It is more precious than if it were of Gold and Diamonds. Being coloured with your ſweat, and ſometimes with your blood, it may one day prove, (if it pleaſes God) the moſt precious of your moveables, and you will ſay, behold there the Carcanet, and Collar that my Divine Spouſe hath given me. Behold the Nuptial Jewel wherewith he hath honoured me. He hath done me the honor to make me conformable to him in his Sufferings, that I may be conformable to him in his Glory.*

In the name of God, my dear Brother, do not ſuffer your ſelf to be ſoftned by the memory of your Wife and Children. God who is rich in Mercy, the Father of the Fatherleſs, and Husband of the Widow, will take care of her and them, and not leave them without all Conſolation. He that loves Father or Mother, Wife or Children, more than me, is not worthy of me. We ought not to love any thing but God, and for the love of God, this good God will be to us in the ſtead of all things, and will comfort us effectually. The moment of time in which you leave the Priſon, to go to the Galleys, to which you are deſigned, will be a terrible moment to you; but in the

name

name of God fortifie your ſelf againſt the horrors of it, and ſay, I follow Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, he went forth of the Judgment-Hall bearing his Croſs, and I go out of my Priſon bearing my Chains. I ſhall arrive at my Calvary, but I ſhall alſo arrive at the Mount of Olives, at the Mountain of Peace, and at laſt I ſhall aſcend up into Heaven to my God, and dear Redeemer. In your Journey you will bear your Chain by the Roads, but it will ſparkle with glory, and whereas the ſhame and infamy wherewithal Galley-Slaves are laden, is uſually the heavieſt part of their burthen, on the contrary you will be laden with glory, and your Enemies themſelves will admire you. I praiſe God for the moderation with which you ſpeak of your Perſecutors, therein I obſerve a proof that you are a true Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt. Continue to bleſs, and pray to God for them. When Men ſuffer for an ill Cauſe, it is always with impatience, and fury againſt thoſe that are the cauſe thereof. But the true Religion inſpires this ſpirit of ſweetneſs and kindneſs. So that without going further than your own Heart, you may there find evidences of the truth of the Religion that you defend. Call to mind our glorious Anceſtors, and their Sufferings, and ſay, they were not Fools, and deſperate perſons, when they ſufiered for the ſame Truths that I defend. On the contrary, they were full of Piety, good Underſtanding, and Zeal. I will therefore imitate them, and not be troubled at the Judgment that the Men of the World ſhall make concerning it. Endeavour to get a Bible, or a New Teſtament, it matters not what Tranſlation it be, it will be always ſufficient for your Conſolation. If this Letter come to your hands, inform me, if poſſible, where your dear Wife is, to the end that I may comfort her. She is a good Woman, and I have always eſteemed and loved her, and I hope God will have pity on her. Farewel my dear Brother. Mademoiſelle de P—— your Siſter, is well. I communicated to her your Letter for her Conſolation. Do not fear leſt we ſhould forget you in our

Prayers.

Prayers. Do not forget us in yours. Pray to God to preſerve this ſmall Country, in which there are ſo many of his Children. Your Prayers proceeding out of Irons will be more effectual than ours. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus be with you. Amen.

From the *Tournelle, July* 2. 1687.

I Have received that which you did me the honor to write, it hath been a great Conſolation to me, and I did not expect leſs from ſo faithful a ſervant of God as you are. It hath not only edified and confirmed me, but it may produce the ſame effect upon ſome few others to whom we have thought fit to communicate it. I have not the ſatisfaction to read it, as often as I have deſired, and do yet deſire. I have not read it but in ſecret, becauſe of the difficulty of getting any thing from abroad without the knowledge of our Guards. I return you thanks for the care you have had of repreſenting ſo much to the life, what I ought to fear, and hope, in the condition and ſtate wherein I am. I had already formed to my ſelf Ideas ſufficiently clear of thoſe things, and thanks be to God, your good advice hath impreſſed them more ſtrongly upon my Heart, ſo that I have reaſon to hope, that with help from on high, God will finiſh that good Work that he hath begun in me, and that my Sufferings ſhall end in his Glory, my own Salvation, and the Edification of my Brethren. When I make reflection upon the merciful conduct of God towards me, I am raviſhed in admiration thereof, and cannot find words ſufficient to teſtifie my ſenſe of them, and my acknowledgment for them. There are few Prayers that I make which are not accompanyed with tears of joy, when I make mention of them. As ſoon as our Churches were ſhut up in the Province where I lived, and that pretious liberty loſt, which now we

breath after, God put it into my Heart to go and ſearch it at Lixim, *where yet they did enjoy it, and a few days after we were deprived of it there, as well as elſewhere; without ſtaggering I put my ſelf to find it among Strangers, forſaking with courage and joy, all the accommodations of Life which we enjoyed in* France. *In theſe Travels, and in the different Priſons, and Dungeons, through which the providence of God led me, I have been preſerved from violent temptations, which have made almoſt all our Brethren fall, and which would not have failed to have born me down with the firſt. For the impriſonments that I have ſuffered this day ſeven months compleat, are a ſmall matter in compariſon of thoſe terrible tryals, and nevertheleſs I have not been without giving ſome marks of my weakneſs. The tears of a Wife, and Family which are dear to me, and which could not ſhake me at* Strasburgh, *joyned to thoſe of two Brother-in-Laws, which came to ſee me at* Chalons, *prevailed with me to accept certain propoſitions, which were made to me by two perſons the moſt conſiderable of that Province; but a few days after God having ſhewed me my fault, and preſented me an occaſion to repair it, I embraced it with Zeal, Joy, and Tears, and the Father of Mercies, that knows how to bring light out of darkneſs, made uſe of my infirmities to give me that vigor and firmneſs that I have had ever ſince. This gives me ground to hope that he will continue this favour to me to the end, and that he will always proportion his Gifts and Graces to the tryals whereunto he ſhall pleaſe to expoſe me; for that which was done not being executed, other offers were afterwards made unto me, which touched me leſs than the former, and I rejected them without any deliberation; wherewithal they were ſo provoked, that on the morrow I was put in the Dungeon. Thirteen days before my Condemnation, being in the Priſon at* Paris, *one of my friends, Tutor to the Children of the King, and Madam* de Morteſpan, *with his Majeſties leave came to ſee me; he propoſed to me, that I ſhould go eight or ten months to*

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the Biſhop de Meaux *to be inſtructed (ſo they ſpeak here.) I ſoon returned him thanks, and aſſured him, that time was not capable of changing my Illuminations and Perſuaſions, and that I did believe, that Monſieur* de Meaux *would give me no more ſatisfaction than other Eccleſiaſticks that I had ſeen. It is about eight days ſince that M.* Morel le Riche Partiſan *ſent me word, that he would take me out of my Chains on the morrow, if I would take time, and that undetermined, faithfully to imploy for my Inſtruction, and did aſſure me, that the promiſe that ſhould be made me ſhould be faithfully obſerved. 'Twas* Le —— *which ſpake to me in his Name. I prayed him to go quickly and tell M.* Morel, *that I was ſenſibly affected with the kindneſs that he teſtified towards me, and that I made him all the acknowledgments imaginable, and gave him my humble thanks; but I was reſolved to expiate my fault, by ſuffering the penalties to which I was condemned. I give you this particular account of things M. that you may know the Diſpoſition of my Soul. The manner after which I ſuffer, and the bright ſide on which God cauſes me to behold all my Evils, perſuade me, that he will do me the favour to be faithful to him even to the death. I do not fix my conſideration on the eſtate, in which I am, which is much more uneaſie to all thoſe that ſee it, than to my ſelf. I carry it only to thoſe Recompences that God has promiſed to thoſe that fear his Name. I am certain that the light Afflictions wherewithal he is pleaſed to viſit me, will produce in me, according to his promiſes, a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory. I comfort my ſelf on this, that the Sufferings of the preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory that ſhall be revealed in us.*

I aſſure my ſelf of what S. James *ſays,* Bleſſed is he that endureth temptation when he is tryed, for he ſhall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promiſed to thoſe that love him. *I rejoyce in this, that our Saviour declares them happy that ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake. M. I make all my Glory and all my happineſs to*

conſiſt in this, that my Saviour has not thought me unworthy to ſuffer ſhame for his Name. I ſupport my ſelf on the Rock of Ages, I put my whole truſt in him, I expect no ſuccour or aſſiſtance but from him alone. Upon a Foundation ſo ſolid, I promiſe my ſelf that nothing ſhall be able to ſhake me, at preſent he makes me feel the effects of a ſingular goodneſs, in the midſt of wicked Paſſengers, which it pleaſes him that I ſuffer, he makes me to taſt the ſweetneſs of true and ſolid good, he fills my ſoul with that joy unſpeakable and glorious, which ſurpaſſes all underſtanding, he fills me with that hope by which he hath ſuſtained all the happy Confeſſors of his Truth, and by which I hope he will ſuſtain me, as well as they. My principal ſtudy is to diſingage my ſelf from Earth, to conceive a diſguſt for the World, and an ardent deſire for Heaven. This, Monſieur, is my ordinary imployment, as far as the infamous place where I am impriſoned will permit it. I call it infamous, becauſe one never hears an honeſt word there, all rings and ſounds again with filthineſs and execrable Blaſphemies. There is ſuch a noiſe for the moſt part night and day, that I have ſcarcely found heretofore one happy moment to lift up my Heart to God. I have been ſo oppreſſed with ſleep that I have oftentimes fell und. it before I finiſhed my Prayers, when I awake at three or four in the morning, I indeavour to ſleep no more, to the end that whilſt we are a little at roſt, I may with ſome attention perform my Devotions to God. I have had more liberty for ten or twelve days, for when the weather is fair they let the Priſoners go forth, and keep them in a Court all the day, unleſs it be ſix which they keep incloſed. I imploy one part of this time in Reading, Meditation, and Prayer, and I take the liberty to ſing ſome Pſalms, as I have done in all the places of my Captivity, and no body hath complained thereof. Behold in two words an abridgment of our miſery. We lie three and fifty of us in a place which is not above five fathom in length, and one and a half in breadth. There lies on my right ſide a Countryman ſick,

with

with his Head at my feet, and his Feet at my Head, and ſo it is with others. There is not it may be one among us, which do not envy the condition of many Dogs and Horſes. This makes us all wiſh that the Priſoners may ſoon depart, but that is a ſecret that muſt not be told us; but as far as we can judge, they will depart the next week. There were 95 of us yeſterday condemned, but there dyed two on that day, and one on this, and we have yet 15 or 16 ſick, and there be few eſcape. I have had five fits of a Tertian Ague, but God bethanked I am very well recovered, and prepared to take my Journey to Marſeilles. *We ſhall take in* Burgundy *ſome of our Brethren, which are in Priſon for the ſame reaſon with my ſelf, who am the firſt that have had the honor to be Condemned by the Parliament of* Paris. *There remains no more, Monſieur, but that I intreat you to continue to me the aſſiſtance of your Holy Prayers. I deſire the ſame favour of Mademoiſelle your Wife, whom (with your leave) I do here aſſure of my reſpect. Obtain for me, if you pleaſe, the ſame advantage from thoſe* Frenchmen *of your acquaintance, which God doth admit to your Holy Aſſemblies. Monſieur* M—— *arrived yeſterday, but I have not yet had the honor to ſee him. Not having the liberty to write to my Siſter, nor my Nephew her Son, I muſt be content here to give them my Salutations. I do not write this, but in great uncertainty whether it can go hence. If your great imployment will permit you to give ſome Conſolation to my Wife and Children, as you have made me hope, and ſhe expects with a great deal of joy, I intreat you do it. You may well imagin that our ſeparation will be a thing terrible to us all, and above all to her. Before I received your Letter, I did nor forget in my Prayers thoſe things which you recommended to me. I pray God encompaſs you about with his protection, and preſerve you many years to labour profitably in his Vineyard.*

November 1. 1686.

The SIXTH PASTORAL LETTER. WHAT WAS The Form of Chriſtianity in the ſecond Age.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

WHereas many things worthy of your Curioſity, and proper to nouriſh your Piety, have been communicated to us by many of our Brethren, we have been tempted (for a few months) to communicate them to you at this time. But in concluſion we have choſen to ſatisfie the impatience of thoſe, which are willing to ſee what we have to teach them, concerning the Chriſtianity of the ſecond Age. We remit therefore to the following Letters, that which we do not do in this, and we do promiſe thoſe that have ſent us any Memorials touching our Martyrs and Confeſſors, to enter them afterward in this Work, according as we ſhall find place and occaſion therein.

The ſecond Age of the Church.

WE muſt conſider, firſt of all, the manner wherein they did Celebrate the Sacraments, and thereby we ſhall learn what Opinion they had of them.

They were Celebrated as yet with great Simplicity in the ſecond Age. Behold that which *Juſtin* Martyr ſays, concerning the manner of Adminiſtring Baptiſm. *We will here Expound after what manner we Dedicate our ſelves to Jeſus Chriſt, fearing leſt if we paſs over any thing concerning it, we ſhould be ſuſpected of malignity and diſſimulation. All thoſe therefore, which are perſuaded of the truth of our Doctrine, and promiſe to live according to our Rules and Laws, are commanded to Pray, to Faſt, and beg the forgiveneſs of their ſins, and we Pray and Faſt with them. After that we lead them to a place where there is Water, and we Regenerate them after the ſame manner which we our ſelves were Regenerated: for we Waſh, or Baptiſe them in the Name of the Author of all things, of the Lord God, and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and of the Holy Spirit.* Hitherunto we ſee nothing changed from the Apoſtolick Form. There is neither ſign of the Croſs, nor Exorciſm, nor Salt, nor Spittle, nor nothing of that, which is at this day practiſed in Baptiſm.

Behold after what manner the Myſtery of the Euchariſt was Celebrated in the ſame Age, according to the Teſtimony of the ſame Author, and in the ſame place. *After,* ſays he, *we have Baptiſed after the ſame manner, him that doth believe, we conduct him to the place where are thoſe Believers that are called Brethren, which are aſſembled on purpoſe to Pray earneſtly to God, both for themſelves, and for him that hath been illuminated or Baptiſed, and for all others in all places, to the end that we may be worthy to be found Diſciples to the*

Truth, and Obſervers of thoſe things that are commanded, and to converſe in all good Works, for the obtaining of eternal Salvation. When Prayers are ended, we mutually Salute each other by a Kiſs. After that they preſent to him of the Brethren which doth preſide, Bread, and a Cup of Wine mingled with Water: he takes it, and pronounces over it praiſes to the Father of all things, in the Name of the Son, and by the Holy Spirit. Afterwards he inlarges much in Praiſes, for that it hath pleaſed him to give us theſe things. And when he hath finiſhed his Prayers, and Praiſes, the people that are preſent, concur by their acclamations, ſaying Amen. *Now* Amen *in the* Hebrew *Language ſignifies ſo be it. When the Preſident hath finiſhed his Praiſes, and Thankſgivings, and the people have ſaid* Amen, *thoſe which amongſt our ſelves we call Deacons, diſtribute to every one, that are preſent, of this Bread that hath been bleſt, and of this Wine and Water, and they carry thereof to the abſent. And this Aliment is called among us the Euchariſt. It is not permitted to any one to eat thereof, unleſs he receive our Doctrine as true, and hath been partaker in the waſhing of Regeneration for the remiſſion of ſins, and lives according to the appointment, and Laws of Chriſt Jeſus. To conclude, we do not receive this Bread as common Bread, nor this Drink as common Drink. But as by the word of God Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour was made Fleſh, and took Fleſh and Blood for our Salvation: So we have been taught that this Aliment upon which have been pronounced Praiſes and Thankſgivings, are the Fleſh and Blood of that Jeſus that was made Fleſh.* Behold what was the Worſhip of the Ancients, and the Ceremonies with which they Celebrated their Myſteries. 1. They cauſed him that was to be Baptiſed to confeſs and own the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, and his Doctrine. 2. They obliged him to Faſt and Pray, and they Faſted and Prayed with him. 3. After that they carried him into a place in which there was Water appointed for Baptiſm.

tiſm. 4. The place was ſeparate, becauſe then Baptiſm was performed by immerſion, and that they might not expoſe the Nakedneſs of Men and Women to the view of other Believers. 5. He that was Baptiſed, was plunged in the Water, and they pronounced over him the Invocation of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, *i.e.* they Baptiſed him in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. 6. Afterwards they brought him back to the full Aſſembly, and there he was gathered, and received into the number of the Faithful. 7. All the Aſſembly continued their Prayers, in which they Prayed for the Church, for the perſon Baptiſed, for the Powers in general, and in particular. 8. When Prayers were ended, they prepared themſelves for the Communion by a Kiſs of Charity, which they mutually gave each other. 9. They preſented to the Preſident, and to him that had Prayed, common Bread, made after the ordinary manner, and a Cup in which there was Wine mingled with Water. 10. The Preſident uttered, or pronounced ſome Prayers to the Glory of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. 11. He adds ſome Prayers, and Thankſgivings to God, that he hath been pleaſed to give to us the pretious Gift of the Fleſh, and Blood, of his Son at the Holy Table. 12. When he finiſhed his Prayers, all the people ſaid *Amen.* 13. In conſequence whereunto the Deacons diſtributed to the People the Bread and Wine that had been Conſecrated by Prayer. 14. They carried it to the abſent, they Collected the Alms of the People, they diſmiſſed the Aſſembly; and finiſhed the buſineſs and exerciſe.

Obſerve firſt that which ſeems added to the Practice of the Apoſtles. 1. They mingled Water with their Wine. We do not obſerve, that it was either Practiſed by the Apoſtolick Church, or that any ſuch thing was appointed by them. 2. They carried

ried the Conſecrated Bread to the abſent. It doth not appear that this was Practiſed in the firſt Age. Theſe are indeed ſmall changes, but nevertheleſs they ought to be obſerved, for the better knowledge of thoſe that followed. But on the other ſide obſerve that we ſee not here, 1. Either Oblation or Sacrifice. 2. He ſpeaks nothing of any Altar. 3. That there was no Elevation made. 4. That no ſigns of the Croſs were ſeen there. 5. That no Prayers were made but to God, and no Interceſſions made uſe of but thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Holy Spirit. 6. That he ſpeaks nothing of Adoration. 7. That it doth not appear that they Communicated upon their Knees. 8. That they gave to the People the Communion under both Kinds. 9. That the Service was performed in a Language underſtood by the People, for they anſwered *Amen* to the Thankſgivings. 10. That all that were preſent did partake in the Myſteries, and not the Prieſt only.

We Conjure you, my Brethren, to give attention to all this, and ſo if there be any thing therein that hath the leaſt taſt, or ſavour of Sacrifice. What a prodigious change muſt have happened ſince that time, to compoſe and frame ſuch a Worſhip as they call the Maſs, where a Prieſt covered with extravagant Garments, (which they ſay are Myſterious) heaps one upon another, in a Language that the People do not underſtand, a multitude of Prayers, ſome good, and ſome bad, all without order, and without reaſon, make Oblations, ſigns of the Croſs, Elevations, where the people Adore, and Proſtrate themſelves before the Sacrament when it is lifted up, where the Prieſt eats alone, after he hath made a hundred Ceremonies on the Bread and Wine, Ceremonies that ſignifie nothing, but render the Celebration of the Myſtery ridiculous. Do not inſiſt pertinaciouſly on what remains, (*viz.*) That *Juſtin* Martyr calls the

the Bread and Wine of the Sacrament, the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt Jeſus. So we call them our ſelves, and ſo have the Writers of all Ages called them. So our Lord Jeſus, and S. *Paul* calls them. And it ſignifies no more in *Juſtin Martyr*, than thoſe words of our Saviour, *This bread is my body, this cup is my blood.* *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, who lived in the ſame Age with *Juſtin Martyr*, acknowledges, that 'tis a Denomination, not a Tranſmutation. *When Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaith he, *ſaid, This is my body, he called his Body Bread, which is made of many Grains. 'Tis not common Bread*, ſaith *Juſtin Martyr*, *'tis the Fleſh and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.* But 'tis ſuch Fleſh and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, as nouriſheth our Fleſh and Blood, according to him. That is to ſay, which is changed into our bodily Nouriſhment, and paſſes through our Veins. Now no Man ever believed, or can believe, that the true Fleſh of Chriſt paſſes into the Nouriſhment of our Members. The ſame *Juſtin* which calls the Euchariſt *Fleſh* and *Blood*, calls it *Bread* and *Wine* after the Conſecration, and at the time of the Diſtribution. *They give*, ſays he, *to all thoſe that are preſent, Bread and Wine*, over which Praiſes and Thankſgivings have been made. Becauſe he hath ſaid, that *'tis not common Bread*, we muſt not conclude, that 'tis not Bread at all, if it be not thought fit, that we ſay a great Man is no Man, becauſe it hath been ſaid, that he is no ordinary or common Man.

I muſt alſo give you notice in this place, my Brethren, that you beware of a ſnare, that they compoſe or make of ſeveral Paſſages of the Fathers of this Age, where they make you read the words *Altar*, *Oblation*, and *Sacrifice* on the Subject of the Euchariſt, and by theſe Words and Terms, they endeavour to perſwade you, that the Sacrifice of the Maſs was then known. The word Altar is not found in the Authors of the ſecond Age, whoſe Writings are indiſputable.

table. 'Tis found in the Canons attributed to the Apoſtles, and in the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*. But 'tis known, that their Writings are not owned by all the World. Nevertheleſs I am inclined to believe, that from that time they called the Table of the Euchariſt Altar. For why ſhould they make any ſcruple of uſing the word Altar, ſeeing they made uſe of the words Oblation, and Sacrifice when they ſpake of this Sacrament?

But you muſt know, 1. That 'twas an Innovation in the Terms, and that in the Writings of the Apoſtles, you never find the words Altar, Oblation or Sacrifice on that Subject. Read the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt, the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, where the *breaking of bread* is often ſpoken of, that is, the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Supper. Read the tenth and eleventh Chapters of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, where much is ſaid of this Sacrament; you do not ſee theſe Terms there. 2. You muſt know, that theſe terms Altar, Oblation and Sacrifice took their originals from the cuſtom that Chriſtians had in thoſe times of bringing their Offerings of Bread and Wine, and other things neceſſary for the Service of the Church, and the maintenance of its Paſtors, and ſetting them as an Offering to God on the Communion Table. Yea, they offered them to God by certain Prayers, the Forms whereof are ſtill found in the ancient Liturgies. 3. To conclude, you ought to hold for certain, that theſe Oblations, theſe Sacrifices, *&c.* of the ſecond Age, had no relation to the conſecrated Signs or Elements. For no Oblation was made to God of the Signs or Elements of Bread, or Wine after their Conſecration. Obſerve that in the paſſage of *Juſtin Martyr*, immediately after the Conſecration of Bread and Wine, the diſtribution was made, and no Oblation between them. And for an undoubted proof thereof, obſerve, that they

they are the Believers that make theſe Oblations, and not the Prieſts alone. Hear S. *Clement Romanus*, the Diſciple and Companion of S. *Paul*: *Thoſe*, ſays he, *who make their Oblations at appointed times are acceptable, and happy; for in following the Commandments of God they commit no ſin.* By this we do not intend to affirm, that afterwards the Prieſt don't bleſs theſe Oblations, and preſent them to God. But learn from S. *Ireneus* what's underſtood by theſe Oblations, and what they were: *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſays he, *hath given advice to his Diſciples to offer to God the firſt Fruits of his Creatures, not that he hath any need of them, with reſpect to himſelf, but to the end they might not appear with reſpect to themſelves, ungrateful and unfruitful, he took Bread, which is a Creature, and gave thanks thereon, ſaying*, This is my body, *&c. And he hath taught us a new Oblation of the New Teſtament, which the Church receiving from the Apoſtles, offer, as the firſt Fruits of his Gifts to God, which gives us food and nouriſhment.* You very well ſee, that the Church offers not Jeſus Chriſt the Creator to God, but Bread which is the firſt Fruits of his Creation. You ſee well that this Oblation is preſented to God as a Thankſgiving, becauſe he has given us the Nouriſhments of Bread and Wine, and not tranſubſtantiated Bread, for a propitiatory Sacrifice. Hear how he ſpeaks yet of theſe Oblations: *They are not Sacrifices, that ſanctifie the Man, but it is the Conſcience of him that offers, ſanctifies the Sacrifice*, &c. *ſeeing then that the Church offers with ſimplicity, 'tis but Juſtice that its Oblation paſs for a pure Sacrifice before God.* Behold an undoubted Blaſphemy, according to the Principles of Popery. The Euchariſt is a Sacrifice, but the Sacrifice of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt doth not ſanctifie the Man: on the contrary, 'tis the Conſcience of him that offers, who ſanctifies the Sacrifice of the Body of our Lord in the Maſs. There is, ſay I, a Blaſphemy in all ſhapes and forms. Acknowledge therefore, that nothing is

debated

debated there, but the Offerings that Believers ſet upon the holy Table. And that ye may have a perfect knowledge of what was then done in the Celebration of the holy Supper, add from S. *Clement* and S. *Ireneus*, that which was wanting in S. *Juſtin:* 1. 'Tis the Believers brought Bread, Wine, Wax, Oil and other things neceſſary in the Church. And as for Fruits and Animals, Apples and Pulſe neceſſary for the maintenance of life, they carried them to the Biſhops Houſe. 2. Theſe things ſet upon the Table were conſecrated to God by Prayer. 3. Of the Bread and Wine which had been thus offered, they took one part for the Celebration of the Euchariſt, and the reſt was ſpent by the Miniſters of the Church, and divided among them for their ſupport and maintenance. Behold the only Oblation that was then made, and 'tis nothing: nevertheleſs from thence is come an Innovation in the Terms, and from thence inſenſibly is come the Sacrifice of the Maſs. Behold the meaning of the third, the fourth and the fifth Canons attributed to the Apoſtles. The third forbids, that they preſent upon the Altar Hony, Milk, Birds, Beaſts and Pulſe. The ſecond permits to offer Ears of Corn, Raiſins, Oil for the Lights, and Incenſe. And the fifth ordains, that they carry their Fruits to the Biſhops, and Presbyters, to be diſtributed among them, and their Deacons. In the Margin of theſe Canons the *Roman* Doctors ſet theſe Words, *The Sacrifice of the Maſs appointed by our Lord.* What ſhameleſs Foreheads have they? Do Men ſacrifice Oil, and Incenſe in the Sacrifice of the Maſs?

In the ſecond Age, where we now are, nothing is found of that which is called Confirmation, which is one of the Popiſh Sacraments. But it doth not appear, that the Primitive Chriſtians, even to the end of the ſecond Age, did employ any Unction for the giving the Holy Spirit, and for the Confirmation

of

of thoſe that had been baptiſed. 'Tis true, they impoſed Hands on thoſe that were baptiſed, both before their Baptiſm, and it may be after. But it is ridiculous to make a Sacrament of this Impoſition of Hands. Concerning which, my Brethren, you ought to know, 1. That Impoſition of Hands is a Ceremony deſcended from the Jews; our Lord approved and practiſed it; for which reaſon he laid hands on all the Children they brought to him, when he bleſſed them. 2. You ought to be advertiſed, that Impoſition of Hands was an Appendage of Prayer, and that they ſerved themſelves of that Ceremony, as often as they would implore the extraordinary aſſiſtance of God upon any one. When any one was ſick, they prayed and laid their hands on them. When any one was reconciled to the Church, they begged of God pardon of ſins for him, laying their hands on him. When any one was admitted to a publick Office, they prayed to obtain that aſſiſtance that was neceſſary for him, and laid on him their hands. When they ſent any one upon a difficult Commiſſion, they laid hands on him, and prayed, as may be ſeen in *Acts* 13. *The fathers after they had faſted and prayed, laid hands on Paul and Barnabas*; to the end they might go preach the Goſpel amongſt the Gentiles. They were already Presbyters, and had received Miſſion from God and the Church. When they married, they received alſo Prayer, and the Benediction of the Church with Impoſition of Hands annex'd unto it. 'Tis a prodigious Blindneſs, to make of theſe differing Impoſitions of Hands, ſo many Sacraments. I ſhould as ſoon chuſe, or rather ſooner chuſe, to make of theſe differing Prayers, which were made on ſundry occaſions, ſo many Sacraments. For 'tis certain, that Prayer over the baptiſed, the penitent, the ſick, thoſe that took Office, thoſe that were ſent on Commiſſion, thoſe that were married, was the chief of the Action, and Impoſition

ſition of Hands was but a decent Geſture and a Rite; which ſignified, that they deſired the Grace of God and his aſſiſtance on the perſon that was concerned therein. 'Tis a pityful thing, that Men lay hold alway on the Skin, and meddle not with the Marrow, and if the principal Action be accompanied with ſome little Ceremony, which is but acceſſory, the love of that which is external, and eaſie to practiſe, preſently changes the principal into acceſſory, and the acceſſory into principal. Bowing the Knee and Impoſition of Hands are two Rites of the ſame kind, and of the ſame neceſſity. To bend the Knee, and lift up the Hands, have been two ſigns, which almoſt always accompanied Prayer, the firſt ſignifies the Humiliation of the Spirit; the ſecond the Elevation of the Heart; and when this Elevation of the Hands is made on the Head of any one, 'tis to ſignifie, that the Heart lifts up it ſelf according to the deſire, and intention of him, over whom they lift up their hands. Behold the whole Myſtery of this Ceremony, whereof they have made four or five Sacraments. And 'tis the firſt original of the Sacrament of Confirmation, of Penance, of Marriage, of Orders, and of Extreme Unction. If the Humor of Popery and Superſtition had turn'd on the other hand, we had had, it may be, fourteen Sacraments inſtead of ſeven. For of the Genuflection, which is made in praying for the whole and ſound, of that which is made in praying for the ſick, for hardened Sinners, and for thoſe that are penitent, *&c.* Of theſe Genuflections, ſay I, they might have made as many Sacraments with as much reaſon as they have made five Sacraments of the five Orders of Prayers, to which Impoſition of Hands has been annexed. Let this ſerve, my Brethren, to make you underſtand, that nothing is more abſurd, than to make a Sacrament of Confirmation, becauſe in the firſt and ſecond Age they laid hands on thoſe which had been baptiſed.

baptiſed. The Apoſtles practiſed it alſo becauſe they had power to obtain the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt for thoſe which had received Baptiſm. The Biſhops affirming themſelves Succeſſion of the Apoſtles, appropriated to themſelves afterward a Ceremony which became vain and empty, becauſe they had not the power to cauſe the Holy Ghoſt to deſcend upon thoſe on whom they laid hands. Jeſus Chriſt laid hands not only on Children brought to him, but alſo on the ſick, as it appears in the Goſpel of S. *Mark* *, and that of S. *Luke* †. When he healed the Woman that had been bowed together during the ſpace of eighteen years, he alſo ‖ laid his Hands upon her. When * *Ananias* would give ſight to *Saul*, he laid his hands on him. When S. *Paul* would heal the Father of *Publius*, Prince of *Malta*, of his Fever and Bloody Flux, he laid his hands on him. To conclude, a Man muſt have a Spirit prejudiced beyond all that can be imagined, not to ſee, that Impoſition of Hands is a ſimple Ceremony annexed to Prayer.

* *Mark* 6. 5. 8. 13.
† *Luke* 4. 40.
‖ *Luke* 13. 13.
* *Act.* 9. 17.

Concerning Extreme Unction, *i. e.* the Ceremony of anointing the dying to obtain for them Vigor and Strength, neceſſary to overcome death; 'tis that whereof there is not found the leaſt footſtep in all the Authors of this ſecond Age. We do not doubt at all, but that they did ſerve themſelves of that Unction of which the Evangeliſt and Apoſtle ſpeak, an Unction wherewith they ſerved themſelves for the miraculous Cure of Diſeaſes. As in the ſecond and third Ages there continued in the Church ſome Remainders of the Gift of Healing, they might alſo ſerve themſelves with the Ceremony of Unction. But boldly defie your Converters to ſhew you, any Example of a Man dying, that was anointed with Oil in the ſecond Age, with this intent to make the paſſage of death more eaſie to him.

Preſs them with the ſame confidence about their other falſe Sacraments, Orders, Penance, and Marriage, and oblige them to ſhew you by antiquity in the ſecond Age, that the Doctors of the Church did regard them, as Sacraments.

Purgatory in Popery is a Foundation upon which they build an infinite number of idolatrous and ſuperſtitious Worſhips; for which reaſon 'tis of importance to ſee what Men believed of it in the ſecond Age of the Church. The State of Souls after death hath always been an Abyſs, in which Men have ſeen nothing without Revelation.. And for that reaſon the Pagans fell in this regard into prodigious Errors; and the Jews, before our Saviour, floated about in great Uncertainties. The Primitive Chriſtians fell cloſe to that which our Lord ſaid to the good Thief: *This day ſhalt thou be with me in paradiſe.* To that which S. *Paul* had taught, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Phil.* 1. *That if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle*, &c. And that *when we depart from hence we ſhall be with Chriſt Jeſus.* To that which the Holy Spirit hath ſaid in the *Revelations*, that *thoſe which die in the Lord are happy, and their works follow them.* About the middle of the ſecond Age, a Chriſtian apparently come over from Judaiſm, but bred up in the Schools of the *Greeks*, having ſuck'd the Spirit of Fables and Lies (wherewith thoſe two Nations are juſtly reproached) forged the Oracles, which he attributes to the *Sybils*, he cauſed to enter there as Oracles of thoſe ancient Propheteſſes, all that which he believed proper to ſupport the Chriſtian Religion, and render it plauſible to the Pagans. The better to perſuade the *Greeks*, he there mingled their Fables; and to pleaſe the Philoſophers, he entered their Dreams there, making himſelf all things to all Men, that he might gain ſome. Among other Philoſophick Dreams he inſerts two in his Work: The firſt was drawn from the *Platonick* Philoſophy: 'Twas that there was a certain ſepa-

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rate place, into which he pretended the Souls of the Faithful were carried after death, and where they were lodged till the Day of Judgment, without enjoying the happy viſion of God. The other was this, that at the end of the World, there would be a great Fire, through which all Men muſt paſs that ſhould be ſaved. An imagination which ſeems to have ſome likeneſs to the *Stoick* Philoſophy, which teaches, that the World would be burnt, after which it would return into the State wherein it was at the beginning, and in a continual viciſſitude paſs through the ſame Revolutions and Changes. Or rather, 'tis taken from what the Holy Scripture ſays, that the World at laſt muſt be burnt by Fire.

We are not able to ſay how theſe two Opinions, the one concerning the ſeparate ſtate of Souls, and the other concerning the Torrent of Fire, through which they ought to paſs, did readily diffuſe themſelves among thoſe which had any Learning, and read any thing beſides the Sacred Volumes. The Ancients, good Men, and credulous, being raviſhed to find Books, under the name of Pagan Propheſies, which foretold the coming of Jeſus Chriſt, his Names, his Paſſion, the Circumſtances of his Birth, of his Life, Death and Reſurrection, much more clearly than the true Prophets, embraced with greedineſs what they found in theſe falſe Propheſies. *Juſtin Martyr* who wrote well nigh in the ſame time that theſe falſe Oracles were forged, falls into the perſuaſion, that Souls after death are in a ſeparate place, where even in ſome ſort they are ſubject to the Power and Perſecution of the Devil. From thence it comes to paſs, that he ſaid it was the Devil that cauſed the true *Samuel* to aſcend, by the Charms of the Witch of *Endor* : || *For which reaſon*, ſays he, *when a perſon is near death, you ought to pray, that his Soul don't fall under ſuch a power.*

|| *Dial. cum Tryph.*

S. *Ireneus*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, the moſt conſiderable Writer of this ſecond Age, was of the ſame opinion concerning this ſeparate place, where all Souls muſt be incloſed until the Day of Judgment, without ſeeing the Face of God. * He calls this place Paradiſe, whither *Enoch* and *Elias* were tranſported, but he alſo calls it *Hades*, Hell, and a place inviſible. Note, that this Opinion is univerſally at this day rejected by the Papiſts, and paſſes among them for an Error. Pope *John* XXII. having been accuſed to be of this Perſuaſion, there was a terrible noiſe about it, and he was forced to retract it. Now this Opinion is the original of Purgatory. For as we ſhall ſee afterward, this place changes, by little and little, its nature, until at length they made of it a place of Torments and Puniſhments for the purging of Souls.

* *Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib.* 5.

This ſeparate ſtate produced, a little while after, Prayer for the Dead, which we ſhall ſee had its original about the beginning of the third Age. But whereof nevertheleſs we ſee nothing in the ſecond, unleſs it be towards its end. On the contrary, *Juſtin Martyr* tells us, that we muſt pray for dying Souls, to the end, that (in the place of their Separation) they fall not under the Power of Devils. He would not have failed to have added, that we muſt pray for Souls after death, to the end, that we might draw them from under the power of Devils, if Prayers for the dead had then been in uſe.

On the Subject of this praying for the Dead, whereof they make ſuch great boaſts in Antiquity, tell them theſe three things, 1. That it was not in uſe in the firſt and ſecond Age. 2. That the Reaſon why they began to pray for the Dead, is very different from that which cauſes Prayers for them at this day. At this day 'tis to draw them from Purgatory; then it was, to the end, that in the terreſtrial Paradiſe, or other place

place of Separation where they were, God would increaſe their reſt and joy; for it was believed, that they were there in the beginning of Happineſs. 3. To conclude, tell them, that theſe Prayers for the Dead are no important buſineſs in Religion, and that they are not the Reaſon of our Separation. After that preſs them to ſhew you in the ſecond Age the leaſt footſteps of this place of Torments, whither penitent Souls muſt go after Death, to pay the remainder of thoſe puniſhments which they could not ſatisfie during their life. Demand proofs from them, that in this Age the Church prayed for Souls, that they might quickly get out of torment, and you will ſee them forced to confeſs, that there are none.

I come to the Worſhip and Adoration of Creatures, ſuch as are Relicks, Images, the Bleſſed Virgin, Saints and Angels. They treat this as a ſmall buſineſs: we ſhall have occaſion to prove to you one day, that without running into any extravagance, 'tis a Pagan Idolatry. But for the preſent we will content our ſelves to ſhew you, that we do not find the leaſt footſteps of theſe worſhips in the ſecond Age, wherein we now are. If they did invoke Saints, the Bleſſed Virgin, and Angels, if they had Images, if they did kiſs, and adore Relicks, let them ſhew it you, let them cauſe you to read one Author that ſpeaks of it. *Bellarmine* hath the impudence to produce the words of *Juſtin Martyr*, to prove the Worſhip of Angels, *We adore and venerate the Father, and the Son, which is come to us from him, who hath taught us, both us and others, which follow him, and the Army of good Angels, by the Spirit of Prophecy*, &c. *Apol.* 2. He refers the word *we adored*, to that *of Angels*, as if the deſign of *Juſtin Martyr* had been to ſay, that they adored Angels. Whereas he ought to refer *Angels* to the word *teach*, his Senſe being that Jeſus Chriſt hath taught the *Angels* as well as us, the Myſtery of the Goſpel, according to what S. *Paul* ſays: *To*

the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wiſdom of God, Eph. 3. 10. It is ſo clear, that this is the Senſe of S. *Juſtin,* that at this day none of your new Doctors dare quote theſe words to prove, that they worſhiped Angels in the ſecond Age. This paſſage being ſet aſide, let them produce you another. Was there therefore no Saints in theſe Ages? Had they no Martyrs? Why did they not invoke the Apoſtles, that had newly received their Crowns? Why did they then neglect the Interceſſion of the Virgin? Was it that her Credit was not well eſtabliſhed in Heaven at that time, and that ſhe wanted time to obtain the Empire which at this day ſhe poſſeſſes?

But why have the Authors of this Age been ſo impudent to ſay, that they adore God alone, and that they adore none but He? *Juſtin Martyr* ſays, ſpeaking of Jeſus Chriſt, *He hath taught us, that we muſt adore but one only God, when he ſaid, This is the great commandment, thou ſhalt worſhip God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve,* Apol. 2. And a little after having quoted thoſe other words of Jeſus Chriſt, *Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſars, and unto God the things that are Gods:* He adds 'tis for this reaſon that we adore but one only God. And as to what concerns you, we give you our Services with gladneſs in all other things. Let not your Eyes be dazled by crafty Tricks upon the word *Adore,* as if *Juſtin Martyr* ſpake of Soveraign Adoration, which they give to none but God, according to your Converters; for you ought to be advertiſed, that he ſerves himſelf of the word *Proskunoumen,* which ſignifies all ſorts of Worſhip and Religious Service. A word which ſignifies properly to proſtrate our ſelves, and wherewith the ſecond Council of *Nice* ſerves it ſelf, when it appoints the Worſhip of Images. So the ſenſe is, *We do not proſtrate our ſelves, we do not give any Religious Worſhip but to God.* See if they

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can ſay ſo at this day in the Church of *Rome*. *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, an Author of the ſame Age ſays, * *The King will not that they call thoſe Kings, which command under him. For King is his name, and it is not permitted to another to take it. So it is not permited to adore any other but God.* St. *Ireneus*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, ſpeaking of the God, which gave the Law, † *It is he alone to whom the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt ought to perform worſhip*, &c. And a little after, *The Law commands us to praiſe the Creator, and ſerve him alone.* But hear a Teſtimony which will inſtruct you ſufficiently concerning the opinions, and practice of that Age about it. They are the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. *Polycarpus*, Biſhop of *Smyrna*. After the death of this Holy Biſhop, ∴ his Church writ to that of *Pontus* an excellent Letter, which is one of the moſt precious monuments that we have of Primitive Antiquity. In this Letter the Believers of *Smyrna*, having reported all the circumſtances of the death of *Polycarpus* their Biſhop, ſay that the Devil uſed endeavours, *that our Brethren might not obtain his body, which many among us did very much deſire, to the end they might participate of that ſacred body. Some therefore ſuggeſted to* Nicetas, *Father of* Herod, *and Brother of* Dalces, *to go find out the Proconſul, to adviſe him not to give us the body, for fear*, ſay they, *that having abandoned Chriſt, the Chriſtians may come to Worſhip him; it was at the ſuggeſtion of the* Jews, *and at their preſſing ſollicitation, that theſe Men thus repreſented the matter. For they were the* Jews *that obſerved our Brethren, when they endeavoured to take the body from the Pile of Wood. Fools which know not that we can never forſake Jeſus Chriſt, who hath ſuffered death, for all thoſe that muſt be ſaved, nor ſerve any other. For we Adore him as the Son of God, and as*

* Lib. 1. ad Autol.

† Lib. 5. cap. 22.

∴ Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

for the Martyrs, we love them, and are kind to them as Diſciples, and imitators of the Lord, becauſe of the great love which they have ſhewn to their King, and Maſter, and we wiſh to be their Aſſociates, and fellow Diſciples. The Centurion therefore ſeeing the obſtinacy of the Jews, *cauſed the body to be burnt upon the place, according to the cuſtom. After which we gathered together his Bones, more precious than the moſt precious Stones, and more pure than Gold, and laid them up in a convenient place. In which place if it be poſſible for us, and God permit it, we will hold our Aſſemblies to Celebrate with joy, and gladneſs, the Birth day of his Martyrdom, in memory of thoſe who have undergone this glorious Combat, and to inſtruct, and confirm our deſcendents by ſuch an example.* The paſſage is altogether ſuch as we would wiſh, for we there ſee all which we ſearch after, and what was the Religion of the ancient Chriſtians with reſpect to Relicks, and Saints, and from whence began the Superſtition, and Idolatry which after appeared in the World. Firſt of all you ſee that in the ſecond Age they ſerved no other but God, *we ſerve no other but God.* Secondly, That the Worſhip given to the Martyrs was a Worſhip of love, and ſimple imitation, *we love them and have a kindneſs for them.* Theſe people had loſt all ſenſe not to have added, and *we pray to them,* if ſo be they had then prayed to the Martyrs. Thirdly, That they had no regard to the merits of Saints, and Martyrs, nor did they pray to God to make us partakers of them, *we wiſh to be their Companions, and fellow Diſciples.* They might as eaſily have ſaid, as they ſay now adays, *we deſire to be made partakers of their merits.* Fourthly, That they did not aſſemble at the Tombs of the Martyrs, that they might invocate and ſerve them, but only with deſign to *celebrate the Birth-day of their Martyrdom, and the memory of their Sufferings.* It is an amazing ſtupidity not to have added, and *to recommend our ſelves to their prayers, and interceſſion,* if any

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ſuch thing had been in uſe. Fifthly, That they did not rend the Bodies of Martyrs in pieces, nor diſtribute their Bones to fill Reliquaire's. For they *took the bones of* Polycarpus, *and laid them in a convenient place:* that is to ſay, they laid them honorably in a Tomb. In all this we ſee the innocence of the worſhip of the ancient Chriſtians. But in that which follows we ſee the firſt bloomings from whence afterward proceeded Idolatry.

1. We ſee here an exceſſive love, which Chriſtians did ſhew towards the bodies of Martyrs, they ſay that *they are more precious than the moſt precious Stones, and more pure than the pureſt Gold.* 2. They aſſembled upon their Tombs, and their burying places ſerved them as Temples, not ſimply through neceſſity, for they might have aſſembled more conveniently in Houſes, but becauſe they believed thoſe places more Holy, and more proper to excite Devotion, becauſe of the memory of the Martyrs. 3. They Conſecrated certain days to remember the Paſſion day of the Martyrs. Indeed they did not Invoke, or Pray to them, but nevertheleſs this was done in their honor, as we Celebrate the Birth-day of a Prince, to whom we give no kind of Religious Worſhip, and this is that which the Ancient Chriſtians call here, *to communicate with the body of the Martyr*: that is to ſay, to aſſemble where he was buryed, Pray to God, and Celebrate the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion in the ſame place, and even over the Tomb of the Martyr.

In this there is nothing Criminal, all is done with a good meaning. Nevertheleſs we ſhall ſee how inſenſibly all did degenerate into Superſtition. It does not appear that either they Prayed to *Polycarpus*, or that they Prayed for him, on the day Conſecrated to his memory: but we ſhall ſee in the third Age they Prayed for the Martyrs, and in the fourth Age they Prayed to them. Give attention to this paſſage I earneſtly intreat you.

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As to what appertains to Images, I think, I ſhall do a thing of great advantage, if I prove, that the Chriſtian Church had none in their Temples in the ſecond Age, for it will appear by the Ages following, that they had all ſorts of Images, even out of Temples, in the greateſt abhorrence.

Faſts, Lent, Abſtinence from certain Meats, and other Mortifications of like kind, which makes ſo great a part of the *Roman* Religion, which dazle the Eyes of ſome of our New Converts, were intirely unknown in the ſecond Age. We there ſee, and obſerve Prayers, and Faſts very often, but there is nothing Read which may make us ſuſpect, that they were affixed to certain days of the week, or certain months of the year: all the days of Prayer, except the Lords day, were almoſt always days of Faſting. But it was by accident, becauſe the Faſting of the New Teſtament was often joyned with Prayer, that the Ancient Chriſtians made it a duty to Faſt on days of Prayer. But it was a thing unheard of, preciſely to make Devotion to conſiſt of Faſting, without any reſpect to Prayer, and thoſe that do affirm it was the uſe of the Primitive Church muſt prove it. Now we are certain, that they cannot find any proof thereof in the Writings of the ſecond Age. And as to what remains, as we ſhall make it appear by the cleareſt evidence, that the Popiſh Faſts were unknown in the third Age, it will appear by conſequence, that they were of no uſe in the ſecond, only it appears that they prepared for the Communion of *Eaſter* by a Faſt of two days. St. *Ireneus* writ to Victor Biſhop of *Rome*, on occaſion of the Controverſie touching the day on which they ought to Celebrate *Eaſter*. * *It is not only diſputed concerning* Eaſter-day, *but alſo concerning the form of the Faſts antecedent thereto, for ſome think they ought not to Faſt but one day, others two, others more, and others meaſure their*

* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 24.

their Faſt-day by the ſpace of twenty four hours, night and day, and this diverſity in the obſervation of the Faſt, had not its being in our Age, but hath begun from the time of our Fathers, who by negligence, ſimplicity, and ignorance, have ſuffered this cuſtom to ſlip in. Nevertheleſs they lived in peace with each other, and we retain it to this day. Obſerve well, it is not Lent, but the beginning, and original thereof. Theſe forty hours of Faſt are greatned, and grown up to forty days. So it is, that the moſt innocent practices have been the original of Superſtition, ſo dangerous is it, to make Innovations, although they ſeem without hazardous conſequence, let them ſhew you other ſolemn Faſts beſides this in the ſecond Age.

It remains, that we ſpeak a word concerning the Pope, and the prodigious Authority he arrogates to himſelf. It is a Capital affair in Popery, he is the Principle of Unity, he is the Centre unto which your Converters tell you, you ought to be united, if you will be ſaved. God knows what they think of it, but we defie them to ſhew you, that the Church of *Rome* had then any Superiority over other Churches. We may aſſure you without raſhneſs, that the moſt part of the Churches, which were in the extreme Parts of *Aſia*, ſcarce knew whether there were any ſuch thing as a Church of *Rome*, they neither knew the name of its Biſhop, nor the form of its Government, nor Cuſtoms, and therefore were far enough from being ſubject to its Orders, and Decrees. We may alſo aſſure you, there were alſo Chriſtians in *Perſia*, and in the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt, which knew not whether there were a *Roman* Church in the World. Send your Converters to the famous *de Launy*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, who makes appear with ſufficient clearneſs, and evidence, the independence of other Churches, and the few bonds and ties that they had with *Rome*, by proving, that the adherence they had

had to the *Roman* Seat, was not accounted neceſſary in any Age of the ancient Church. They produce to you in the ſecond Age *Victor*, who cut off from his Communion the Churches of *Aſia*, on occaſion of the Controverſie about Eaſter-Day. But you ought to underſtand, that this was an attempt without example, and which had no effect, but was deſpiſed of all the World. And beſides this was no right, that was particular to the Biſhop of *Rome*; for other Churches pretended to have that right of cutting off other Churches from their Communion, as well as that of *Rome*.

Moreover, the nearer the Churches of the World were to *Rome*, the more reſpect and conſideration they had for the Church which was there. The Churches which were without the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, ſcarce knew that there was a Church at *Rome*. The Provinces at a diſtance from *Italy*, ſuch were *Aſia* and *Africa*, beheld her ſo far off, that they ſcarce knew either her Cuſtoms, or her Doctrine, nor did they think themſelves under any obligation to be inſtructed in them, or to follow them. And therefore they continued a long time to celebrate Eaſter with the Jews, and to rebaptize Hereticks, without any regard to the Deciſions of *Victor* and *Stephen*, Biſhops of *Rome*. The Churches of *France*, which beheld her near at hand, had her in greater value and eſtimation, becauſe they were ſmitten and amazed, not at the Majeſty of the Church, but at the Majeſty of the Empire, which had its Seat at *Rome*. This is it which made *Irenæus*, Biſhop of *Lions*, to ſay, *That it was neceſſary, that the whole Church ſhould travel to the Church of* Rome, *becauſe of its more powerful principality*. That is to ſay, becauſe it was the Seat of the Empire, that all Nations come thither, and that Chriſtians were found there of all the Provinces of the Empire, from whoſe Mouths might be learn'd what was that Faith which was ſcattered all over the Earth. Behold what was

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the Christianity of the second Age. And behold the Additions that we find there, which afterward was the Seed of Superstition and Idolatry.

First of all they mingled Water with the Wine in the Eucharist, which was not used in the time of the Apostles. 2. They carried the Sacrament to the absent, which was not usual neither in the Apostolick Church. 3. They undertook a custom of bringing Offerings, and Alms, not in Silver, but in Merchandize, Bread, Wine, Corn, Raisins, Fruits, *&c.* And of that they offered on the Holy Table those things, which might be of use in the publick Service, whereas in the Apostolick Church we see no other Alms, but such as were gathered by the Hands of the Deacons, either at the end, or beginning of their Assemblies. 4. Of these Alms of the Believers, they made Oblations to God, consecrating them by Prayer. 5. At the end of their Prayers before the Communion they added the mutual kiss, which was not of Apostolick Institution, and was afterwards abolished. 6. Many persons entertained an opinion of the separate state for Souls after death, a third place which was utterly unknown to the Apostles. 7. They conceive an excessive Love for the Bones of the Martyrs, nevertheless without giving them any kind of Worship, or Religious Homage. This excessive love for Bones was not reasonable, nor was it of the Apostolick Age. 8. About the end of the second Age they appointed Feasts, to celebrate the memories of the Martyrs; which was not neither of Apostolick Institution. 9. They appointed a day or two for Fasting before Easter. Behold the principal Innovations in the second Age, in which there is nothing almost that can be blamed, considered in it self, and separated from the Fruits and Consequences thereof.

To conclude, to the end, that you be not abused by false Authors, you ought to know that we entertain none

none for the Writers of the ſecond Age, but theſe: S. *Clement*, the Diſciple of S. *Paul*, who writ an Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*: S. *Ignatius*, of whom we have many Epiſtles, concerning which the Learned doubt with reaſon, but we will nevertheleſs receive them in the preſent Affair: S. *Polycarp*, who wrote an Epiſtle to the *Philippians*: the Epiſtle of the Church of *Smyrna*, concerning the Martyrdom of S. *Polycarp*: *Juſtin Martyr*, whoſe Works ought to be diſtinguiſhed, for there are many among them which are falſly attributed unto him: *Athanagoras* the *Athenian*, of whom we have an Apology for the Chriſtians, and a Diſcourſe concerning the Reſurrection: *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, of whom we have three Books written to *Autolycus*: *Tatian*, of whom we have a Diſcourſe in Defence of the Chriſtian Religion, and againſt that of the Pagans. And in fine, S. *Ireneus*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, of whom we have a conſiderable Work againſt the Hereſies of his Times. If they quote unto you the Liturgies of S. *Mark*, of S. *James*, of S. *Peter*, the Works of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, the Canons of the Apoſtles, and other like Diſcourſes, you ought to reject them, as being falſe and forged, in the opinion of all the Learned, who have any thing of ſincerity.

November 15,
1686.

The

The Seventh
PASTORAL LETTER.
CONCERNING
Songs, and Voices, which were heard in ſeveral places in the Air.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

IN the laſt of our Letters we engaged our ſelves to communicate unto you certain notable matters of Fact, which ſome of our Brethren have thought adviſeable to impart unto us. Amongſt theſe matters of Fact, I do not think there's any one that better deſerves to be examined, than that which hath been reported to us, That in many places where there have been formerly Churches, Voices have been heard in the Air, ſo perfectly like to our ſinging of Pſalms, that they could not be taken for any thing elſe. If this be true, 'tis a wonder which very well deſerves the labor of our attention. We ſhall think our ſelves very ungrateful to the Divine Goodneſs, if we ſhould ſuppreſs ſo illuſtrious a Teſtimony of his Approbation. He muſt be bold, in this Age, that dares ſpeak of Prodigies, Marvels, Preſages and other ſuch like things. There are times in which Men believe every thing;

thing; in this wherein we now are, they believe nothing; I think there is a mean to be choſen, we may not believe every thing, but ſurely ſomething ought to be believed. For this Spirit of Incredulity, and this Character of a brave Spirit, is good for nothing, and I have not as yet diſcovered the uſe thereof. 'Tis true, Credulity hath deſtroyed Religion, and introduced a thouſand Superſtitions; for theſe unhappy Tales of Miracles done at the Tombs of Saints, theſe Apparitions of Souls, theſe pretended Viſions of Spirits, that come from the other World, theſe, ſay I, have produced the Invocation of Saints, the Adoration of Images, Purgatory, Maſſes, the Prayers of the living for the dead. For which reaſon I am content, that Men ſtand upon their Guard, when any thing is debated, and reported concerning wonderful, and pious Hiſtories. The generality of thoſe which are called honeſt Men are come ſo far from thence, that they have caſt themſelves on the other extreme, and believe nothing. 'Tis to expoſe a Man's ſelf, and to be turned into Ridicule, to maintain that there have been Miracles, and that there may yet be, they mock at Preſages, and have no Faith for that which they call Prodigies. Nevertheleſs whither goes this, and what will be the Iſſue of it? 'Tis to deny Providence, 'tis to make our ſelves believe, God does not intermeddle in the Affairs here below, and to ruine all the Principles of human Faith, and by conſequence to caſt our ſelves on a perfect Scepticiſm, which is peradventure a diſpoſition of mind the moſt dangerous to Religion of any in the World. By doubting all matters of Fact which have any appearance of extraordinary, they tell us they have no intention to extend it any farther than the Hiſtory of the World. But we don't perceive, that we inſenſibly entertain a habit of doubting, which extends it ſelf to every thing. There is a God, we all conſent thereto. There is a Providence,

we all profeſs, and avow it. Nothing comes to paſs without him. Is it poſſible, that God ſhould ſo hide himſelf behind his Creatures, and under the veil of ſecond Cauſes, that he ſhould never at any time, tho never ſo little, draw aſide the Curtain? If we have taken a reſolution to deny the truth of all extraordinary matters of Fact, what ſhall we do with Hiſtory, both ſacred and profane? Can we perſuade our ſelves, that the Hiſtorians of all Ages intended to deceive us, by making us believe, that the great Revolutions which have happened in the Societies of Men, and the Church, have been preceded by extraordinary Events, ſuch as Earthquakes, Signs in Heaven, and Prodigies on Earth? They will ſay the moſt part of theſe Hiſtories are Fables, it may be ſo: but if the moſt part be Fables, there have been ſome which have been true. If there had never been any true Prodigies, they would not have reported thoſe that were falſe; for falſhood is an imitation of Truth. He muſt have a hardneſs and impudence that I underſtand not, that can put all Hiſtorians in one rank, and range them all together amongſt Forgers of Lies. I admire the agreement of thoſe Writers, which lived two or three thouſand years from one another, who nevertheleſs have all conſpired to deceive us, according to our Moderns, and there is neither Sorcerers, nor Magicians, nor Poſſeſſions, nor Apparitions of Demons, nor any thing like it. 'Tis much, that theſe Gentlemen have not puſhed on their confidence, even to deny the truth of matters of Fact contained in the Scriptures, which would be very convenient for them. In the times that the Sacred Writers writ their Books, there were all theſe things; and where do we find, that they ought to ceaſe, and that a time was to come, in which Devils ſhould no more deceive Men, and in which the Heaven ſhould ſpeak no more Prodigies? Becauſe Hiſtorians have not been infallible, muſt we

believe they have been all Liars, and in all things? Can a Man, for example, honeſtly call in doubt the prodigies which *Joſephus* reports to us, as coming to paſs a little before the final ruin of *Jeruſalem*? A Man walked round the City, and its Walls perpetually, crying, *Wo, wo to the Temple, City,* &c. and in fine, during the Siege, as he was upon the Wall, he added, *Wo to me alſo:* that which he never did before, and in the very moment, a great ſtone coming from the Engines of the Beſiegers, knock'd him on the Breſt, and brake him in pieces. A Sword of Fire paſſed over the City *Jeruſalem,* for a whole year together, from Eaſt to Weſt. A Voice was heard in the Temple, which ſaid, *Let us go hence.* A brazen Gate in the Temple, which eighteen or twenty Men could ſcarce open, opened of it ſelf. It muſt be, that *Joſephus* had a deſign to proſtitute his Reputation, reporting ſuch matters of Fact, the falſeneſs whereof he might be convinced of by a thouſand Witneſſes yet living, if they were not true. The Saviour of the World was willing to honor ſome mute preſages, altho he might well have paſſed them by, ſince he had ſo many living Teſtimonies on his behalf, 'twas his pleaſure that the Heavens ſhould produce a new Star at his Birth, or at leaſt, that the Air ſhould produce a new Meteor, that deſerved that name. And what ſhall we ſay of that great Miracle, which was at the Pool of *Bethesda,* where an Angel deſcended, troubled the Waters, and the firſt ſick perſon that went into them after the action of the Angel, was healed? This marvel was not ancient, and without doubt it had not continued long. 'Tis clear, that this was done about the time that our Lord arrived at the age of thirty years, and entered upon the Office of Mediator; and 'twas an admirable preſage of the coming of him, who is called, *A fountain opened to the houſe of Jacob for ſin, and for uncleanneſs:* whoſe Water, that is to ſay, whoſe Grace, was to heal and cure all our Maladies.

Maladies. I could bring you an infinite number of matters of Fact very well atteſted, that is to ſay, Viſions, Prophetick Dreams, Signs ſeen in the Air, and in the Heavens, which have been Preſages of Events little leſs conſiderable than thoſe we ſee at preſent. 'Tis true, that under color of Signs and Marvels, an hundred and an hundred Fables have paſſed current in the World; but all that we ought to conclude thence is, that every wiſe Man will have great Securities before he will believe. As ſoon as any event may have natural Cauſes, it ſignifies nothing according to theſe Gentlemen, as if God was not at all the Maſter of natural Cauſes, and could not diſpoſe them for the production of certain Effects, when he would preſage great Revolutions in the World. It ſeems to me, that Earthquakes have their natural Cauſes, and ſo have Famines, Peſtilences and Wars: nevertheleſs Jeſus Chriſt puts theſe things among thoſe things which are to preſage his coming. *Nation ſhall riſe againſt nation, and kingdom againſt kingdom, there ſhall be famines, earthquakes and peſtilences in divers countries.* And why may we not interpret that which he adds of Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, and of Signs which are ſeen in Heaven, *The Sun ſhall be turned into darkneſs, and the Moon ſhall not give her light, the Stars ſhall fall from Heaven, and the powers of Heaven ſhall be ſhaken.* 'Tis believed, that this is a Deſcription of what ſhall be at the laſt Day of Judgment; but if this were a place for it, I could prove, that it is no ſuch thing. Not that I am perſuaded all Eclipſes, and all Earthquakes are Preſages; but there are ſuch Circumſtances of time and place, and concomitant Signs, that a Man cannot (as I think) without raſhneſs deny, that the Providence of God doth diſpenſe them to ſtrike the minds of Men with aſtoniſhment, and make them attentive to his Judgments. What ſhall we ſay concerning the Bow in the Heavens? It is made without doubt by natural Cauſes.

Nevertheleſs it has been the pleaſure of God in all Ages of the World, that it ſhould be a Sign by Inſtitution to aſſure Mankind, that there ſhould never be an univerſal Deluge upon the earth. God granted to *Gideon* a Sign in Nature to aſſure him of the truth of his Miſſion. *Ezekias* received one in the Sun, at leaſt, in the ſhadow of the Sun on the Dial of *Ahaz*, as a Sign of his reſtauration to life, we may not therefore imagine, that 'tis contrary to the order of Providence to do extraordinary things in nature for the marking and noting extraordinary events in the World. Let us conclude therefore, that the Credulity of our Anceſtors hath cauſed many miſchievous Tales to be received as faithful Hiſtories; but alſo, that it hath been the cauſe, that very faithful Hiſtories do at this day paſs for falſe Tales. I could not refuſe this little Prologue to the Year wherein we are preſently to engage, as abundant in Prodigies as any has been for a long time: for on all ſides, we have heard ſpeak of nothing but extraordinary Storms, Fires falling from Heaven, others coming out of the Earth, of Signs ſpeaking loud, which have appeared in the Air, of Inſects of an unknown ſhape, which have been believed to have fallen from Heaven. The Writers of publick News have not been able to forbear remarking them, and making their Reflections thereon. I believe 'tis the intereſt of the publick to make evident all theſe Events; and there lies an Obligation on thoſe that deſire to fear God, to give a very exact Relation concerning all theſe Prodigies; if they intend to learn us any thing concerning them, we intreat them, that it be not on Reports and Hear-ſays, yea, that it be not on the report of perſons whoſe fidelity is not very well known; for we have no deſign to deceive either our ſelves or others: this will be known by the manner wherein we ſhall report a matter of Fact, that is to ſay, the ſinging of Pſalms in the Air, which has been heard in divers places.

It

It is near a year ſince, that we firſt heard any ſpeech concerning it, and they told us, that theſe Singings had been heard in *Bearne*, the firſt Province whither the Dragoons were ſent. Behold our Witneſſes, every one will judge of what worth they are. Monſieur *Magendie*, Paſtor of the Church of *Orthez*, having been queſtioned concerning this Affair, hath interrogated divers perſons, according as it appears by his Certificate.

I do declare, that Monſieur de Bazin, *a younger Brother, and an Inhabitant of* Orthez *in* Bearne, *hath told me, that walking with ſome of his Friends, after mid-day, near the City of* Orthez, *he heard Voices which ſung Pſalms, and as he imagined, that it might be ſome Women that waſhed Linnen in a certain River which paſſed through* Orthez, *he ran to them to demand of them, whether it were they that ſung; they told him, that it was not they, and that they themſelves for a long time had heard the ſame ſinging of Pſalms. This happened ſome months before the Interdiction of our Church. The ſaid Monſieur* Bazin *is a very honeſt Man, very judicious, and of great integrity.* 2. *I add, that Mademoiſelle* de Caſenaue of Orthez, *ſaid to perſons worthy of credit, that being not able to believe that which was ſaid concerning this ſinging of Pſalms, a Woman ſaid to her, that if ſhe had the curioſity to hear them ſing, ſhe would come and take her at her own Houſe, at a time convenient, which ſhe did; for this Woman being at eleven of the clock at night in the uttermoſt part of the City, with multitudes of other perſons, to hear theſe Voices which ſung in the Air the Praiſes of God, having heard this ſinging of Pſalms, ſhe ran to Mademoiſelle* de Caſenaue, *who immediately gets out of her Bed, cauſes one of her Neigbours to riſe, and they ran to that quarter of the City which was far removed from her Houſe, where they found multitudes of perſons, who were raviſhed with that pleaſant Melody which they heard in the Air; they themſelves returned to their Houſes, with this great*

conſolation to have heard thoſe Pſalms ſung in the Air, which they could no more ſing in their Church, which had been interdicted for ſome months paſt; and they added, that it ſeemed to them, that they heard them ſing after the ſame manner which they uſed to ſing in their Church, *and that after the ſinging had ceaſed, there was a Voice which ſpake, but after a manner inarticulate and confuſed, ſo that they could not diſtinguiſh what was ſaid. This Gentlewoman is very well worthy of Credit.* 3. *I ſay moreover that an infinite number of perſons of* Orthez *do ſay, that they have heard the ſinging of Pſalms, which they call the ſinging of Angels, and that they exhorted each other on the day to be preſent in the night, in certain places of the City, to ſatisfie this holy Curioſity, which was the reaſon, that the Magiſtrates of* Orthez *publiſhed an Ordinance, whereby they forbad all perſons from going out of their Houſes, or aſſembling themſelves by night for hearing theſe Voices, which filled this poor afflicted people with joy, and extraordinary conſolation. This is it which has been told me concerning this ſinging of Pſalms, to which I find no difficulty to give a full conſent, becauſe the perſons that have reported it, are of great ſincerity. Given at* Amſterdam, Novemb. 23, 1686. *Signed* Magendie, *heretofore Miniſter of* Orthez *in* Bearne.

M. Garſin, another Miniſter of the ſaid Church of *Orthez,* declares this which follows, concerning the ſinging of Pſalms, which had been heard at *Orthez* for a long time.

I whoſe Name is underwritten, heretofore Paſtor of the Reformed Church of Orthez *in* Bearne, *do certifie to all thoſe whom it may concern, that my Brother-in-law* De Roux, *a Lawyer, told me, that between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, being on the back ſide of his Houſe in the City of* Orthez, *he heard a ſinging of Pſalms above him, and that a little after he heard the ſame ſinging come from a place at a greater diſtance. After that he was fully convinced of the truth of this ſinging of Pſalms,*

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ſo much diſcourſed of all the World over. Moreover he thought, that ſometimes during the whole night, when his Gout hindered him from ſleeping, that he heard the ſame ſinging after a manner leſs diſtinct and intelligible. I am informed by Monſieur Clavier, *a Lawyer of the ſame City of* Orthez, *that the Curate of the place, and a certain Prieſt, called* Dufau, *and Monſieur* Lichigarai *another Lawyer, as alſo a Brother of the Curate, called Monſieur* De la Roque, *ſent to ſearch out a certain Popiſh Damoſel of* Moncade, *to know of her, if it were true, that ſhe had ſaid, that ſhe had heard this ſinging of Pſalms, and that ſhe told them yea. And having demanded of her how ſhe knew it was the ſinging of Pſalms; ſhe told them it was becauſe ſhe had heard the ſame thing, at ſuch time as they ſung in the Church of thoſe of the Reformed Religion. And having further asked her how ſhe had heard the ſinging of Pſalms in the Church, ſhe anſwered them, ſhe had been once there at a Baptiſm; but that going to a certain Fountain, ſhe had often heard this ſinging as ſhe paſſed by the Church, at the hours of Preaching, and Prayer. After this Monſieur* Clavier *told me, that the Curate and others ſtrictly forbad her to ſay any more, that ſhe had heard the ſaid ſinging of Pſalms. Given at* Amſterdam, September 23. 1686. *Signed* Garſin, *Miniſter.*

I whoſe Name is underwritten, certifie to all whom it may concern, that in the year 1685, about the Month of *Auguſt*, or *September*, I heard in the Air the ſinging of Pſalms with different Voices, and very melodious, and this at two ſeveral times; the firſt time before the Houſe of *Poey*, where I was lying upon a Bank half aſleep, I was awakened by this ſinging of Pſalms, which continued almoſt half an hour. Afterwards I went into the Houſe of Monſieur *du Poey*, a Merchant Draper, with whom I wrought at that Employment. Having told this to *Mademoiſelle du Poey* and her Daughters, they were much offended at me, that I had not given them notice of it at the time I heard

the ſaid ſinging. The ſecond time, I and many others about an hour after midnight having gone on purpoſe to a place moſt high, and raiſed, in the City, near to *Moncade*, named the *Poſterle*, I heard many Voices in the Air, ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other; withdrawing my ſelf a little, I found Mademoiſelle *des Pagnou*, Daughter of Monſieur *Dombideau*, Merchant of *Oleron*, Wife to Monſieur *des Pagnou*, Merchant-Tanner, accompanied with many other Women of the Neighborhood, I asked them from whence they came. They told me they came from the Bank of a River called *Le Gaur*, which paſſes by the City, near a Mill which they call the *New Mill*. I asked them if they had heard the ſinging of Pſalms. They anſwered me, Yea. I asked them from what ſide they had heard the Voices: they told me it ſeemed to them it was from the place called the *Poſterle*. I told them I came from thence, and that I had heard thoſe Voices in the Air, and that it ſeemed to me, that they came from that ſide the New Mill ſtood; and both they and I agreed with one conſent, that they were in the Air, and that they never had heard Voices ſo pleaſant and charming. My Father (being a Neighbor of the ſaid Mademoiſelle *des Pagnou*) and thoſe other Women being at the Gate two hours after midnight, with a Marſhal named *Mareſque*, a Papiſt of the Town of *Lembege*, of the Quarter of *Bilbil*, which belongs to the Partement of *Navarre*, my Father, I ſay, who had changed his Religion about two years and half ſince, inquiring of theſe Women if they had heard the ſinging of Pſalms. They anſwered, Yea. And I too, ſaid my Father. And *Mareſque* the Marſhal replyed, he had never heard better ſinging: let Men ſay what they will, for my part, ſaid he, I am perſuaded, that it is a true ſinging of Pſalms. The ſaid Monſieur *Poey*, my Father, and the ſaid *Mareſque* came from a place called *De Part*, near to *Orthez*.

And

And I add, that I have heard a Prohibition publiſhed to all ſorts of perſons, at the ſound of a Trumpet, by the Cryer of the City, called *Monleres*, containing, that none were to go out at night to hear the ſinging of Pſalms, under the penalty of Impriſonment. In witneſs whereof I have ſigned the preſent Certificate, as it was deſired of me. Given *November* 22, 1686. Signed *Peter Mauperg* of *Orthez* in *Bearn*, aged twenty three years.

One named Monſieur *Bergerit* hath declared under his Signet, this which follows. About the month of *September* laſt, being in my Mothers Houſe, ſhe told me, that the Evening before they had heard ſinging of Pſalms in the Air. I believ'd nothing thereof, but went away to Bed, becauſe I was weary; this was about eight at night; about half an hour after ſome of the Neighbors came to the Houſe to inquire whether I were ſo great a fool to ſing Pſalms, conſidering the ſtrict Prohibition had been made thereof; and at the ſame inſtant my Mother entered into the Chamber to awake, and tell me, that Pſalms were ſung in the Air. I awoke, and awaking, heard this ſinging of Pſalms, and thought it had been in the Garden belonging to the Houſe. I aroſe and went forth into the ſtreet *Montcade* at *Orthez*, where all the Neighborhood were gathered together, and they heard the ſinging of Pſalms repeated two or three ſeveral times. Signed *Bergerit*.

A perſon named *John de la Bordette*, hath declared under his Signet, this which follows. About the month of *September* laſt, being in my Houſe at *Orthez*, the place of my Habitation, and having heard, that it was ſaid, that Pſalms were ſung, I went out into the ſtreet about eight in the Evening, to ſee and hear what was ſaid, and done, and I heard in the Air Voices which formed a Vocal Muſick perfectly, like to the ſinging of Pſalms. Nevertheleſs, without being able to diſtinguiſh what Pſalm it was. Of the

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of this ſame thing many perſons of the Neighbourhood were witneſſes. Another time as I was at the Wine Preſs, amidſt the Vines, above ten in the evening, I heard the ſame thing with many other perſons. Signed *John De la Bordette.*

A Damoſel called Mademoiſelle *Deformalagues*, hath declared under her Signet, in theſe words. I underwritten, do declare in the preſence of God, that being at *Orthez* in *Biar*, the place of my Habitation, I heard clearly at three ſeveral times, on the month of *October* laſt, this which follows.

On a *Friday* in the ſaid month of *October*, about 8 or 9 at night, being in my Chamber, ſome Neighbours called me with earneſtneſs, ſaying, that I muſt haſten to hear the Angels ſinging Pſalms; I haſtily went out of the Houſe, and being arrived at the Street called St. *Gille*, I there found a great number of people, which had ran together from all parts to hear this Heavenly Muſick. And at that inſtant my Ears were ſmitten with a Melody ſo raviſhing, that I never heard any thing like it. I could very well diſcern the Air and Tune of our Pſalms, which were ſung admirably well. I heard many perſons ſay, they heard diſtinctly the firſt verſe of the 42. Pſalm. *Like as the hart doth breath and bray.* There were others that confirmed the ſame, and aſſured us moreover that they had heard the whole Pſalm Sung. For my part I do acknowledg that I could not diſtinguiſh the words. I only heard a charming Muſick, which repreſented to me a great number of Voices that agreed exceeding well. There was one that raiſed his Voice above the reſt, and made himſelf obſerved when the reſt had done. After I had heard a long while this Melody with raviſhment, I perceived that theſe Voices drew off, and abated by little and little, until they were inſenſibly loſt in the Air.

The ſame evening being on my return, and near the

the Gate of my Houſe, with many of my Neighbours, as we diſcourſed together of the marvellous things that we had heard, behold all of a ſudden the ſame Voices which we had heard ſome hours before, ſtriking again our Ears with great pleaſure, they filled us anew with raviſhment, for the ſpace of one quarter of an hour, after which this Melody withdrew, as it had done at the firſt.

The *Tueſday* following, being at the door of my Houſe, with one of my Relations at Evening, we both heard a great number of Voices in the Air, which reſounded with ſtrength, and made themſelves heard with the greateſt clearneſs: hearing this melodious ſinging, I ran haſtily to the Lodgings of a Popiſh Phyſician who dwelt in my Houſe, and was that year one of the Magiſtrates of *Orthez*, to the end that he himſelf might hear this wonderful Melody. He followed me to hear what it was. The ſinging ſounded clearly, the night being calm and ſerene, but he pretended to hear nothing. A while after the Voices reinforced themſelves, and then having preſſed this Magiſtrate to tell me if he heard the ſinging, he could no longer diſſemble the truth. It is true ſaid he (in the preſence of all the world) I hear very lovely ſinging. I think I hear the Voice of ſuch an one, and ſuch an one, naming ſeveral perſons in *Orthez*, which ſung exceeding well; to this I replyed, Monſieur, if Men hold their peace, the very ſtones will ſpeak: but he, as if he had been troubled at the confeſſion he had made, complains that, alas, I obſerve here a crafty wile of the Devil, he cauſes theſe Voices to be heard in the Air, to keep the World in error, and hinder this poor people from Converting, and embracing the Catholick Faith. Whereupon I inquired if he had ever heard that the Devil ſung the praiſes of God; he ſmiled, and retired haſtily to his Lodgings: nevertheleſs we bleſs God for the favor that he hath done us, in admoniſhing

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us of our duty by theſe heavenly Voices, who melodiouſly ſung thoſe holy Hymns, which we were wont to ſound forth in our Church, which was then laid waſt and deſtroyed.

I proteſt before God that theſe things are ſo as I have reported them, and I am very glad to make known theſe truths, for the Edification of all thoſe that fear the Lord. In Teſtimony whereof I ſubſcribe my ſelf at *Amſterdam*, *September* 4. 1686. *V. Deformalagues.*

I do maintain that a Teſtimony, ſuch as this, though it were alone, is capable of putting the ſpirit of incredulity to diſtreſs: for what that is reaſonable can be ſaid againſt it? It will be ſaid this is the Teſtimony of a Woman, but by being a Woman hath ſhe renounced all Honor, Shame, and Conſcience, in the matter of Teſtimony? She muſt have renounced all thoſe things, to atteſt with an Oath a matter of Fact, with ſo many circumſtances. She is but a Woman, but ſhe is not a Woman that reports ſome Viſions of the night, or particular Revelations, ſhe is a Woman that reports things that happened in publick, and whereof ſhe hath for witneſſes with her ſelf many hundreds of perſons. Though ſhe be a Woman, it does not follow but ſhe may be endued with good underſtanding: now ſhe muſt have loſt all ſenſe to advance ſuch a falſity, and to expoſe her ſelf to be overwhelmed with ſhame, as a maker of Fables: to conclude, ſhe is a Woman, but ſhe ſpeaks of a thing happened not above ſeven days ago, if I may ſo ſay.

To conclude, behold a Memorial of Monſieur *de Braſſalay*, a Gentleman of Honor, and acknowledged ſuch by all that know him.

Some days before the Interdiction of the Churches of *Bearn*, there were many perſons, that heard the ſinging of Pſalms in the Air, in the City of *Orthez*. The firſt that heard it was *Lichigaray Brunier*, a Lawyer, revolted

revolted ſome years ſince, the moſt malignant of the Perſecutors, and who continually ſtirred up troubles to thoſe of the Reformed Religion. He roſe from his Bed to go tell the Curate, that there was an Aſſembly of people that ſung Pſalms without the City, he alſo went to a Serjeant named *Gowlan*, to conduct him to the place where he thought to ſurprize them, but this Popiſh Serjeant having laid his Ear to the Window, anſwered him there was nothing to be done, for he well perceived the ſinging was in the Air. Afterward it was heard from time to time, more than a month, by divers perſons, ſometimes at night, and ſometimes by day: among others *Lichagaray Canneille*, an Elder of the Church of *Orthez*, proteſted and told me, that ſitting upon the bank of the River, a thouſand Paces from the City, reading in a Book, he heard a great ſinging of Pſalms on that ſide the Church ſtands, which is in the midſt of the City, and not doubting at all that it was an ordinary Aſſembly, that were met together at Evening Prayers, which was then very numerous, becauſe of the hazardous conjuncture, and conſiſted at the leaſt of two or three thouſand ſouls, he haſted to go thither, and always heard a great ſinging of Pſalms till he was entered into the City, but having found the doors of the Church ſhut, the Neighbours told him, that it was not yet the hour of Prayer. It is to no purpoſe to ſay they ſung in ſome Cavern or Cave, for there is nothing but Houſes, and the parts adjacent to *Orthez* are Vineyards, Meadows, and Fields, it has been a long time ſince forbidden to ſing Pſalms in Houſes, and no body has dared to venture thereon, and leaſt of all would they think thereon in a time when they every hour feared the Interdiction of their Church, and when they adviſed by all ſorts of methods to defend themſelves from it. Moreover this Elder hath aſſured me, that he never heard more lofty ſinging in the Church. This he told me, being in *Bearne* about

about ſixteen months ſince, in the preſence of very many honeſt Men.

After the Church of *Orthez* was razed to the ground, this ſinging of Pſalms was heard no more for ſome time, but about the months of *September* and *October* laſt, it was heard by moſt part of the people of *Orthez*, and many others of the Country which tarried till night before they went home on Market-days, thoſe of the Suburbs, as well as thoſe of the City, heard it, every one in his Quarter, ordinarily at the ſame hour, *viz.* between eight and nine at night, ſome heard the words, others heard the Tune of the Pſalms, and there is not it may be, a Houſe in *Orthez* of which ſome one of the Family hath not heard it. The ſaid *Lichiguray Bruneir*, went one night, he and two others, to that part where they heard this ſinging without the City, and they all three heard the ſinging for a long time over their Heads, the Tune of the 138. Pſalm, whereof they could not hear diſtinctly but theſe words: *Toward thy holy Temple I will look and worſhip thee, and praiſed in my thankful mouth, thy holy name ſhall be: even for thy loving kindneſs ſake, and for thy truth withal, for thou thy name, haſt by thy word, advanced over all.* *Du Faur* a Phyſician, and Magiſtrate of the City, another Papiſt, heard it divers times, but their malice made them ſay they were Sorcerers and Devils. A young Damoſel of the Suburbs of *Moncade*, which is near the Caſtle, the ancient Habitation of the Lords of *Bearn*, heard this ſinging, being in her Bed; ſhe roſe, and cauſed more than fifty perſons to go out, who having heard it fell on their Knees, and wept through the joy they conceived to hear ſo incomparable a Melody in the Air, which continued more than half an hour. And it muſt be known that it was in a place much raiſed above the City, even as a very high Mountain, and the people heard this ſinging over their Heads, as if it had been in the Clouds: I have heard an honeſt Man,

Man, who was one of the Spectators, make this relation, who poured out Tears then when he ſpake of it: the ſame thing I have heard from other places. To conclude, it is impoſſible to doubt of a truth, which the far greateſt part of the Inhabitants of *Orthez* are able to certifie.

The Parliament of *Pau*, and the Intendent of *Bearn*, have alſo given their Teſtimony thereto by a Decree, which forbids Men to go hear theſe Pſalms, and to ſay they have heard it on the forfeiture of five hundred Crowns: and by another Ordinance, which forbids the ſame thing, under the forfeiture of two thouſand Crowns. The Conſuls of *Orthez* did publiſh theſe Ordinances in their City.

I do not as yet very well underſtand, what can be oppoſed to the Teſtimony of Monſieur *Braſſalny*. Thoſe that know him as we do, know that he is not of a temper to impoſe upon any one, nor to ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by any one whoever he be. Thoſe things which he reports are not hear-ſays at a great diſtance, for they are perſons of Credit and Reputation, who put into his Hands thoſe things which they themſelves heard.

If after all this, the matter of Fact be falſe, I do avow that we muſt no more believe any thing. But there are but few people into whoſe minds it can enter, that two or three thouſand perſons, (for there are not leſs of the Reformed Religion in *Orthez*) ſhould conſpire to lye about an affair, which after all, is not of any great concernment to them. For although the Angels ſhould not have ſung in the Air, their Religion would not be the leſs true. Moreover it is to be obſerved, that our people are not Educated in the Spirit of Superſtition and Credulity for Miracles. On the contrary, it is known that we have always made it part of our buſineſs to defend them againſt thoſe deluſions. Beſides this he muſt have an impudence which cannot be found but in very

very few Men, to feign events as happening in the view of a whole City, and to introduce on the Stage, Men who can give them the lye, and whoſe intereſt it is ſo to do. To conclude, I do not know how any one can imagine that the Magiſtrates of *Orthez*, and the Parliament of *Pau*, ſhould publiſh Ordinances to hinder Men from going to hear theſe Voices, if the thing it ſelf were falſe. At leaſt it muſt be granted that the Reformed in *Orthez* did believe they heard it. Incredulity which always finds out ſome intrenchment, and defence for it ſelf, will demand that we produce the Ordinances of the Parliament of *Pau*, and of the Magiſtrates of *Orthez*. It is not at all probable, that Men who would ſtifle both the knowledg, and memory of ſo extraordinary an event, and which was ſo diſadvantageous to them, ſhould be willing to tranſcribe them upon Paper, and yet much leſs Print, and deliver theſe Ordinances, which would have immortalized the memory of that Fact, which they were willing ſhould be forgotten. But having heard above the Depoſition of a perſon of honor, who ſaid that he heard with his Ears, the publication of theſe Prohibitions, he muſt be very incredulous that will deny the truth of this circumſtance. And he muſt ſuppoſe that two thouſand perſons are furniſhed with a great meaſure of impudence to attribute to a Court of Juſtice, and to the Magiſtrates of a City, a thing that is falſe. If this be not ſufficient to convince thoſe that doubt, they may tarry if they pleaſe, till Men have found the ſecret of collecting the impreſſions that words make upon the Air, and rendring them viſible, and then they will be made to ſee all things in their Original.

The ſame thing hath happened in *Cevennes*: as this Country is full of Mountains, where there are Eccho's, which multiply and return the Voice, and as night Aſſemblies have continually been made there, where they ſing Pſalms with a loud Voice, therefore the relations

lations of ſingings, which have been made in the Air, would be more ſuſpected by me. But the Affair of *Orthez*, which is a Country cloſe and without Mountains, being well proved, I ſee no reaſon to doubt of that of *Cevennes*, for which reaſon without ſcruple we will produce the Certificates which come from that Country.

The firſt Certificate. I Certifie that one of my Siſters wrote to me on *Feb.* 8. laſt, from a place called *Collet*, in *Cevennes*, where ſhe then was, in theſe words. *My dear Brother, you would be informed touching the ſinging of Pſalms, which Men have told you that they hear in this Country, there is nothing more true, Monſieur the late Baron of* Cadorve, *heard it two or three hours in the night, with his whole Family. I my ſelf, and almoſt all the World in this Country, have heard this Voice, but we have not been able to diſcern whether they were Pſalms, yea or no. It ſeems to us that it is a complaint, and even now at the hour I write to you, I hear, and am ſenſible of it.* La Roquette, *Miniſter of* Manoblet *in* Cevennes, *given at* Lauſanna, March 30. 1686.

The ſecond Certificate. I atteſt that Monſieur of the *Dark Valley*, a Gentleman of *Cevennes*, living near St. *John de Gardonnengue*, writ to me *September* 17. 1685. this which follows. *We ſee ſtrange things in all the places in* Cevennes, *we hear ſinging of Pſalms in the Air by night, as if it were in the Church.* Wedneſday *laſt I was lying alone in my Chamber, and about midnight I heard upon the roof a Voice very ſhrill, which awoke me, and afterwards five or ſix other Voices that aſſiſted it, and they ſung five or ſix verſes of the fifth Pſalm: all thoſe of the Houſe heard it many times.* The ſaid Monſieur of the *Dark Valley*, confirmed me in this belief, by a ſecond Letter, *Jan.* 27. 1686. That this ſinging of Pſalms doth conſtantly continue. The ſaid Monſieur adds, now the beating of a Drum is heard, as if Men of War were marching, and this is heard at mid-day in many places. *Barjune*, Miniſter of St. *Marſelle* in *Cevennes*, now fled to *Lauſanna* in *Switzerland*.

The third Certificate. *Towards the end of the month of* September *laſt, being with M.* d' Eſperies, *a Gentleman of merit, which is of* Vigan *in* Cevennes, *and we flying to the Caſtle of a Gentleman of our friends, named M.* de Montualian, *we heard in the Air a conſiderable number of Drums. Five or ſix days after, being with the ſaid M.*d' Eſperies, *in a little place named* Ablatatz, *in* Cevennes, *in the Pariſh of* Fraiſin, *and* Fourques, *and in the Dioceſs of* Mand, *whither my Family was fled for refuge, we heard in the Air a Holy Harmony, ſinging the Holy Praiſes of God; this is that which I do certifie to be true, foraſmuch as I heard it.* Saligne de Marnis *in* Cevennes. D' Eſperies de Vigan *in* Cevennes, *do atteſt the aboveſaid to be true.*

The fourth Certificate. Extracts of two Letters written to *Lauſanna*, to Mademoiſelle *Louiſe d's Vignoles*, by her Couſin Mademoiſelle *Jane de Vignoles*, a Maiden of *Vebron*, Siſter of M. *De Lavalett*, who was Arreſted in the Citadel of the *Holy Ghoſt* on the month of *Octob.* 1683. as it is reported in *The defence of the Project*, &c. which makes the third Tome of *The Eſtate of the Reformed.* This *Jan.* 3. 1686. *How happy are you my dear Couſin, that you can Pray, and ſing the Praiſes of God in publick, when in the mean time ſo many good ſouls have their mouths ſtopped, and dare not diſcover that which paſſes in their minds. But as to the buſineſs of ſinging the Praiſes of God, it is neceſſary that I ſpeak to you of the miracle which makes ſo much noiſe in this Country, which is, that ſince the intire loſs of our Churches, and our Paſtors, there has been heard in the Air Voices, and ſounds of Inſtruments, very melodious, and that which is moſt extraordinary, is that many perſons diſtinguiſh the Tunes of the Pſalms, and I can aſſure you of the truth thereof, ſince I my ſelf have diſtinguiſhed more than thirty. It has been told me that my Brother* (*ſhe means M.* de Mont Vaillant, *elder Brother both of her, and M.* de Vallette) *diſtinguiſhes them all perfectly well. Can you imagine that we hear theſe Voices night and day, and that we can ſo much as doubt that they are Troops of Angels which God ſends to us for Conſolation,*

to

to aſſure us that he hath not utterly forſaken us, and that our deliverance is at hand, God grant that we may make profit by theſe things. I had forgotten to tell you, that the noiſe of a Drum is alſo heard ſo clearly, that no body can doubt thereof.

It hath been anſwered to this Letter, that this might be natural, conſidering the ſituation of the Country, in which they then made Aſſemblies, together with other circumſtances, to which the following reply was made.

This *March* 6. 1686. *Be no more incredulous, I do conjure you, about the ſinging of Pſalms, for there are ſo many perſons of good underſtandings convinced thereof, that we ought to give up our ſelves to the power of truth. I do avow that the thing paſſes all imagination, but be aſſured that all care imaginable has been taken to prevent deluſion.*

The two Letters whereof my Brother has made the extracts above, were truly written to me by my Couſin *de Vebron* from *Cevennes*, whoſe Character and Spirit I ſo well underſtand, that I cannot be deceived therein. *Louiſe Des Vignoles.*

Mademoiſelle *de Vebron*, is a perſon which hath ſo much of Wit, Underſtanding, Honor, and Piety, that I am perſuaded as much as any one can be, that ſhe has no intention to deceive us. I do not at all doubt, but that all thoſe that have known her, will readily give her the ſame teſtimony with my ſelf. She hath always been of the Reformed Religion, and God hath preſerved her hitherto from the general fall, as it appears by two Letters, the original whereof I preſerve to ſhew them to ſuch as deſire it. *From* Lauſanna, March 30. Styl. Vet. 1686. *Signed* Des Vignoles, *Miniſter of* Lower Languedoc.

I give the ſame Teſtimony to the Merit and Piety of Mademoiſelle *de Vebron. Baſchi Aubais.*

We may add to theſe Certificates from *Cevennes* and *Bearn*, the Teſtimony of M. *Jacquelot*, Paſtor of the Church of *Vaſſy*, whom we have heard ſay, that he was informed by one of his Pariſhoners (a Man that never did appear to him of a humour inclined to ſell

Fables for truth) that two hours after midnight paſſing by the Church of *Vaſſy*, he there heard the ſinging of Pſalms. Teſtimonies of like nature may be reported from many other places, but theſe are enough. As to what remains, I am willing before I conclude here to defend our ſelves againſt an injuſtice, which is very ordinary in this kind of affairs, and it is this, by one ſole Negative Teſtimony, to endeavour to deſtroy many Affirmatives. They will ſay, I have asked a perſon that came from that Country, who hath ſaid that there is no ſuch thing, and the proof thereof is, that he never heard it. Behold a great Marvel, that in a large Country, and in a place where there are multitudes of perſons ſcattered, ſome on one ſide, and ſome on the other, there ſhould be ſome of them that ſhould not ſee and hear that which thouſands of others did! Let any Man judge if it be juſt to call in doubt, that which a hundred Witneſſes have ſeen, for the ſake of one that affirms he did not ſee it. But it will be ſaid yet, that there are perſons in *Switzerland* that after they had ſaid they had heard the ſinging of Pſalms in *Cevennes*, had afterwards retracted it. It is a matter of Fact that is told us here without any proof. But I am content at preſent to receive it as true. It is not a thing very extraordinary, that a Man hearing ſpeak of a Prodigy which holds all minds in doubt and ſuſpence, ſhould boaſt to be of the Party, and cry with the croud, *I ſaw it, I ſaw it.* Theſe ſort of Affairs were never otherwiſe, a hundred falſe Witneſſes mingle themſelves with true ones, when the thing diſcovered is only matter of report and hear-ſay. And it is likewiſe very poſſible that ſome may return to their integrities, and confeſs that they ſaw nothing. But can this invalidate the fidelity of thoſe which Perſevere, which Write, which Depoſe, and which Sign with an Oath? Theſe Hiſtories being ſet in ſo much light, that it appears to me ſufficiently difficult to call them in doubt. I think it may be permitted us to draw ſome Concluſions from them.

Some

Some will be for us, others againſt us. Againſt us, for it is a reproach, that the Providence of God makes unto us, becauſe you have ſo eaſily ſuffered your mouths to be ſtopped, and becauſe you have not dared, nor been willing any more to ſing his Praiſes, and Songs of Thankſgiving, which are the Symbols of your Reformation. God has made mouths in the midſt of the Air, and he cauſes his Praiſes to proceed from Stones and Rocks. And don't ye doubt but Rocks, and theſe inviſible mouths, will riſe in judgment againſt thoſe that fear Men, and will not glorifie God generouſly, and in the preſence of Perſecutors. The other Concluſions are for us, and againſt our Enemies. This event ſpeaks, and tells them *if theſe hold their peace, the Stones will ſpeak.* You ought to give thanks to God, that he approves your Worſhip by a Sign ſo conſiderable, and by a Teſtimony ſo evident. Let them not tell you that all this is nothing but deluſion; for all illuſions come from the Devil, who is the Father of lies, and who hath the Praiſes of God in horror and deteſtation. To conclude, behold the Event as a happy Preſage, that God will not ſuffer your Voices and your Songs to dye; the Angels have ſeized on them, and will ſhortly reſtore them, that you your ſelves may ſound them forth in the Air. You are obliged to make a great change in your life, that you may be worthy to receive this Grace from God. For which reaſon you ought to think of renouncing theſe worldly vanities of Cloaths, Cuſtoms, Words, Food, Houſes, Furniture, Pleaſures and Divertiſements; to take Sackcloth and Aſhes, to Cloath your ſelves with an Humility, and Modeſty truely Chriſtian. The time of your deliverance is at hand, but it will not come till that of your Repentance hath gone before it: the Spirit of Life will not return, till the Spirit of Piety and Devotion be reentered into your ſouls.

Decemb. 1. 1686.

The Eighth
PASTORAL LETTER.

Alterations happening during the Third Age. Concerning Baptiſm, Confirmation, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

WE continue at this time the Hiſtory of the Alterations that happened in the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church. We are in the third Age thereof, we will divide what we have to tell you concerning this Age into three Letters, to the end that we may not overcharge your memory, and we will fill the Sheet with matters of Fact, reſpecting the Perſecution which you ſuffer, and whereof our Brethren from divers places have given us information. The Doctrine of the Church is a Flood which rolls and ſwells in rolling, it unhappily gathers more of impurity than good things, we ſhall ſee it in the third Age. We have already obſerved Additions and Alterations in the Simplicity of the Chriſtian Worſhip arrived in the ſecond Age. We ſhall ſee many more in this.

We will begin with the Sacraments, as we have done in the ſecond Age. The firſt of theſe Sacraments is Baptiſm,

Baptiſm, we have not obſerved by the manner wherein *Juſtin Martyr* tells us they did adminiſter it, that there was made unto his time (that is to ſay, until the year 160. of our Lord) any conſiderable Addition. But *Tertullian*, a Prieſt of *Carthage*, who wrote in the beginning of the third Age, about forty years after *Juſtin Martyr*, learns us, that in his time they had added ſome Ceremonies to Baptiſm, that they gave Milk and Honey to the baptiſed, when they came out of the Baptiſmal Font. *E fontibus egreſſi lactis & mellis concordiam præguſtant.* During the ſpace of ſeven days after Baptiſm they abſtained from ordinary Waſhings, *i.e.* from going unto the Baths, they added alſo an Unction of Oil after Baptiſm, and the Impoſition of Hands. *Afterwards*, ſays the ſame *Tertullian*, *when we are gone out of the water we are anointed with the bleſſed Unction, according to the ancient Diſcipline by which they were accuſtomed to anoint the Prieſts with Oil, which they poured out of a Horn*, &c. As to what concerns the Impoſition of Hands, I believe ſufficiently, that it was a Ceremony not uſed in Baptiſm. For it has always been an Appendage of Prayer when they prayed for any one in particular, and demanded on his particular the Spirit of God and his Grace.

Tertullian does not ſay, that it was the cuſtom to kiſs thoſe perſons that were received to Baptiſm. But it appears by the Anſwer of S. *Cyprian* to *Fidus*, that Cuſtom was afterward introduced. This Biſhop *Fidus* made ſcruple to baptiſe Children before the eighth day, becauſe that before that day the Impurities which proceed from their Birth do not appear well wiped off. Thereupon S. *Cyprian* tells him: *Concerning what you ſay, that a Child in the firſt days after his Birth is not ſufficiently clear, and that every one of us have ſome abhorrence to kiſs him: we do not think that that can be any hinderance to the giving of him Grace.* In the mean while, as we find no Authors of this Age who ſpeak of this kiſs, as one of the Ceremonies of Baptiſm; ſo it is more

probable, that S. *Cyprian* ſpeaks it with reſpect to the kiſs which the faithful gave each other before the Communion: For then they cauſed Infants to communicate after their Baptiſm all together, after the ſame manner they did the adult; and before they did communicate it was neceſſary that they ſhould ſalute them. The ſame S. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of certain poſſeſſed perſons, which they did efficaciouſly exorciſe in Baptiſm in ſuch a manner, that the Devils, which had reſiſted all kinds of Conjurations, gave place to the Sacramental Waters. But it does not appear, that this Exorciſm was, as at this day, a Ceremony practiſed in the Baptiſm of all Catechumens in whatſoever ſtate they were, nor did the Devil go out by virtue of any Exorciſm, but by the ſole virtue of the Baptiſmal Water ſprinkled on them. So that we ſee nothing added to Baptiſm in this third Age but Milk and Hony, which they cauſed the baptiſed to eat, and the Unction wherewithal they did anoint them when they came out of the Font.

Theſe Ceremonies of Unction and Impoſition of Hands, which were of uſe in the third Age, do oblige us to obſerve here, that they were not at all the pretended Sacrament of Confirmation, as they would ſince make us believe. It is true, they are that whereof the *Roman* Church have made their Sacrament of Confirmation. But it is falſe, that the Church did then conſider it as a Sacrament. They were purely Ceremonies of Decency or Myſtery, which made up part of the Baptiſmal Adminiſtration. 1. This appears becauſe this Unction and Impoſition of Hands was performed immediately after Baptiſm, this no Man diſputes. At this day Confirmation is deferred a long time after Baptiſm, and thouſands of perſons even amongſt the adult die without being confirmed. 2. The ſame Miniſter that had baptiſed was he that performed this Unction and Impoſition of Hands, whereas afterwards this privilege was affected by, and appropriated to the Biſhop. 3. To conclude, *Tertullian* tells us expreſly, that this Unction

Unction *was in imitation of the ancient Jewiſh Diſcipline, according to which the Prieſts were anointed.* Which he would never have ſaid, if he had believed it a Sacrament of the Chriſtian Church. For the Sacraments of the New Covenant derive their original from Jeſus Chriſt, and not from *Moſes.* 'Tis the opinion of the Learned Dr. *Reynolds*, of the famous *Grotius*, and of almoſt all the Learned that are unprejudiced, that theſe Ceremonies were Appendages of the Baptiſm of the Ancients, and that they were added in the ſecond and third Age.

But it's of very little importance to know how the Ancients did conſider theſe Ceremonies of Unction and Impoſition of Hands, whether as Dependances of Baptiſm, or as Ceremonies ſeparate and diſtinct from it. It is ſufficient, that they did not conſider it as a Sacrament deſcended from Chriſt Jeſus; and that *Tertullian*, who is the firſt in whom this Unction is obſerved, profeſſes that it is in imitation of Judaiſm, juſt in the ſame manner, as is the Impoſition of Hands. The *Engliſh* Church, amongſt the Reformed, hath rejected this Unction, which makes the principal part of Confirmation, and has retained nothing but the Impoſition of Hands, to which ſhe hath left the Name of Confirmation. 'Tis an Eccleſiaſtical Ceremony, which ſhe might retain without crime, and which we might abandon without any prejudice to Chriſtianity.

We have learned that many of the new Converts, which have ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced, are very obſtinate and wilful thereupon (*viz.*) about the Sacrament of Confirmation, about its antiquity, and becauſe we have rejected it; but they ought to know that we have renounced it: 1. Becauſe they have made a Divine Sacrament thereof, whereas it was nothing but a Ceremony of human Inſtitution. 2. Becauſe it is always permitted to reject thoſe Obſervances which are of no neceſſity, as the *Roman* Church, at this day, does not practiſe the giving Hony and Milk to thoſe that are baptiſed,

baptiſed, nor to forbid them bathing, during the ſpace of ſeven days: Unction is a Ceremony of no other nature or importance than this. 3. To conclude, we have judged it to purpoſe to omit the Ceremony of Unction with the others, becauſe we were willing to reſtore the Chriſtian Worſhip to its ancient Simplicity. And it is certain, that theſe are Additions of the third Age.

We muſt therefore know, that the Chriſtians of the ſecond and third Age being diſguſted at the Simplicity of the Apoſtolick Worſhip, did blow up the Sacraments with Ceremonies that were added with intention to ſignifie the Grace that God did communicate and give there. They cauſed the new baptiſed to eat Wine and Milk, becauſe they were the nouriſhments of Infants, and they would ſignifie, that Believers newly baptiſed, ought to be as Children new born. For which reaſon *Tertullian* makes the word *infantare* to deſign the Action, by which they made the new baptiſed to taſte Wine and Milk. They anointed them with Oil, to ſignifie that ſpiritual Unction of Grace which Believers did receive, they laid hands on them to ſignifie the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt. The following Ages added Wax Candles and Torches to ſignifie ſpiritual Illuminations; white Garments to repreſent the Innocence of the newly baptiſed, and with the ſame intention many other Ceremonies. But I know not how by an imagination which may be called rough and impoliſhed in a little time after the Inſtitution of theſe Ceremonies (which were not inſtituted by the Church but to ſignifie) Men came to believe they had the virtue to confer Grace. And of the divers Graces which are confirmed to the Believers in Baptiſm, they attribute one to the waſhing with Water, another to Unction, and another to Impoſition of Hands. They imagined, that the Water in Baptiſm did preciſely give the Remiſſion of Sins, that the Oil did beſtow the ſpiritual Unction, and that the Impoſition of Hands gave the Holy Ghoſt. This

Divinity

Divinity is found in *Tertullian*, in the Book which he has left us concerning Baptiſm. Where he proves the Impoſition of Hands, after Baptiſm, cauſes the coming of the Holy Ghoſt; and he does it thus: 1. Becauſe the Prieſts and Magicians of Paganiſm did cauſe malignant Spirits to come upon their impure Waters by a Ceremony much like unto it. 2. Becauſe by the Impoſition of Hands, *Jacob* drew down a Bleſſing upon the Children of *Joſeph*. 3. By the Figure of the Ark and Dove, who brought an Olive Branch from the the midſt of the Waters of the Deluge, wherein this Dove was a Figure of the Holy Ghoſt, which falls upon him that comes out of the Baptiſmal Waters.

S. *Cyprian*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, who lived a little while after, taught the ſame thing (*viz.*) that Baptiſm gives forgiveneſs of ſins, *and that the Holy Spirit is communicated by the Impoſition of Hands*. But let it not offend theſe great Men, This Diſcourſe ſignified nothing in their Age, and a perſon may ſee that it is a Language which is deſcended from the Age of the Apoſtles, and from thoſe times in which extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit were communicated by the Impoſition of Hands. For will they ſay, that Remiſſion of Sins was given by the waſhing of Water, and the Holy Spirit by the Impoſition of Hands, is it to be thought, according to their opinion, that ſanctifying Grace and the Spirit of Regeneration are not at all given in Baptiſm? No, on the contrary S. *Cyprian* lays it down in expreſs words, *That the Spirit is received by Baptiſm*. And in another place he does affirm, that ſanctifying Grace whole and entire is given in Baptiſm, and that Men augment or diminiſh it afterwards by the good or evil uſe that they make of it, there is therefore no need of a new Ceremony for the donation of the Holy Spirit. He himſelf teaches us whence the Church took that cuſtom of impoſing Hands after Baptiſm. 'Tis from the Action of the Apoſtles *Peter* and *John*, who laid Hands on the People of *Samaria*, to the end, that they might

might receive the Holy Ghoſt. *Which thing is done among us*, ſays he, *Thoſe that are baptiſed preſent themſelves to the Governors of the Church, and receive the Holy Spirit by our Prayer, and the Impoſition of Hands, and are compleated by the Seal of the Lord.* The original of this Ceremony, with S. *Cyprian* acknowledges, ought to have made him confeſs the inutility thereof in his Age, ſince they had no longer the power of communicating the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.

This Impoſition of Hands was an imitation of the Apoſtles ill underſtood, an Unction was alſo a pure Addition in this Age, the effect whereof they were very much perplexed to expreſs. They ſaid indeed this Unction was deſigned to give Grace; but what Grace ſince Baptiſm communicates it whole and entire? *It is neceſſary*, ſays S. *Cyprian, that he who is baptiſed ſhould alſo be anointed, to the end, that having received the Chriſm, that is to ſay, the Unction, he might be the anointed of God, and have in himſelf the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt. Now the Euchariſt, and the Oil which they make uſe of to anoint the baptiſed, are ſanctified upon the Altar.* It is clear by theſe words, that Unction is nothing elſe but a Ceremony of Baptiſm, and that the Donation of the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt is not attributed to it, but becauſe 'tis annexed to Baptiſm. For to give the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt is the proper effect of Baptiſm, according to all the Ancients. It ſeems by this Paſſage, that the Oil wherewith they anointed the baptiſed, was conſecrated Oil; for S. *Cyprian* ſays, *It was conſecrated on the Altar.* But this is not all; for the ſanctification of the Oil upon the Altar ſignifies no more than what we have obſerved concerning the ſecond Age. 'Twas that Believers brought Bread, Wine and Oil, and placed them upon the Holy Table. They conſecrated theſe Oblations by Prayer, and they ſerved themſelves of them for the Uſages of the Church: among others, they ſerved themſelves of Oil for Lights, when they aſſembled by night, and for the Unction of the

the baptiſed. As to what remains you may obſerve, that in the third Age nothing was ſeen but one Unction in Baptiſm, whereas we ſhall find two afterwards. Behold the Alterations which have happened to the Sacrament of Baptiſm in this Age. Let us conſider the Euchariſt.

We have obſerved, that in the ſecond Age they had added the mixture of Water with Wine, the Cuſtom of ſending it to the abſent by the Deacons, and above all they had there annexed the Oblation of thoſe Gifts that Believers made on the Altar, as a part of the Ceremony. This had already given it the appearance of a Sacrifice, and indeed gave the name to the whole Action. We ſhall not need to doubt, but this imagination increaſed with time, Chriſtians having a very great deſire to give to their Worſhip ſome appearance of a Sacrifice, to take away the ſcandal which the Pagans conceived againſt them. For they perpetually ſaid to Chriſtians, *You have no Temples, Statues, Altars, nor Sacrifices, and by conſequence you are impious.* There was nothing in the Worſhip of the Chriſtian Religion which might be dreſſed up in the likeneſs of a Sacrifice, but the Euchariſt. They had that reſpect for the converted Pagans, that they added as many innocent Ceremonies as they could, to give to this Sacrament the appearance of a Sacrifice, with the ſame intention they gave it the name, with this intention, to the firſt Oblation uſed in the ſecond Age, they added another. And they began to preſent to God by Prayer the Bread and Wine they were about to conſecrate, and wherewith they made the Euchariſt. This is called Oblation and Sacrifice. The Writings of the third Age are full thereof. And 'tis from thence, that Popery would draw ſome advantage, as if they found therein their Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead. But this pretence is falſe, for firſt of all it muſt be obſerved, that the Fathers ſay expreſly, that 'tis a Sacrifice of Bread and Wine; we ſhall hear afterwards the Fathers of the fourth

fourth Age, and thoſe following. At preſent we are to hear thoſe of the third, *Clemens* of *Alexandria* ſays that Melchiſedec *gave Bread and Wine, as ſanctified Proviſions, in Type of the Euchariſt.* Which St. *Cyprian* explains in theſe words, *Our Lord hath offered to God the ſame Sacrifice that* Melchiſedec *offered, that is to ſay Bread and Wine,* viz. *his Body and his Blood. We ſee,* ſays he farther, *the Sacrament of the Sacrifice of our Lord prefigured in the Prieſt* Melchiſedec, *according to what the Scripture teſtifies,* where it ſays Melchiſedec *brought forth Bread and Wine.* And a little below, *The Lord accompliſhing, and rendering perfect the image of his Sacrifice, hath offered Bread and Wine.* Now, who ever heard ſay that there were Propitiatory Sacrifices of Bread aad Wine? All propitiation is in the effuſion of blood, and death of the Sacrifice. 2. Moreover, it is certain that the Fathers of the third Age called the Euchariſt a Sacrifice, becauſe it is the commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Croſs. *We make mention of the Paſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in all our Sacrifices,* ſaith St. *Cyprian.* 3. We have yet an invincible proof, that the Fathers of the third Age did not look upon the Euchariſt as a true Sacrifice, from the manner in which they anſwered the Pagans, upon the reproach which they continually offered to them, becauſe they had no Sacrifices. In the ſecond Age, *Juſtin Martyr* ſaid, *That the Prayers and Thankſgivings of Saints and Believers, were the only Sacrifices which were perfect, and acceptable to God, and were the only Sacrifices which Chriſtians have learnt to Offer, even then when they celebrated the Euchariſt.* In truth this Author had loſt either his underſtanding or his memory, if the Euchariſt it ſelf had been a Propitiatory Sacrifice. *Athenagoras,* who lived in the ſame Age, anſwered alſo the Pagans after the ſame manner. *What have I to do with Sacrifices and Burnt Offerings, ſince God cares not for them? He demands an unbloody Sacrifice, a reaſonable Service.* Can any thing be more expreſs, and more lovely than

that

that which *Minutius Felix* ſays, in anſwer to a Pagan, that objected to him, The *Chriſtians have no Temples nor Altars, do you think that we hide what we adore, under pretence that we have no Temples nor Altars? The Sacrifice that ought to be offered to God, is a good Mind, a pure Conſcience, a ſincere Faith, it is to live Innocently, exerciſe Juſtice, abſtain from Evil, and prevent his Neighbour from Periſhing, this is to Sacrifice a fat Victim, theſe are our Sacrifices, this is our Service.* *Origen* anſwers abſolutely after the ſame manner, to the Objection which was made by the Pagan *Celſus*. If we read *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, he expreſſes himſelf almoſt in the ſame words. *Arnobius* producing the Objection of the *Pagans, How then will ſome ſay, that you are under no obligation to offer Sacrifice?* And anſwers after a manner very exact, *We are not at all obliged thereunto.* *Lactantius* anſwers no otherwiſe than thoſe which went before. Now it is a prodigious blindneſs in theſe Men not to have anſwered the Pagans: *You deceive your ſelves, we have a Sacrifice, and the moſt glorious of all Sacrifices. For we offer the Body of Jeſus Chriſt as a Propitiatory Sacrifice to God his Father.* I intreat you, my Brethren, preſs your Converters, and demand of them whether they dare ſay to a Pagan, we have no other Sacrifices than Prayers and Thankſgivings, as for true Sacrifices we have no need to offer them.

To Conclude, my Brethren, give attention to this laſt proof, that the Ancients of the third Age, did not account the Euchariſt a true Sacrifice. It is that they Conſecrated, and Celebrated this Sacrament out of Churches, in private Houſes, and at their Meals, beſides their ſolemn Communions, which were made in publick Aſſemblies, they Celebrated the Myſteries in private, and among their Domeſticks. This we ſee in a Letter of St. *Cyprian*, where he diſputes againſt certain perſons who out of Mortification, and Abſtinence from Wine, eſpecially in the morning, will not Celebrate the Euchariſt but with Water. *Let not any*

one,

one, ſays he, *flatter himſelf with this conſideration, that although in the mornings they offer with Water alone, nevertheleſs when they come to Supper, they offer the Cup mixed with Wine and Water. For when we eat this Supper, we cannot call together all our people, to Celebrate this Sacrament in all its truth, in the preſence of all our Brethren.* His ſence is, theſe Water drinkers, againſt whom he diſputes, did not ſatisfie the Commandment and Inſtitution of Chriſt Jeſus, to Celebrate with Wine, by theſe private Communions which were made in Houſes, in which they mingled Wine with Water, becauſe they ought to follow the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and to Celebrate the Sacrament in its purity, and integrity, in the preſence of all the Brethren, and in the midſt of publick Aſſemblies. It appears then from thence, 1. That they Celebrated it in private Houſes in the Evening when they Supped together. 2. That they there Conſecrated the Cup, and that it was not brought from *Elce*, where, 3. That the Bread, as well as the Cup, was Conſecrated at the ſame inſtant, for why ſhould they Conſecrate the Cup, if they had not power to Conſecrate the Bread? 4. To conclude, theſe Communions were private amongſt a few perſons, and out of the preſence of the people. I do not doubt at all but it is of theſe private Communions whereof *Tertullian* ſpeaks in Chap. 3. of his Book concerning *The Soldiers Crown. We take*, ſays he, *the Sacrament of the Euchariſt at Meal-time, as alſo at Morning Aſſemblies before day, where we do not Communicate but at the hand of the Preſidents.* It is a paſſage that Men do not, or will not underſtand. For the underſtanding of it, we muſt know that *Tertullian* made this Book on the occaſion of a Chriſtian Soldier, who would not ſet a Crown of leaves upon his Head, becauſe it was forbidden to Chriſtians. By this refuſal he diſcovered he was a Chriſtian, and expoſes himſelf to Martyrdom, which he ſuffering, many blamed him, and ſaid, why did he refuſe to bear his Crown on his Head,

Head, where is the Text of Scripture that forbids it? *Tertullian* anſwers, that though it was not written, nevertheleſs the Soldier had done well, becauſe when we diſpute concerning Cuſtoms, Tradition without Scripture, is ſufficient to Eſtabliſh them, and he proves it by the Trine Immerſion in Baptiſm, which was more commended, as alſo by the Milk and Hony that they gave to the new Baptiſed. Among the obſervances, which had not been commanded, and in which they did a little deviate from the firſt inſtitution, he puts the Cuſtom of receiving the Euchariſt in the Morning, *in Aſſemblies before day*, as St. *Cyprian* calls them. And he pretends that the Cuſtom of taking the Euchariſt at Meal-time, is that alone which Jeſus Chriſt hath commanded, that is to ſay, hath Authorized by his Example: from whence it is clear he makes two ſorts of Celebration of this Myſtery, the one Solemn, which was done in their night Aſſemblies, the other private, that every Family did in their own Houſe.

Now it is to be obſerved, That in theſe Domeſtick Euchariſts, it was the Maſter of the Houſe, or of the Feaſt, that did Celebrate, that did Conſecrate and Diſtribute. This is clear by a paſſage of *Tertullian*, where endeavouring to prove ſecond Marriages unlawful to all ſorts of perſons, and not only to Prieſts and Miniſters of the Altar, he ſays that all Believers are Prieſts, that all Celebrate, that all Baptiſe, and by conſequence they are obliged by the Law which forbids ſecond Marriages to Prieſts and Presbyters. *We deceive our ſelves very much*, ſays he, *if we imagin that what is forbidden to Prieſts, is permitted to Laicks, for are they not all Prieſts? It is written he hath made us Kings and Prieſts to God his Father. It is the Authority of the Church which hath put a difference between the Clergy and the People, and which hath eſtabliſhed this ſacred honor for the body of the Clergy, this is ſo true, that when there is no Clergy-man in a place, thou doſt Celebrate, thou doſt Baptiſe, and thou art to thy ſelf a Prieſt: now where*

there are three, there is a Church, though they be Laicks, for every one lives by his own Faith, and God has no regard at all to persons. Here are divers things which are contrary to false Principles that have been established some time since. First of all, In this time it was not believed that the distinction of Laity and Clergy, and with much more reason that of Priest and Bishop, was by Divine right. It was the Church, and positive Law, made this difference. 2. Every one for himself, and for those that were his might exercise the Ministry. 3. And above all, All might Baptise, and Consecrate, and Administer the Sacrament of the Eucharist. *Offers & tingis*, you Laicks *Administer the Eucharist, and you do also Baptise*, that is to say in private Houses. For as to publick Assemblies which met before day, *Tertullian* tells us, that they did not Communicate in them, *but from the hand of the Presidents*: that is to say, from the hand of Bishops, or Priests, which were present. In which he insinuates clearly enough, that out of these publick Assemblies they Communicated by the hand of Laicks. And I my self do not doubt, but that this Custom continued in some places, even till St. *Austins* time; who assures us that in his time they Communicated after Supper the *Thursday* before *Easter*, although on all other days of the year they thought it necessary to Communicate in the morning, and before they had eaten. And it was the Head of the Family that Administred the Sacrament on that day, in memory of the first Communion, where Jesus Christ, as Father of the Family, distributed the Holy Bread to his Disciples. The same thing was done also in the Churches near to Alexandria, and in *Thebais*, according to the Testimony of *Socrates*. We conclude at present from hence two things, 1. That in the third Age they did not look upon the Eucharist as a true Sacrifice, for would they have permitted every private person to Communicate among themselves, whilst they were eating at the Table amongst their

their Domeſticks? Sacrifices are not offered but in Temples, and upon Altars. 2. That according to the Chriſtians of the third Age, Oblations, Liturgies, and other Ceremonies, were not conſidered but as parts of Decency, and by no means as things that were of the Eſſence, and of neceſſity in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt: for in theſe Domeſtick Communions all this was omitted, they practiſed nothing but Conſecration, Fraction, and Manducation of the Bread, it was nevertheleſs a true Euchariſt. 3. We conclude a third thing by the way, it is that there is no need of Miſſion, nor Vocation, for the Adminiſtration of Holy things, and by conſequence thoſe people who trouble us ſo violently about the Vocation of the Reformers, and our own, have no foundation for it in any Law, Divine or Apoſtolick. We will here conclude what we are willing to ſay, at this time, concerning the Chriſtianity of the third Age, we will add divers things for your Edification and Inſtruction.

☞ Firſt of all it has been judged convenient to let you underſtand what is the fidelity and honeſty of M. *de Meaux*, and your Converters, on the Subject of the means wherewith they ſerve themſelves to Convert you. It has been thought fit I ſay, to inform you, that we have received Letters from the Dioceſs of *Meaux*, which do fully confute, what the Biſhop of the Dioceſs has dared to publiſh in his Paſtoral Letter, *viz.* That the Reformed of that Country had not heard of any torments. There is a Letter dated *Decemb.* 15. 1685. that ſays, *We are in confuſion, Pray to God for us, the Dragoons are at* Meaux, *after they had cauſed all the Country of* Claye *to change their Religion, nothing ſtands before them, behold the pitiable ſtate whereunto our ſins have brought us.* In another Letter of *January* 3. it is thus, *In the confuſion wherein we are, what ſhall I ſay to you? I am not able to ſpeak to you but with tears of blood, the Dragoons have made all to change by force in the Provinces of* Meaux *and* Soiſſons. Another Let-

ter of *Jan.*6. from the Dioceſs of *Meaux*, makes mention of the violences that were offered to a venerable old Man, *de la Ferte au Col*, of the Age of ſeventy eight years, called M. *de Monceaux*, Dr. in Phyſick. The Archers came to carry him away in the midſt of Winter, and without giving him one days reſpite, they carried him away by force. When he was in the middle of the Woods he fell into ſo great weakneſs and faintneſs, that he reſolved to caſt himſelf down in the mire, and dye there, but they would not do him the favour to let him dye in peace. They tempted him by all ſorts of methods, and in concluſion being able to gain nothing upon him, they choſe to impriſon him with very many others. I do profeſs that reading the Paſtoral Letter of M. *de Meaux*, I was tempted to believe that the Reformed of his Dioceſs had all fallen only under the fear of evil, for I was not able to imagin that any one ſhould write falſely concerning a matter of Fact, whereof there are thirty or forty thouſand Witneſſes. But behold the Letters which teach us what we ought to believe concerning it. There are others by which it appears that all thoſe Violences have been done in the Dioceſs of *Meaux*, which have been committed elſewhere. It is alſo known by an Eye-witneſs, that M. *de Meaux* himſelf made uſe of the Kings Declaration to prevail with a ſick perſon to Communicate, which Declaration appoints, that thoſe who do not Communicate in their ſickneſs, ſhall be ſent to the Gallies if they recover their health.

Theſe things which precede are not reported but accidentally, for we do not make it our duty to report to you the Violences and Cruelties that have been done, and which ſhall be done, if it be not in ſuch degree and meaſure, as ſhall be neceſſary to give you example of the courage and ſtrength of our Martyrs. For the deſign that we have in theſe Letters is not to irritate and provoke you againſt your Perſecutors, but

to

to comfort and edifie you by the conſtancy of thoſe which Suffer. Upon this conſideration, and with this intention, we will report ſome Hiſtories which have been communicated to us, which will learn you, that thanks be to God, our Enemies have not accompliſhed the cruel deſign which they had formed againſt us, which was to hinder us from having Martyrs.

We ought not to refuſe this Name, and Honor, to thoſe which after they had been ſo weak as to ſign I know not what form of Abjuration of our Religion, have had the courage to raiſe themſelves, and to perſevere even unto death in the profeſſion of the Truth. We owe alſo the ſame honor to thoſe which are dead amidſt the torments, which the Dragoons, and Perſecutors have inflicted on them, and which have perſevered even to the laſt breath in the bold profeſſion of the Truth. To conclude, it ſeems to me that without extending the ſignification of the word Martyr too far, we may give it to thoſe, who after ſuffering long and cruel torments, have ſeen death as very near them, and have beheld it as certain, without being the leaſt ſhaken thereby. So that without reckoning thoſe that are dead by the hand of the Hangman, or by the Sword of the Soldier, formerly for the ſake of Religion; behold three ſorts of Martyrs, whereof we ought to have ſome eſtimation, and of every one of theſe three Orders, we will repoot unto you ſome Examples which have been writ unto us.

An Eye-Witneſs hath written to us, that in a Village of *Poictou*, called Gods Town *Dannai*, an honeſt Man called M. *Palmenteir*, after having ſuffered all the firſt violences by the Dragoons, to wit Blaſphemies, Threatnings, Plundering of all his Goods, and other things of like nature, not yielding was treated as you ſhall underſtand, and in concluſion dyed amidſt the torments. The Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* returning from the Aſſembly of the *Clergy* at *Paris*, about the end of the month *September* in the year paſt, comes into

the Houſe of the ſaid *Palmenteir*, and asked the Dragoons why they had done their duty no better, and whether there were no fire to warm this Gouty old Man? After he had given this order, he went up the Chamber on high, and the Dragoons dragged the weak old Man out of his Bed, full of the Gout for many years. They dragged him on the floor, they applied an Iron Plate red hot to the bottom of his Feet, and to his Hands. In this torment he uttered dreadful cries; the Archbiſhop in the Chamber above laughed at it, and diverted himſelf with it. The Wife of the ſaid *Palmenteir* came to the ſuccour of her Husband, they knocked her down with blows of their Daggers, and the butt end of their Piſtols: ſhe fell into a Swoon. In this eſtate they bathed her with two or three Buckets of Water. This puniſhment being indured a long time, this poor Man was ſo weak, not to Abjure his Religion, but to promiſe to uſe means for his inſtruction and information. The Archbiſhop deſired at leaſt, that he would ſign this promiſe, but the condition his hands were in not permitting him to move them, the Archbiſhop ſigned for him, and ſent the writing to the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, intreating him to ſend Miſſionaries to Convert this Family. This poor ſick perſon had no ſooner conſented to this Signature, but he retracted it, and cauſed a perſon to write to the Biſhop that he had no need of inſtruction, and would dye in his Religion. In the mean time the Wounds of his burning, wherewith he was covered all over, grew to inflammation, and reſiſted all remedies, a Fever joyns it ſelf thereunto, and he dyed within a few days after, bewailing without ceaſing his weakneſs, and repeating every moment thoſe words of *Pſalm* 51. *God be merciful to me a ſinner*, and repelling couragiouſly the temptations of a *Carmelite*, and a *Jeſuite*, which perſecuted him to the laſt breath. I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould refuſe the honor of Martyrdom to this Man, ſince he dyed confeſſing the name of God amidſt the cruel Wounds,

Wounds, that had been given him, becauſe he would not abjure it.

We ought not to refuſe a place in the Catalogue of our Martyrs to M. *de Villiers*, a younger Brother, of the Houſe *Juigne*, a Family ſufficiently known. This Gentleman was arreſted at *Francy*, near to *Bolonia*, indeavouring to ſave himſelf by flight. They carried him to *Calice*, from whence the Intendant ſent him to *Paris* by the Provoſt, where he was put in priſon in *Biſhop-Fort*, there he continued from *Jan.* 8. till the 22. of *Auguſt* laſt. During the whole time of his Impriſonment, he preached by his actions and words, after a manner the moſt efficacious in the world. He was both Learned and Pious, that he confounded all the Converters, after a manner that edified the other Priſoners, which ſuffered for the ſame Cauſe. The chief Preſident took the pains one day to come and ſee him. They entered into Diſcourſe; but there was found that inequality betwixt him and Monſieur *de Villiers*, that he was conſtrained to leave him, ſaying what formerly a Cardinal ſaid to *Arioſto*, on occaſion of his Poem, called *Orlando Furioſo, Oh God! where have you gotten ſo much Roguery?* An Anſwer well worthy the Gravity of a chief Magiſtrate, about ſo ſerious an Affair. M. *de Villiers* had to do with all ſorts of perſons; Men of the Church, and Men of the Sword aſſaulted him, and he diſingaged himſelf from all their Attacks, always with an admirable ſucceſs. The inconveniences of the Priſon cauſed him to fall into a Bloody Flux, whereof he died at the end of ſix weeks. During his Sickneſs they denyed him all commerce, with the other Priſoners of his own Religion, he ſaw none but Perſecutors and Tempters. But nevertheles it was known by themſelves, that he never ceaſed to praiſe God, and to bleſs him, that he died in and for the Defence of his Truth and Goſpel; his Soul was always raiſed towards Heaven, his Diſcourſes were full of Piety, Diſingagement from the World, and of ardent Deſires for the Kingdom of Heaven.

I have told you already, that I do not believe, that we ought to refuſe the Glory of Martyrdom to thoſe who, through weakneſs, made their Subſcriptions. Nevertheleſs without partaking in any Idolatrous Worſhip did afterwards recover, and die between the fear of being ſent to the Gallies, if they returned to health, and the horror of being dragged all naked upon a Hurdle after their Death. This Fear and the Horror are true Puniſhments, ſo that I reckon thoſe Women, which ſurmount the horror of nakedneſs, to which their dead Bodies were to be expoſed after death, as dying in the midſt of Torments for the Faith. Nothing makes a more violent impreſſion on the Spirit of a modeſt Woman. And all the World knows the Hiſtory of the Chriſtian Damoſels, which were cured of a certain melancholick Diſtemper, which put them upon hanging themſelves. Nothing could give check to this rage. In concluſion, they thought it adviſeable to draw ſome of them ſtark naked through the Streets in the view of the People. The fear of being thus proſtituted to the Eyes of Men, ſtaid others, and hindered them from being their own Executioners.

Of this ſort of Martyrs we have an infinite number. For of all the new Converts which are dead in great numbers within a year paſt, particularly in *Poyton*, where by a juſt Judgment of God Death hath made ſuch Spoils, that great Pariſhes are intirely depopulated of all theſe new Converts. I ſay there are not, it may be, one of an hundred which have given way to their Threatnings, and permitted themſelves to communicate after the *Roman* Manner. Thus 'tis alſo in *Languedoc*, there have been Women which they have affrighted with this puniſhment. But they anſwered courageouſly, that what they threatened as an evil, they deſired as an advantage, and that they would offer this ſhame which they prepared for them to their Saviour, as an Expiation of their Crime. This great Reſignator has not at all mollified the rage of their Perſecutors,

ſecutors. At *Montpellier* hath been ſeen the Body of a venerable Woman, named *Mademoiſelle Cauquet*, Wife of M. *Samuel Cauquet*, a Phyſician, expoſed all naked through the Streets, beſmearing the Pavement with her Blood and Entrails poured out thereon. And when ſhe was left at the Dunghil, there came two Dragoons, which cauſed their Horſes to paſs and repaſs over this poor Body an hundred times. But that which is moſt edifying, is to know, that during her Sickneſs, the Anſwers that this holy Woman made to her Judges, and which are mentioned in her proceſs, bear the marks of a profound humility, and of an extraordinary goodneſs. It may be they may be found one day in the Regiſters, if the malice of the Devil does not cauſe thoſe precious Monuments to be ſuppreſſed, as they have almoſt intirely blotted out the Procedures againſt the ancient *Waldenſes*, to the end that the proofs of their Innocency might be all made void. We have ſeen the Carcaſe of one named *Peter Crouſel*, the Son of a Merchant of *Clermont* of *Lodeve*, dying a Confeſſor in the City of *Montpellier*, dragged at a Horſes Tail, and a Priſoner taken from the ſame Priſon where the Martyr died, leading the Horſe, and a Hangman ſtriking the Body of the living perſon more frequently than the Horſe which dragged the dead.

The number of this kindof Martyrs being ſo great, we cannot make a Catalogue of them, without the aſſiſtance of thoſe which are ſcattered in divers places in *France*, and have been eye-witneſſes thereof. I will only report here two, which are more particularly come to my knowledge, and which have ſomething peculiar in them, becauſe of the Quality of the Perſons. The firſt is M. *Robert d' Ully*, Vicount *d' Nouion*, of the Church of *Couci* in *Picardy*, an old Gentleman of about eighty years of age, who had been Maſter of Camp to a Regiment of Infantry, and Governor of a place called *La Motte au Bois*, all covered with Wounds and Scars that he had received in the Service

of

of the King, during forty years ſpace, and having yet a Bullet in his Knee, which could not be taken thence. This old Man was ſo weak, as to make his Subſcription, as many others did; but he had alſo the courage to retract it not only by word of mouth, but alſo by a Writing ſigned with his own hand. They cauſed a Hangman with a Hurdle to come before his door, and told him he muſt be dragged. M. *de Novion* told them, that they ſhould not tarry for him, for he was ready to go to the place of Execution. He aroſe from his Bed, altho he had not been able to walk for many years; the Provoſt being aſtoniſhed at this conſtancy, paid the Hangman and others for their Journey, and ſent them back. This Gentleman a few days after was dragged from his Houſe, and put into a Convent of the Order of the Premonſtrants, where the Monks diſcharged themſelves ſo well of the Commiſſion, that they killed him by haraſſing him without ceaſing. They made him loſe his Voice many days before he loſt his Life, by ſpeaking eagerly to him, and he repelling them with vehemence. He died, continually thruſting them from him with his hand, and lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, when he was no longer able to lift his Voice thither. As ſoon as he was dead the Monks cauſed his Body to be caſt into a Dog's Kennel, and gave notice thereof to the chief Magiſtrate of *Couci*; he came and cauſed his Body, without ſo much as a Shirt, to be laid upon a Cart to carry it to that City. A frightful Spectacle was there ſeen, the Head of this poor Man hung out of the Cart all bloody. All the Wounds that he had formerly received reopened all at once, and became ſo many mouths, which vomited Blood, and demanded Vengeance, that after ſo long Services they were ſo rewarded. When the Body was arrived at *Couci*, they caſt it, in this condition, into the Sink of the Priſon, they cauſed his Bowels to be torn out by a Chirurgeon, they threw them to Dogs upon the Walls of the City. This Body lying in the dirt continued

tinued ſome weeks, expecting that his Proceſs would be made. At the end of fifteen days Sentence was pronounced, and executed, the Carcaſe was drawn through all the Streets of the City: and in concluſion, thrown into the Ditch, whither the Rabble went, and pelted it with Stones, till they left not one whole Bone; and for fear leſt any one ſhould take him by night, and bury him, they ſet a Sentinel upon the Wall of the City for many nights together near the place where they had caſt him. And they added a Prohibition upon pain of death, that no Body ſhould bury him, ſo that there he is to be eaten of Dogs, if it be not done already.

To this Martyr ſo famous in the Wars, we will joyn M. *Paul Cheneuix*, famous in the long Robe, Dean of the Counſellors of the Parliament of *Metts*, more than eighty years of age, and who had ſate upon the *Flower de Luces* from the 35*th.* year of his age. This venerable old Man died about the end of *November*, without ever having communicated, begging pardon of God for his weakneſs, confounding the Prieſts and the Biſhop of *Metts*, the Governor, the Procurator of the King, and the principal Members of Parliament, which urged him vehemently by Threatnings, lewd Reaſonings, and Argumentations. When he was dead his Body was carried to the Priſon in his own Coach, and condemned by the chief Magiſtrate to be drawn upon a Hurdle. The Parliament, who had ſome horror to ſee the moſt ancient Member of their Body thus treated, ſuſpended the execution of the Sentence. But an Order came from the Court to execute it, and 'twas done the 28*th.* of the laſt month. This venerable Body was ſtripped ſtark naked, without the leaſt covering for its ſhameful parts, they dragged it with the utmoſt reproach, all the Militia was put in Arms, and the Hangman himſelf was armed. The People at this Spectacle ſent forth Cryes that pierced the Heavens; and the Reformed of *Metts* did an Action of Courage, which

ought

ought to be immortalized; when the Body was on the Dunghil, they took it thence, and interred it honorably with a train of 400 persons, they did the same to a little Coffin wherein they had inclosed his Bowels, upon the Dunghil they sang *Psalm* 79. 2. *The bodies of thy saints most dear, Abroad to birds they cast: The flesh of them that do thee fear, The beasts devour and waste.* A few days before they exercised the same cruelty in the same City of *Metts*, upon the Body of a Man named *Robert a Knacker*, a poor Man for his quality, but whose Courage appeared heroical, during a sickness of many days, in which he rejected with very great constancy and stability all those temptations, which without ceasing were offered to him. I do not report this with intent to introduce horror upon your minds for inhumanities so prosecuted, but to the end that you may learn, that without doubt God has given the Crown of Martyrdom to Souls whose Bodies have suffered so many reproaches, and to have opportunity to conjure you to despise the like outrages which are prepared for your Bodies, provided you take care to put your Souls in a state of Security, and in the way to Glory by a holy and serious Repentance. *December* 15. 1686.

The Ninth Pastoral Letter.

A Continuation of the Alterations happening in the Christian Church during the Third Age. Concerning Masses for the Dead, the communicating of Infants, the Real Presence, and Transubstantiation.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

WE told you in the last of our Letters, that we should divide the third Age, at least, into three parts, to the end, that we may not charge your Memories with too many things at once; we have found

found ſome Additions made to the Ceremonies of Baptiſm, and ſome in thoſe of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt. The moſt notable Additions are Offerings, and Prayers for the dead, which are added in the Liturgy, which concerns the celebration of this Sacrament. Look to this point, there is a ſnare laid for you. In the Extracts, which your Converters make for you from the Fathers of the third Age, they will ſhew you ſome Paſſages of *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, where they ſpeak *of Oblations for the dead, of performing Sacrifice for the dead, and of deſiring refreſhment for the dead.* And upon this they cry boldly and ſay, Behold the Sacrifice of the Maſs and Purgatory at the ſame time; for this Sacrifice is that of the Maſs; theſe dead for which they pray are the Souls in Purgatory, and this refreſhment which they beg for them is the deliverance of Souls out of that Fire. But theſe Men which inſtruct you are either ignorant Sots, which never ſaw the Fathers, unleſs in little Extracts; or elſe they are Knaves, which cheat and deceive you. For behold the Truth pure and entire as it is.

So it is, that in the beginning of the third Age, or juſt at the end of the ſecond they began to pray for the dead; the moſt ancient Writer which ſpeaks thereof is *Tertullian*, a Prieſt of *Carthage*, who died in the year 217. Secondly, 'tis to be obſerved, that the Prayers, in favour of whomſoever made, and for whatſoever it was, were put into the Liturgy of the Celebration of the Euchariſt, becauſe the Ancients were perſuaded, that Prayers joyned to this Sacrament, which is the Commemoration of the Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt, were much more efficacious, and acceptable to Almighty God. So that thoſe who recommended themſelves to the Prayers of the Church did carry, or cauſe to be carried, their Names to the Paſtors, to the end, that they might inſert them into thoſe places of the Liturgies, where they prayed God on the behalf of particular perſons. And 'tis from thence came the Cuſtom of ſaying Maſſes for all perſons and all things. Thoſe

Thoſe that deſire that they ſhould pray for their dead did not fail to bring their Names, and cauſe them to be inſerted in their Liturgy.

Now it muſt be remembred, that it was the cuſtom of Chriſtians from the firſt Age to bring their Alms and Offerings to the Holy Table. Before the Celebration of the Euchariſt they conſecrated theſe Offerings by Prayer, and the Names of thoſe which had offered them were mentioned therein.

When the cuſtom of praying for the dead was introduced, the Kindred which deſired that they ſhould pray for their dead, brought Offerings according to their appointment. They declared, that theſe Oblations or Alms were made by the order of the dead, or that of their Relations, to the end that they would pray for them, and that mention might be made of them in their Liturgy, and in their Prayers. And thoſe Oblations or Alms are called Oblations for the dead.

And as thoſe Offerings which are made by the living, have given the Name of Oblation to all the Action of the Sacrament: ſo theſe Oblations made for the dead, to the end they might pray for them, give the name of *Sacrifice for the dead* to all the Prayers made for them in the Celebrations of the Myſteries.

To conclude, it muſt be known, that the Church of the firſt Age, which had a reſpect (it may be exceſſive) for the memory of the Martyrs, cauſed their Names to be regiſtred in the Liturgy of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, particularly in the Celebration of the Myſteries, which were performed on the day of their Martyrdom, which was called the Birth-Day of the Martyr, and this was alſo called Oblations for the dead: *We offer every year on the day of the Death of a Martyr Oblations for the dead,* ſaith *Tertullian.*

Behold from whence comes Maſſes for the dead, and the ſhadow of reſemblance with what is done in the Church of *Rome* is capable of dazling ye. But obſerve theſe great Differences. The firſt is that the Sacrifices

that

that were offered for the dead (ſo they call them) were not accounted true Sacrifices, much leſs propitiatory Sacrifices. 2. That they did not beg of God deliverance from the pains of Purgatory. For Purgatory was not known at that time. The third is that they did not commemorate Saints and Martyrs as they do at this day, to have part in their Merits, or to offer their Merits to God.

Firſt of all it is indiſputable, that the Church of the third Age did not think, that Prayers for the dead joyned to the Sacrament of the Euchariſt were a true Sacrifice, I will not repeat the proofs, thoſe that pleaſe may ſee them in the preceding Letters. For ſince we have proved, that they did not at all account the Euchariſt in general a true Sacrifice, altho they gave it that name, tis clear, that they could not account as a true Sacrifice the Prayers which were joyned to the Euchariſt for the repoſe of the dead. So that the Ancients did not call that part of their Worſhip, which they called *Oblations for the dead*, *Sacrifice*, for any other reaſon, than becauſe the Offerings which were conſecrated upon the holy Table, were there placed on the behalf of the dead, either by their order, or according to their will and intention. And becauſe theſe Prayers for the dead were joyned to the Sacrament, which is a Sacrifice of Praiſe, and the Commemoration of the propitiatory Sacrifice of the Croſs.

Secondly, we ſay, that the end for which they make mention of the dead in the Celebration of the Euchariſt, was not for deliverance from Purgatory, whereof no Diſcourſe had been yet heard. To be aſſured thereof, there needs no more than to hear the Ancients concerning it. 1. At the beginning they were only ſimple Commemorations of the dead, to give thanks that they died in the Lord, and in the fear of God. 'Twas wholly to this end that they made mention of the Martyrs. S. *Cyprian* ſpeaking of two Men of War who had ſuffered death, ſays, that they were true and

ſpiritual

ſpiritual Soldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, and that in overthrowing the Devil by the Confeſſion of the name of Jeſus Chriſt. They had by a generous ſuffering been worthy to receive the Palms and Crowns of the Lord. *Now you may remember,* ſays he, *that we offer Sacrifices for them.* Obſerve, that S. *Cyprian* ſays expreſly, that theſe two Martyrs were crowned in Heaven. Nevertheleſs he ſays that they offered Sacrifice for them; therefore it was not to fetch them from Purgatory. How could it be that S. *Cyprian* and the Ancients ſhould offer a Sacrifice to fetch the Martyrs from Purgatory, when they believed they were in a ſtate of Bleſſedneſs? 'Twas to do an injury to Martyrs, to pray for them, ſay they, according to that ſaying ſo much known among the Ancients, *Injuriam facit Martyri qui orat pro Martyre.* For 'twas to doubt of his happineſs. The ſame S. *Cyprian* ſays in another place: *Obſerve well the days on which they died,* ſpeaking of the Martyrs, *to the end that we may remember them when we celebrate the Memories of the Martyrs. Altho* Tertullian, *our moſt faithful and devout Brother hath written to us, and doth write to inform us of the days in which our bleſſed Brethren, which were in Priſon, paſſed to a glorious immortality, to the end that we may here celebrate Oblations and Sacrifices for their Memory, expecting, that with the help of God we ſhall celebrate them with you.* That which he calls in the beginning *Remembring the Martyrs,* he calls afterwards *Oblations and Sacrifices for the memory of them.*

But if to the Commemorations, that is to ſay, to the Praiſes which they gave to God for the glorious death of the departed, they added ſome Prayers to God, it was with reſpect to the Opinions then prevailing, touching the ſtate of Souls after death. And theſe Opinions were ſuch as had their Birth in the end of the ſecond Age, and was almoſt generally eſtabliſhed and received in the third. 1. That Souls did not enter into the Heavenly Paradiſe till after the Reſurrection.

2. That

2. That they remained in a ſeparate place and ſtate, till that day. 3. That they might go thence ſooner or later, by a quicker or ſlower Reſurrection; for they thought that the Reſurrection was not accompliſhed in a day, but continued the ſpace of a thouſand years, at many and divers times. 4. That at the day of Judgment the Souls paſs through that fire which ſhall conſume the World. 5. That in concluſion, they preſent themſelves in the day of Judgment, either to be Abſolved, or Condemned. There is not a learned and upright Man, which doth not acknowledge this was the Divinity of the third Age, yea, and of thoſe that follow. So that with reſpect to theſe Opinions then prevailing, they begged of God for the Dead. 1. That he would fix them in the place of Repoſe, which they call *locus refrigerii*, or the Boſom of *Abraham*. 2. That he would increaſe their happineſs in that place, and moderate the deſire they have to go from thence. 3. That they may go early thence, and partake in the firſt Reſurrection. 4. That they may paſs through the fire at the laſt day without receiving any damage. 5. And to conclude, that they may be Abſolved when they preſent themſelves before the Throne of God: all this was not expreſſed in the Prayers of the Church. On the contrary they were conceived in general terms, it was the intention of thoſe which made Prayers for the Dead.

But to what purpoſe is it to diſpute farther, whether they offered Maſſes for the repoſe of Souls in Purgatory at that time, ſince we have ancient Liturgies, where we may ſee what they begged of God for the Dead. There are two Liturgies, of which one bears the name of St. *James*, the other of St. *Mark*. We ſhall do them a great honor if we put them among the Writings of the third Age. The Liturgy attributed to St. *James*, ſays, *Lord God of the Spirits of all fleſh, remember the Orhtodox, of which we have made mention, and whereof we have made none, from* Abel *the Righteous unto this day, cauſe them to reſt in the Land of the Living, in the Boſom of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *in thy Kingdom, in the delights of Paradiſe.* And that of St. *Mark*, *Cauſe*

the Souls of our Fathers, and of our Brethren, which are dead in the Faith of Chriſt Jeſus, to reſt, &c. Cauſe them to reſt in the Tabernacles of thy Saints, and give them the Kingdom of Heaven. That Compoſition which is called the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, is a Work of the fourth, and it may be of the fifth Age. Nevertheleſs we do not ſee there in the Prayers for the Dead, any Prayer for the deliverance of Souls out of Purgatory. According to the Liturgies of that time, they requeſted two things for the Dead. 1. *Pardon all his ſins, voluntary, and involuntary, give him Angels for his guard.* For they believed that in theſe ſeparate places they were aſſiſted by Angels. 2. *Place them in the Boſom of the Patriarchs and Apoſtles, and of all thoſe that have been acceptable to thee from the beginning of the World, where there is neither ſorrow nor ſighing.* It is the ſeparate place, where according to them Souls reſt to the day of Judgment.

To conclude, will you have any thing more than all this? Behold it in the Book of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy*, of the falſe *Dionyſius* the Areopagite. It is to do him great honor to quote him among the Authors of the third Age, ſince he is much more modern. But at leaſt in teaching us what was done in the following Ages, he will learn us what was not done in the Ages preceding. He ſays, 1. *That when a Man was dead, his Relations and Friends ſung Praiſes to God that had given him the Victory, and cauſed him to arrive at the end he deſired.* 2 *Afterwards they carried him to the Biſhop as if it were to receive the Sacred Crown.* 3. *The Biſhop cauſed him to be carried, if he were a Laick, to the entrance of the Quire of the Church, and there they performed the Office of Prayers, which began with Praiſes, afterwards they read the Promiſes of the Reſurrection, and ſung Pſalms:* before they paſſed farther they cauſed the Catechumens to go out, *after which they mentioned all the Saints heretofore dead, in whoſe Praiſes they thought the deceaſed might have ſome part. They exhorted all thoſe which were preſent, to breath after a happy end in Chriſt Jeſus, and in concluſion the Biſhop made Prayers for the Dead, he ſaluted the deceaſed perſon,*

and

and after him all the living. But what did theſe Prayers for the Dead contain? *It is,* ſays he, *that all the ſins which they have committed through human frailty, might be forgiven them, and that God would conduct them into the Land of the Living, into the Boſom of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *to the place where there is neither grief, ſorrow, nor ſighing.* In all this there is nothing of Purgatory.

To conclude, For the third and laſt difference of the Sacrifice of the Maſs at this day, where they make mention of the Dead, and the ſervices which the Chriſtians of the third and fourth Age did for them, it muſt be known, that at this time they diſtinguiſhed the Dead, whereof they make two ſorts, there are thoſe which they put in the Liturgy to Pray for them for their reſt, and deliverance from Purgatory: and others whereof they make mention to preſent their merits to God, and to be aided by their Interceſſion. For in the Maſs they make mention of the *Holy Virgin, of the Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors,* &c. to be aided by their Prayers, and to partake in their Merits, that is to ſay, they Prayed to them, inſtead of Praying for them, but this was a thing unheard of in thoſe Ages. It was a thing ſo impoſſible that they ſhould Invoke God by the Merit of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, that they Prayed to God even for them: juſt in the ſame manner as for the leaſt Believers. This may be ſeen in the Liturgies that we have quoted, where we have ſeen they Prayed for all Saints, from *Abel* to this preſent day: and the Liturgy of St. *Mark* makes expreſs mention of *Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors,* as of perſons for which it ſays, *Cauſe them to reſt in the Boſom of* Abraham. This by the way makes it appear, that theſe good Men make little reflection upon what they ſay, for they requeſt on the behalf of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, that God would ſet them in a place of reſt, nevertheleſs it is one of the Articles of their Faith that they are there already, and that they had been there from the moment of their death. But as *Bellarmin* hath well obſerved, their Prayers for the Dead were conceived in the ſame terms as if they had been made at the

inſtant of time when their Souls left their Bodies, an inſtant which is the preciſe time of Praying for the forgiveneſs of their ſins, and the reſt of their Souls. If after this the new Converts through their prejudice and blindneſs, will find the Sacrifice of the Maſs in the third Age, we know not how to help it; let them only know, that this heap of Prayers for the Dead, and Oblations for the Deceaſed, which were added to the Celebration of the Euchariſt in the third Age, was the unhappy Seed which the Spirit of Lies and Superſtition did Sow in the Church, that he might cauſe from thence to ſpring the falſe Sacrifice of the Maſs, Propitiatory both for the Living and the Dead: ſo that they ought not to be aſtoniſhed if there be ſome ſhadow of likeneſs between theſe Oblations for the Dead, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, ſince the one is the Seed, and the other the Fruit, the one the beginning, and the other the end.

This Article might ſuffice, not only for the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and for Prayers for the Dead, but alſo for Purgatory; for what we have ſaid proves that Prayers for the Dead was by no means eſtabliſhed upon the Opinion that Souls were in fire after death, from whence they might be drawn by Maſſes. And you may, my Brethren, boldly defie your Seducers to ſhew you in that Age any paſſage in the Ancients that ſay ſo. Suffer not your ſelves to be abuſed by the Word *Refrigerium*, which ſignifies refreſhment, as if they had deſired for Souls ſome abatement of the heat of the flames, for this Word ſignifies no other thing in the Authors of thoſe times than pleaſure, and *locus refrigerii*, a place of pleaſure. Beware alſo of the Knavery of your Tranſlators, who in thoſe places where they find *offerre pro dormitione*, that is to offer for thoſe aſleep, they Tranſlate it to offer for their repoſe, as if the Souls for which they Prayed had been in ſome Pain and Travel. For to offer for thoſe aſleep, is ſimply to offer for the Dead. Sleep, according to the Style of Scripture, ſignifies nothing but Death, and to offer for the Dead, or for thoſe aſleep, was to offer by making mention of the deceaſed.

Behold

Behold that which was added to the Sacrament of the Euchariſt in the third Age, which began to give it ſome appearance of the Maſs, but they yet wanted three great things, the Elevation, the Adoration, and the refuſal of the Cup. We do not find the leaſt trace of theſe three things, take it for granted, and put your Converters upon the neceſſity of proving the contrary, and you will reduce them to what is impoſſible. As for us, if we would bring you Proofs that they did Communicate under both Kinds, that they did not Elevate nor Adore, we ſhould have nothing to do but to produce a hundred places where it is clear that they gave the Communion under both Kinds, without ever ſpeaking of Elevation or Adoration. This Communicating of Infants which is not diſputed, and by conſequence we have no need to prove it, is a thing worthy of obſervation, for it is an addition of the third Age, which makes it appear, 1. That the Church is not Infallible, by the confeſſion of our Adverſaries. For the Church of the third Age, and thoſe that followed it, hath erred, according to them, in judging that the Euchariſt was neceſſary to little Children, as well as Baptiſm: therefore ſhe is not Infallible in the interpretation of the Holy Scripture, for ſhe hath miſinterpreted thoſe Words, *If any one eat not my fleſh, and drink not my blood, he cannot have everlaſting life.* Since ſhe hath believed that Children could not be Saved without Communicating. 2. That Cuſtom makes it appear that the Church is capable of introducing conſiderable Innovations, and thoſe Univerſal, and of long duration. Your Converters grant that it was no Apoſtolick Tradition, that at the beginning it was not ſo, nevertheleſs it was an important Innovation, as it is clear, for according to us, it is no leſs than to prophane a Sacrament, which requires ſelf examination, by giving it to perſons that cannot prepare themſelves: and according to the *Roman* Doctors it is to expoſe the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt to horrible indignities, by putting it in the mouth of an Infant, of ſome few days, or months old. And that which cannot fail to hap-

pen, is, that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt was oftentimes ſpit out upon the floor. For Children do not fail to reject whatſoever does not pleaſe their Palat. Moreover, this important Innovation was ſo Univerſal, that the whole Church embraced and entertained it, and of ſo long duration, that we find examples thereof many Ages after the fourth. 3. Learn from this Cuſtom, that in thoſe Ages they were not obliged to Adore the Sacrament before they eat it, for Children could not perform any act of Adoration. Therefore preſs your Converters vigorouſly with this Example, and ask them if the Church cannot Innovate in other Articles of importance, ſince it hath plainly Innovated in this, and if we may not Correct Ancient and Univerſal Cuſtoms, ſince the Church of *Rome* hath reſcinded practices, which were introduced but one Age after the Apoſtles.

Behold thus much for Worſhip and Practice. As to Opinion, do not ſuffer your ſelves to be perſuaded that any change in Doctrine, touching the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, did happen during the third Age. The proofs that your Converters bring thereof unto you, are very pittiful. For they are paſſages where the Fathers of that Age called the Bread and Wine of the Euchariſt, *The Body, the Fleſh, and the Blood of the Lord.* Behold verifying proofs! What is to be ſaid concerning them, ſince it is the language of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and of his Apoſtles? The queſtion is not what they ſaid; but that we are to know, is in what ſence, and after what manner the Fathers of the third Age underſtood that the Bread of the Euchariſt was the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt. Now I do maintain that your Converters muſt be either Fools or Knaves beyond all imagination, that dare to ſay, that according to the Fathers of the third Age, that the Bread of the Euchariſt was the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, by way of Reality and Tranſubſtantiation, for the Fathers of that Age ſpoke as plainly, and clearly concerning it, as we do. Hear then *Tertullian*, who lived in the beginning of that Age, among other Hereticks, with a ſort of impious Villains, who ſaid that

that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had no true Body. Thus he reaſons againſt them, *Our Lord having taken Bread, and diſtributed to his Diſciples, made it his Body, ſaying this is my Body, that is to ſay the figure of my Body. Now this had not been a Figure if he had not had a true Body.* That is to ſay, if the Figure had no relation to the true Body. *For an empty thing*, as is a Phantaſm, is not capable of having a Figure. Another Author of the ſame Age, whoſe Work is aſcribed to *Origen*, Diſputing againſt the ſame Hereticks, called *Marcionites*, ſays, *If as theſe pretend, our Lord were deſtitute of Fleſh and Blood, of what Body, of what Fleſh, of what Blood, has he given us the Signs, and the Images*, viz. *The Bread and the Cup, by which he has commanded his Diſciples to preſerve and renew his memory?* Theſe Men had loſt their Reaſon to ſpeak in this manner, if they believed the Real Preſence, above all in diſputing againſt thoſe which denyed that Jeſus Chriſt had a true Body. They ſay Jeſus Chriſt was no Phantaſm, he had a true Body, for he gave us in the Euchariſt the figure and Image thereof. Now Phantaſms have no Images, they themſelves being Images and no more. Theſe Men, ſay I, had loſt their wits, for they ſhould have ſaid Jeſus Chriſt was no Phantaſm, he had a true Body, for he gives this true Body to us to eat every day. Since at this day he has a Body, and we eat thereof, with great reaſon it may be affirmed he had one when he was upon Earth. The firſt Reaſon taken from the Image and Figure, is of ſome weight I do acknowledge. But this taken from the Reality in the Euchariſt, had been a hundred times better, and according to the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, is an argument altogether invincible. So that we muſt ſuppoſe theſe Authors did betray, and abandoned the Cauſe of the Church, by making uſe of feeble Arguments againſt the *Marcionites*, when ſhe had furniſhed them with one that was utterly impregnable. For, after all, it is not wholly true that Phantaſms can have no Figures or Images. It is a reflection that you ought to make, to diſcover the vanity of the Sophiſtry wherewith your Converters ſerve themſelves to anſwer to thoſe paſ-

ſages, and an hundred others, without Hyperbole, where the Fathers of the ſeven firſt Ages, called the Euchariſt, *the Figure*, *the Type*, *the Image*, *the Symbols*, *the Signs*, *the Antitypes*, of the Body and Blood of the Lord, it is, ſay they, becauſe there are two things in the Euchariſt. There is Figure and Reality. *Figure*, *becauſe of the Accidents* of Bread and Wine, which are the Figures of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. *Truth and Reality*, becauſe of the Real Preſence of the Fleſh inwardly contained under the Species. Now the Fathers ſometimes reſpected the Sacrament on its external part, that is to ſay, by the Species, in this reſpect they have called it *Figure*. It it be ſo, at leaſt the Ancients ought not to conſider the Sacraments on the ſide of the Figure, when it was neceſſary for the Cauſe which they defended, to conſider it on the ſide of the Reality, as it was in the diſputes againſt the *Marcionites*.

Hear yet the ſame *Tertullian*, to the end that ye may not think that this ſlipt from him through inadvertency. Diſputing againſt the ſame Heretick *Marcion*, and upon the ſame Point, he ſites to him certain Words of *Jeremy*, where according to the ancient Tranſlation it is thus, *let us caſt the Wood upon his Bread*, or *let us caſt the Bread upon the Wood*, He would prove that this Bread ſignifies the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and that the Prophet had reſpect to his Paſſion, in which they put the Body of Jeſus Chriſt upon the Wood of his Croſs, and he adds, ſpeaking to *Marcion*. *So hath God revealed it in our Goſpel, calling the Bread his Body, to the end that thou mayſt underſtand that at this day he hath given in the Bread the Figure of his Body, which the Prophet before had figured by Bread.* The ſame Author ſays further, *That Jeſus Chriſt did not reject the water of the Creator by which he waſhed thoſe that were his own; the Oil wherewith he did anoint them, the Hony and the Milk which he cauſes them, as Infants, to take from the Bread, by which he repreſents his Body.* Mark theſe words, *by which he repreſents his Body*. I know not whether a Diſciple of *Calvin* could ſpeak otherwiſe.

Hear *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, an Author of the ſame Age. Expounding

Expounding the words of Chriſt, *John 6.* he ſaith, *That by the Fleſh and Blood which Jeſus Chriſt commands us to eat, we muſt Allegorically underſtand Faith and the Promiſe.* It is the ſame Author that ſays, and maintains that that which Jeſus Chriſt ſaid *Take drink this is my blood*, ought to be underſtood by way of Allegory, and that it was true Wine: *Ye know well*, ſays he, *that he drunk Wine foraſmuch as he was a Man, and he bleſſed Wine, ſaying, Take drink, this is my Blood, the Blood of the Vine. And the word ſignifies by Allegory the ſacred blood of joy, which was ſhed for many*, &c. *But that what he bleſſed was Wine, he cauſed his Diſciples to underſtand, when he ſaid to them, I will drink no more of this fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of my Father.* This good Doctor was openly a Diſciple of *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*, for he ſerves himſelf exactly with their Arguments.

St. *Cyprian* ſays, *That the Lord called his Body Bread kneeded and made up of many Kernels, and his Blood Wine drawn from many Grapes.* He ſays not that *he made*, but that *he called.* He ſays that *by the Wine is ſhewn*, or ſignified the Blood, as by the Water which is mixed with the Wine, is ſignified the People.

To conclude, *Origen* in the ſame Age, Writing on thoſe words *Matth. 15. That which enters into the mouth defileth not the Man.* He makes a difficulty on this, that it ſeems the Euchariſt that enters into the Mouth doth not ſanctifie the Man, if ſo it be that what enters into the Mouth do neither ſanctifie nor defile him. To this he anſwers that the Bread *which is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, doth not of its own nature ſanctifie him which makes uſe thereof, for if it were ſo*, ſays he, *it would ſanctifie him which eateth thereof unworthily. He adds that there is advantage in eating the Bread of the Lord, when we participate thereof with a clear Mind, and a pure Conſcience*, &c. And at laſt concludes with theſe words, *If all that which enters into the Mouth goes into the Belly, and be caſt out into the draught, this Bread which is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, according to what it hath that is material, goes into the Belly, and from thence to the place of Excrements; but in relation to the Prayers that have been made thereon it is profitable*

ſitable in proportion to a Mans faith, which does illuminate the mind, and make it attentive to thoſe things which are profitable. And it is not the matter of Bread, but the Word which is pronounced over it, which profits him that does not eat unworthy of the Lord. Behold thus much concerning the Typical and Symbolical Body. Many things alſo may be ſaid concerning the Word it ſelf, which was made fleſh, and which is become true food, whereof whoſoever ſhall eat ſhall live for ever. No wicked man can eat thereof. For if it were poſſible, that he that perſeveres in evil could eat the Word which was made fleſh, that is, as it is the Word and the living Bread, it would not have been waſted. He which ſhall eat of this Bread ſhall live for ever. I know not whether *Calvin* could have written more clearly: 1. That the Bread, as to the matter thereof, remains. 2. That this matter ſuffers all that which other Aliments do ſuffer, even to its deſcent into the draught. 3. That it's Faith which makes us partakers of Jeſus Chriſt in the Sacrament, and that we eat in proportion to the Faith and Attention that we bring thither. 4. That it is a ſymbolical Body of the Symbol of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt. 5. That no wicked Man or Unbeliever can eat Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe he is not eaten but by Faith.

I do profeſs unto you, that I know not how theſe Mens Minds and Souls are made, to maintain after theſe paſſages, that they believed the Doctrine of the Real Preſence, and Tranſubſtantiation in the third Age. It is ſome kind of pleaſure to ſee how our Adverſaries beſtir themſelves, and ſweat both Water and Blood over theſe paſſages. Give attention, my Brethren, I do adjure you, and call to mind alſo that notable matter of Fact practiſed in the third Age, which we have proved unto you in the preceding Letter. It was that the Father of the Family, though no Prieſt, Conſecrated the Euchariſt at the end of his Meal. This continued in the Church of *Africa* till the time of St. *Auguſtin*. Judge you whether ever private perſon had the power of doing this great Miracle, that is to ſay, of changing the ſubſtance of Bread into that of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and whether they would have permitted ſuch a Profanation of the Son of God. Conſider therefore, 1. That in the third Age they ſpoke as clearly

againſt

againſt the Real Preſence as we do. 2. That this ought to be the Rule of all the following Ages. For, when afterwards they produce unto me an hundred hard improper expreſſions on the ſubject of the Sacrament, I am aſſured that they ought to be interpreted according to the Faith of the third Age; for what reaſon? Becauſe none of the Ancients hath accuſed either *Tertullian*, or *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, or St. *Cyprian*, nor *Origen* of Heterodoxy, although they condemned without ſcruple many of their Opinions. I have been longer upon the Euchariſt of the third Age, becauſe it is important to underſtand well the Faith thereof, for it being the laſt Age of the Purity of the Church, it ought to ſerve as a Rule to Judge of thoſe that follow.

I will finiſh this Letter by continuing the Hiſtory of our Martyrs, whereof we have made 3 Orders. I come to the third kind, ſuch to whom they have preſented death as preſent and certain, and who have courageouſly offered themſelves thereunto. For 'tis a divertiſement that the Perſecutors often give themſelves, and a kind of temptation which they have often exerciſed to declare to our Confeſſors, that the Sentence of Death is pronounced againſt them, and that they muſt die if they did not change their Religion immediately. And we have not heard that any one has faln under this kind of tryal. M. *de Voutron*, a Gentleman in the Neighborhood of *Rochel*, hath given us within a few days a great example of this kind of Conſtancy.

He indured for the ſpace of a year the moſt cruel Impriſonment that could be imagined; he ſuffered hunger and thirſt, he lay upon the ground with Irons on his feet in a Dungeon dark and deep without light, without fire in the winter, and without other nouriſhment than a little Bread and Water, whereof oftentimes they did not give him the half of what was neceſſary for his nouriſhment. At laſt in the end of the year, the Governor of *S. Martin de Re*, where he was Priſoner, came to ſee him, and told him, that it was with extreme grief that he was conſtrained to tell him very unhappy news: 'Twas that the King had appointed, that all thoſe that were Rebels on the Subject of Religion, ſhould be put to death;

death; the Gentlemen were to be beheaded, and the others hanged, that he would very willingly have been excuſed from this Commiſſion, but could not avoid it; that nevertheleſs he felt ſome joy in this, that at this time he might be the Inſtrument whereof God might ſerve himſelf to reſcue him from Hereſie, and the Precipice from which he was about to fall, that he had but one ſtep to make to deliver himſelf from it, to gain Paradiſe, to eſtabliſh his Fortune, and that of all his Family. Our Confeſſor believed the thing in good earneſt, and it is not difficult to believe, that they would proſecute their cruelty to the uttermoſt, when they had continued it to an impriſonment ſo long, and ſo barbarous. But he was not moved thereby the leaſt in the world, unleſs by emotions of Joy. He anſwered; *Monſieur, this news is ſo far from afflicting me, that it rejoyces and comforts me, ſince it will end all the troubles of my Impriſonment, and I ſhall enjoy the ſight of my God. I have made my choice, and when it ſhall pleaſe you to cauſe me to mount the Scaffold, I am ready. The favour that I beg of you is, that if you cauſe any one to die before me, you will permit me to accompany him to his Execution.*

Inſtead of executing the Threatning, within two days after they drew him out of the Dungeon, and gave him the Caſtle at large for his priſon, with liberty to ſee his Kindred and Friends. We ſhall ſee how long this will laſt.

It is written alſo from *Picardy*, that two Damoſels of inferior Rank, of *Laon*, Seamſtreſſes by their Profeſſion, ſaw the little that they had, waſted, without being moved or ſhaken; after which they impriſoned them in places where they paſſed the whole Winter without fire, or covering, but one ſingle Coat. During the ſpace of eight months, they made uſe of all that which the craft and rage of Perſecutors in theſe laſt days could invent to vanquiſh and overcome them. They reſiſted all. In concluſion they pronounced their Sentence, which condemned them to death; they carried on the Play to the laſt, for they led them to the place of Execution, and cauſed them to ſee a Pile of Wood inkindled to burn them. Nothing ſtruck them, they perſevered; they undreſſed, and prepared themſelves to be bound to the Poſt. The chief Ma-

giſtrate

giſtrate laughed at what aſtoniſhed all the world, and ſaid, *Theſe are fools enough to ſuffer themſelves to be burnt.* They releaſed them, and drove them out of the City; they forbad all the world to entertain or feed them. For my part, I do not ſee why this may not be called Martyrdom, ſeeing God regards the intentions and diſpoſitions of the Soul much more than external actions, we can't doubt that he doth not reckon thoſe for Martyrs, which have offered him their life, and put it into his hands with ſo much reſignation, altho death did not follow as they expected and believed.

If we will have Martyrs according to the moſt perfect Rules and Laws, the Conſtancy of our Brethren in *Cevennes* will not fail to furniſh us with a very great number, if we may believe ſome Letters that come from *Niſmes*. The Governor and Intendant have within a few days cauſed 75 Men and one Woman to be hanged at S. *Hyppolite*. This Butchery appears to me ſo terrible, that I am reſolved not to give a full belief to it till further confirmation. We may ſee in one of our precedent Letters the perſeverance of theſe honeſt Men to aſſemble for Prayers to God, notwithſtanding the Puniſhments and Dragoons. The ſevere Declaration of *July* 12. which condemns to death all thoſe which exerciſe the Reformed Religion, has not at all abated this heat and zeal. For know, that they aſſemble every day, and that they cauſe them every day to ſuffer Martyrdom. The publick News Printed at *Amſterdam* are ſufficiently true and exact on this point, becauſe they are publiſhed from Memorials that come from perſons that are upon the place. Theſe Memorials have told us that 40 perſons were killed upon the place at an Aſſembly, that they have ſeiſed on a very great number of other perſons, and that they have diſcovered and ſurpriſed theſe Aſſemblies. That a young Gentleman of the Houſe of M. *Julian*, named M. *de Frumey-rolle* had his Head cut off, and that he received death with a piety and conſtancy in nothing inferior to that of the greateſt Martyrs. His Brother, the eldeſt of the Houſe, was ſent to the Priſon of *Ayques Mortes*. They have hanged of Men and Women a number that can't be determined, becauſe the reports concerning it are ſomething various.

But

But 'tis certain that Executions are done every day, and that they die with all the Characters of the Martyrs of God, and of his Truth. A favour for which we are to give eternal Praiſes to our dear Saviour.

The Martyrs of the Valleys of *Piedmont* alone would deſerve a large Chapter. But we muſt delay it till we can receive exact Memorials concerning them. That which we know of them is, that ſome of the Miniſters made Priſoners by the Duke of *Savoy* were hanged. Among others M. *Leydet*, whoſe conſtancy did aſtoniſh, and make the whole Court of the Duke to tremble: the poor Priſoners ſuffered unheard of Cruelties in their Impriſonment. The Duke's People have publiſhed abroad that they were very well treated, and that they gave to them the ſame quantity of Proviſions which they gave to their Soldiers, that they oftentimes gave them freſh Straw, that they ſuffered the ſick to take the air, and alſo that they gave them Wine. But the truth is, they did all that could be done to deſtroy them, that they might deliver themſelves from the fear of ſeeing them in Arms, and returning to their own Eſtates and Poſſeſſions. They put Mortar in their Bread, they gave them nothing to drink but ſtinking water, and they let them die in their dung and ordure. And they have been ſo ſucceſsful in their deſign, that there is a place where, of 400 perſons, there are 250 dead; nevertheleſs we have not heard that any one did renounce his Religion, it were injuſtice to refuſe both the Name and Glory of Martyrdom to thoſe which have died in ſo conſtant and ſo difficult a Confeſſion.

The Church hath put its Confeſſors one degree below Martyrs, but in truth I do not find that they are much inferior to them. I do openly avow that there are Confeſſors which I admire more than Martyrs. It is in my opinion a more glorious Work to endure a terrible and furious Combat, during the ſpace of many months or years, than to behold the face of death for a few moments. And we may ſay with aſſurance, that ſuch perſons have faln in a long Confeſſion, which would courageouſly have endured the ſight of death. Therefore, my Brethren, do honor to ſo many Believers which have ſuffered to afford you an example. Remember how

many

many righteous perſons are in the Gallies, laden in Chains, but incircled with Glory. We have there two which are very famous among many others, who, it may be, are not inferior to them, tho they be leſs known to us. We have there M. *de Marolles*, of whom we have ſpoken already, and ſome of whoſe Letters we have communicated unto you. We have there another Man of Learning and Merit, called M. *Le Feure*, of a conſiderable Family of *Chaſtel Chinon* in *Nivernois*, of the Church of *Corbigni*. This faithful Chriſtian, after he had avoided with a great deal of labor, the occaſions and ſeaſons of Subſcriptions, by ſhifting hither and thither, at length he puts himſelf on the way to go out of the Kingdom. He was ſeiſed upon the Frontiers, towards the beginning of the month of *March*, he was conducted to *Beſançon*, where he was put into a Dungeon, in which, during the ſpace of three months, he experienced all the Severities which they put upon the greateſt Criminals, and he endured all the Temptations of Threatnings, Promiſes and Diſputes, which the Perſecutors are wont to make uſe of, to vanquiſh the Conſtancy of the Saints. By word of mouth and writing he cauſed all his Friends to know, that they had no reaſon to fear on his behalf, and all his Letters bore the Marks and Characters of true Chriſtianity, by the Humility, Sweetneſs, Piety and Patience which were manifeſted and diſplayed there. After he had languiſhed many months in Dungeons, with a Body naturally weak and ſickly, he was condemned for ever to the Gallies. They ſent him in Chains to *Dijon*, where he met with M. *de Marolles*, which they brought from *Paris*. So theſe two illuſtrious Confeſſors, who already knew each other by the report of their Courage and Sufferings, were joyned together to be a pair of eminent Witneſſes to the Truth. They had the ſame Fortune as they had the ſame Heart, both were ſick even unto death upon the way, whilſt they dragged their Chains after them; both arrived at *Marſeilles*, and both are actually in the Gallies, bearing their Chains both night and day, by expreſs order from the Court, and both of them with the ſame courage purſue the glorious Race of their Martyrdom, until it ſhall pleaſe God to grant them the Crown after which they breath. A-

Amongſt the Confeſſions which are well worthy of Martyrs, I cannot forbear to place that of a Gentlewoman of *Poictou* near St. *Maixant*, about the Age of fifty or fifty five years, whoſe name is ſlipt from us, though there be many Witneſſes of the ſame place, who have informed, and aſſured us with one conſent of the truth of the following Hiſtory. She endured the firſt rage of the Dragoons, that is to ſay, the waſting of her Eſtate, their Threatnings, Blaſphemies, and other Evangelical means of our modern Converters. Her Goods being waſted, the Soldiers attacked her Perſon, and there was not any kind of Torment, Violence, Blows, or Reproaches, which they did not offer to her. They tied her to the poſt of a Bed, where ſhe remained a long time the object of the impudence and fury of the Soldiers, who proceeded to commit all the outrages upon her, that an honeſt Woman could ſuffer, except Violation. In concluſion, one of theſe Wretches thought fit to tell her, if you can ſuffer a living Coal upon your hand during the ſpace of a *Pater Noſter*, we will let you go. She conſented very freely. They then took the greateſt, and the moſt burning Coal that was in the Fire; ſhe had the Courage to ſtretch out her Hand, and to hold it herſelf ſtretched out, without complaint, and to pronounce *Our Father*, &c. from the beginning to the end, a Dragoon in the mean time blowing the Coal for fear it ſhould go out, which ſcorched her Fleſh and Skin, and made her Blood and Humours to bubble and boil: when this was done, one of the Soldiers raging, and ſwearing ſaid, thou haſt ſaid the *Pater Noſter* too quickly. I will ſay it my ſelf, and if thou canſt endure a light Coal of Fire on the other Hand, whilſt I repeat my *Pater Noſter*, we will give thee thy Liberty. This poor Woman conſented to this ſecond propoſition, with the ſame chearfulneſs which ſhe had manifeſted at the firſt, this was done. The Soldier takes the Coal, ſhe receives it, and held up her Hand in the Air, with the fire Coal, which conſumed it, whilſt the Soldier ſaid his *Pater Noſter*, putting a great diſtance between word and word. In concluſion, another Soldier overcome by an example of Courage ſo extraordinary, blamed him for repeating his Prayer ſo ſlowly, and ſtruck off the Coal from her hand, and ſo they left her. Behold ſay I, in my Opinion, a Confeſſion well worthy of a true Martyr. Praiſed be God, that we have yet ſouls ſo inſpired of God to overcome ſuch puniſhments, and ſo inflamed with his Love, that they can ſurmount the burning Fire.

Jan. 1. 1687.

The Tenth
PASTORAL LETTER.

Two Articles; the one of Antiquity, the other of Controverſie: The Article of Antiquity, The Faith of the Third Age about the Invocation of Saints, Relicks, Images, Faſts, Indulgences, Human Satisfaction and Confeſſion. The Article of Controverſie, Concerning the Unity of the Church; that 'tis not included in the Church of *Rome*, and that we are not excluded from it.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

WE have already begun in the laſt Letters, to give you a Hiſtory of the Faith of the Church in the Third Age; and the laſt thing upon which we ſtaid was the Real Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation. We have nothing more to ſay about the Article of Purgatory than what we have ſaid concerning it on the Subject of Oblations, and Sacrifice for the Dead; we will only add, that *Origen*, a Man of great ſenſe in that Age, and alſo of great boldneſs, who among

many bold and raſh Opinions advanced that of a temporary Hell, that is to ſay properly, of Purgatory, of a Fire in which the Wicked ought to be purified, that they may be ſaved after ſome Ages of Torment. And 'tis of this temporary Hell, jumbled with the ſeparate ſtate of Souls, that the Purgatory of the *Roman* Church is at laſt formed and made.

We therefore paſs to Worſhip, Adoration, and Invocation of Creatures, of Saints, of the Bleſſed Virgin, of Angels, of Relicks, and of Images. This is a place of Triumph for the Truth, and Confuſion for Error. Ask, my Brethren, ask, and be you never weary thereof; bid them ſhew you *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Minutius Fœlix*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and *Origen*, of whom we have ſo many Writings; let them ſhew you them (I ſay) recommending the Worſhip of the Virgin, the Invocation of Saints, and the Adoration of Relicks. Their Silence ſuffices to make it known, that then men knew not what this unhappy Superſtition was: and if their Silence be not enough, remember that which we have proved unto you; 'tis firſt, that then they prayed for all Saints in general, both Apoſtles and Martyrs: now it is inconſiſtent to pray to a Saint and for him, as your Converters will acknowledge; ſeeing to pray to a Saint ſuppoſes him glorified, and to pray for a Saint or Martyr ſuppoſes him not glorified. Secondly, Remember alſo, that in thoſe Ages the prevailing Opinion was, That the Martyrs themſelves and Apoſtles, were not yet in Heaven, and by conſequence, did not ſee the face of God; ſo that they could neither learn from God the neceſſities of the Living, nor intercede for them before him.

After this know, That in this Age, as well as that preceding, Chriſtians made open Proteſtations, That they did not ſerve, adore, nor invoke, any other but God. *Tertullian* ſaid, * *That 'tis appointed, that I call upon no other God, that I may no more make another*

* *Scorpiac.* cap. 4.

ther God by my tongue, than by my hand. 'Tis ordained that I adore or worſhip no other, after what manner ſoever it be, beſides the One God, which commands this in his Law. * *We ſerve but one only God, which you naturally know, whoſe Thunder and Lightnings you fear, and from whom you receive Bleſſings with great joy.* He ſerves himſelf of the Words Venerate, and Serve, and they are general words: Where is the Papiſt that will ſay, That he gives no Worſhip but to God alone? *Clemens* of *Alexandria* ſaith, † *The Greeks ought to learn from the Law and the Prophets to ſerve but one only God, who is truly Almighty.* *Origen* repeats the ſame thing in a hundred places, That Chriſtians worſhip and ſerve God alone.

* Ad Scapul. cap 2.

† Strom. lib. 6.

But if this be not enough, hear *Origen* after he had ſaid in expreſs words, ‖ That we ought to addreſs all Prayer, Supplication, Requeſt, and Thankſgiving, to the Supream God, Lord of all things by the Eternal Word, God the High Prieſt, who is above all Angels; after that ſay I, he excludes by name Angels from the number of thoſe which ought to be invoked. *To the end,* ſaith he, *that Angels may be propitious to us, and that they may do all things for us, it ſuffices in the firſt place that we be very cloſely united to God, and diſpoſed to imitate Angels who imitate God,* &c. *That 'tis beſt to truſt in God, and to beg of him all the aid, and all the ſuccour which can come to us from good Angels,* &c. *For 'tis,* ſaith he, *a thing altogether unreaſonable, that we ſhould invoke Angels, ſeeing we know nothing of their ſervice, or knowledge, becauſe it is above men. Although we ſhould grant that their knowledge, which is admirable and ſecret, may be underſtood, this ſame knowledge which we have of their Nature, and of the thing over which every one of them preſides, would hinder us from daring to invoke any other but the Lord who is over all things, and ſufficient for all.* 'Tis certain, that *Origen* had loſt his Underſtanding, if at that time they invoked Angels; and if they did not invoke

‖ *Lib. 5. cont. Celſ.*

Angels, how could they invoke the Saints departed? Do we not learn from Scripture, that Angels are round about us, and by conſequence, that they hear us? Do we not know that God hath committed to them the care and preſervation of his Children? we know nothing of all this concerning Saints: ſo thoſe which did not invoke Angels certainly never did invoke Saints. As for Relicks, my Brethren, ask your Converters, ask their Proofs, that men took them from their Tombs, that they put them in Boxes, that every one carried his part thereof in great Devotion, that they wrought Miracles, that Men went in Pilgrimage to the Tombs of Martyrs, where Relicks were laid, that they kiſſed them, and fell on their knees before them. If they cannot prove this, let them confeſs that this Worſhip was perfectly unknown in the third Age. Mr. *Demabis*, a revolted Miniſter, confeſſes clearly enough, that in the firſt Ages they gave not this external Honor to Relicks; becauſe, ſays he, the ſtate in which they were did not permit it. Is not this a miſerable defence? They ſay, 'twas a time of Perſecution; I confeſs it; but it was the more eaſie for them to get the Aſhes and Bones of Martyrs, for they made them every day: 'tis true, that in ſome places the Pagans hindred the Chriſtians from taking their Bodies, but in many others they left them on the Dunghil to him that would firſt take them; and all their rigour could not hinder them from getting ſome one of their Bones from the flames, as did the Believers of *Smyrna* thoſe of *Polycarpus*. The Perſecution did not hinder Chriſtians from kiſſing theſe Bones on their knees, in their private Houſes and Oratories.

As to what concerns Images, I cannot reſolve to make an Article thereof, although I had intended it; for I do not think that there is any learned man among your Converters, who hath the impudence to maintain that there were Images in Churches during the time of the third Age, and that men worſhip'd them, after we have proved

unto

unto them, that in that Age Painters and Statuaries were accounted infamous, and that they drove them from the Communion of the Church, as they did Comedians, Bauds, and other inſtruments of Wickedneſs and beaſtly Pleaſures, and that there the Chriſtians ſcoffed at the Pagans, which proſtrated themſelves before Images of Wood, Copper, Stone, Gold and Silver, which might be ſtoln, and carried away; in the mouths and ears whereof Mice made their Habitations, and upon which Birds laid their Ordure. They offered, I ſay, a thouſand Reproaches to the Pagans about their Statues, all which might be retorted againſt the Chriſtians, if they had had any themſelves; and to expoſe themſelves to theſe Replies, it muſt be ſaid, that they had loſt both Memory and Senſe. I would very willingly know what *Clemens* of *Alexandria* would have ſaid, had he ſeen Images in Churches, who ſaid concerning Women that beheld themſelves in Glaſſes, * *If* Moſes *did forbid Men to make any Image which repreſented God, how can theſe Women be innocent, who by a fictitious Repreſentation, make Images of themſelves?* Read therefore, *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius Fœlix*, *Lactantius*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and *Origen*. And if ye be not qualified, my Brethren, for the reading of them, ask your Converters, if what we have ſaid above be not true: they will not have the impudence to deny it; 'tis a matter of Fact, which is confeſſed by the more honeſt of the *Roman* Religion; amongſt others, by *Baluzius*, in his Notes upon *Lactantius*, *concerning the Death of Perſecutors*.

* *Pedag.* lib. 3. c. 2.

In the Third Age they began to give Rules concerning days of Faſting. The *African* Church, beſides the Lords Day, had two other days in the week conſecrated to Prayer, that is to ſay, *Wedneſday* and *Friday*. Inſtead of *Friday*, the *Roman* Church ſet apart *Saturday* to that end and uſe. According to the Diſcipline of the Ancient Church, it was not permitted to faſt on the Lords Day,

and for that reaſon, ſhe ſet apart two other days in the Week to join Prayer with Faſting, and called thoſe days *Stations*. They were reckoned for half Faſts, becauſe they faſted no longer than till three hours after Noon; whereas in compleat Faſts, they abſtained from eating till the Sun were ſet. At this day, inſtead of half Faſts (as they call them) they ought to call them Faſts leſs than half, for they faſt not but from ſix in the Morning until Noon, in the Church of *Rome*; a great Mortification to make ſo great account on! Theſe half Faſts were accompanied with publick Prayers: For the Chriſtians aſſembled together, continued in Prayer at the Church until three hours after Noon; and as it was the cuſtom of that time to communicate in all publick Aſſemblies, they concluded theſe Stations or half Faſts with the celebration of the Euchariſt. They did not communicate in the Morning, in the beginning of their Aſſembly, becauſe thoſe days were accounted days of Faſt, and they then believed that the Bread and Wine of the Euchariſt, did break their Faſt; for as yet they were not inſtructed in the method of withdrawing the Subſtance, and leaving nothing but Accidents there.

To conclude, Lent, and the other Faſts of this day were then wholly unknown. They faſted in this Age (as they did in the ſecond) the Paſſion-day and that which followed it, but no more. And becauſe the Montaniſts, a ſort of Hereticks, amongſt which *Tertullian* liſted himſelf towards the end of his life, would conſecrate two Weeks in the Year to faſt in; The Catholick Church made a great ſtir about it; and that which is remarkable is, that then the Church ſerved it ſelf exactly of the ſame reaſon againſt the Montaniſts, which we make uſe of againſt the Faſts of the Papiſts, * particularly they made uſe of thoſe words of S. *Paul*, who ſaid, *That falſe teachers ſhould come, who ſhould command to abſtain from*

* *Tertul.* Lib. de Jejun. c. 15.

from meats, which God had permitted to believers; that we must not observe days, and months, and years; that we must eat of every thing, and at all times, without asking questions for conscience sake. We must suppose an extravagance of mind, without excuse, to believe that men who disputed thus against the Montanists about two Weeks Fasting, should themselves have and observe five or six. Nevertheless you must hold this for certain, that these two Weeks of Fasting of the Montanists were the beginning of Lent; for a little while after, the Church was ashamed to see it self surpassed with Mortifications, by persons they accounted Hereticks, and therefore she was willing to out-bid and out do them.

My Brethren, they make you extracts from S. *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, a great Man, and a very holy Martyr, in which you oftentimes read the words *Satisfactions and Indulgencies.* But let this example teach you, not to suffer your selves to be seduced by a similitude of terms and words; for those Satisfactions and Indulgencies have no alliance or cognation with those of the Church of *Rome.* Then the Discipline of the Church was extremely severe upon mens Faults and Crimes, against which, the Romish Confessors at this day, do oftentimes appoint but very gentle Penances, and no forbearance from the Sacrament: But they commanded Sinners the forbearance of many years together, with many long and tedious Fasts and Mortifications. Those who had accomplished their years of Penance and Forbearance, were said to make, and have made *Satisfaction.* But, First, They did not then imagin that these Satisfactions were intended to excuse them from the pains of Purgatory, as hath since been believed. Secondly, These Satisfactions were properly made to the Church, and its Discipline, and not to the Justice of God. 'Tis true, that S. *Cyprian* speaks sometimes of *Satisfying God*; but these words with him, signifie no more than to appease God with Prayers and Humiliations.

Thoſe Chriſtians which fell through the violence of Perſecution, did owe to the Church very rough and ſevere Penances, according to the Rules of her Diſcipline. All were not capable of bearing the trouble of long Penances, therefore they deſired that they would remit the whole, or ſome part of it, and receive them to the Peace of the Church. To obtain which, they made their applications to their Martyrs and Confeſſors which were in Priſon for the Cauſe of Jeſus. * Theſe Confeſſors wrote Letters of interceſſion, addreſſed to the Biſhop, Presbyters, and People, to the end that they might receive theſe Sinners to the Peace and Communion, without cauſing them to paſs through the rigor of their Diſcipline. They had ſo great a reſpect to the Confeſſors of the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, that they could deny them nothing. So that at their Interceſſions they admitted Sinners without Penance, and this was called *Indulgence*, this is it whereof S. *Cyprian* complains in many of his Epiſtles. I intreat you, my Brethren, to obſerve in this place how the Devil takes occaſion from things the moſt innocent, to eſtabliſh Opinions and Practices greatly faulty and criminal. For behold the firſt original of application to the Interceſſion of Saints, Indulgences, and Merits of Supererogation.

* *Cypr.* Epiſt. 10, 11, 12, &c.

From Saints who were in Priſon for the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, they aſcended to the Saints who are in Heaven. At firſt they prayed the Holy Martyrs that were on earth to intercede for them with the Church. Afterwards they came to pray the ſame Martyrs in Heaven to intercede with God for them. They called Indulgences the relaxation of the Severity of Diſcipline, which the Church granted at the requeſt of the Martyrs. At this day they call Indulgence the relaxation of the Juſtice of God, which he grants as they ſuppoſe, in conſiderations of the Merits and Sufferings of the Martyrs, who ſuffered more than was neceſſary for themſelves,

ſelves. To conclude, they have changed the Conſideration and Reſpect which they had for the Interceſſions of Confeſſors and Martyrs, into Merits and Works of Supererogation. The Church did retard the rigor of her Law againſt Sinners, becauſe of the eſteem which ſhe had for thoſe that ſuffered for the Name of Jeſus Chriſt. At this day they grant Indulgences by the application of the Merit of thoſe which have ſuffered too much, either by involuntary Perſecutions, or by choſen and voluntary Mortifications. But hear how the ſame S. *Cyprian* ſpeaks very aptly concerning one of theſe Confeſſors named *Lucian*, who carried himſelf too haughtily, and deſired too earneſtly that they ſhould have reſpect to his Letters of Interceſſion. * *The Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſaid that we muſt Baptize Nations in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and that all Sins paſt are forgiven in Baptiſm. But this man, that is to ſay, the Confeſſor* Lucian, *knowing neither the Law nor the Commandments, commands that we give Peace, and pardon Sins in the Name of S.* Paul, *not conſidering that they are not the Martyrs who make the Goſpel, but that it is the Goſpel which makes the Martyrs.* Therefore at that time they did not alledge the Threats of S. *Paul*, S. *Peter*, the Martyrs and Confeſſors, as the reaſons for which they granted Indulgences, that is to ſay, the relaxation of the Diſcipline of the Church.

* Epiſt. 34.

In the ſame Age, that is to ſay the third, they will produce unto you the word *Confeſſion*, and the terms of *being on their knees at the feet of their Prieſts.* And they will not fail to find for you there the Auricular Confeſſion practiſed at this day; but there is nothing more falſe. For thoſe which dazle your Eyes thereby, do very well know, that the Greek word which ſignifies Confeſſion, was not at that time any ſecret Confeſſion. But the whole Act, or Actions of publick Penance were ſo called: And if at that Age Penitents were ſeen at the feet of Papiſts, this was not done in ſecret, and in

a place appointed for the receiving Confeſſions, where they acknowledged all their Sins in the Ear of the Prieſt. But in Churches and in publick, that they might be admitted by Prayer and impoſition of hands, either to Penance or to the Peace of the Church. It was ſo certainly a publick Action, that the Pagans took occaſion from thence to accuſe the Chriſtians of adoring the ſhameful parts of their Prieſts. This Confeſſion was made in publick, with Sack-cloth, Aſhes, and Tears, begging the Prayers and Aſſiſtance of all Chriſtians. This may be ſeen fully explicated in the Ninth and Tenth Chapters of *Tertullian*'s Book of Repentance.

A Point of Controverſie, Concerning the Unity of the Church, that it is not in the Church of Rome, *and that we are not departed from it.*

WHen a City is beſieged and aſſaulted of all ſides, thoſe that have a deſire to defend it, would be every where at the ſame time, but they cannot, which is their trouble. My Brethren, we have the trouble at this day, you are beſieged, you are attack'd at an hundred places, they batter you by a thouſand wicked Reaſons, we would be every where, and defend you on all ſides; but whilſt we endeavour to defend you on one ſide, they deceive and ruine you on another. The raſh and bold adventure of the Biſhop of *Meaux* (who hath told you in his Paſtoral Letter) That from the Apoſtles days to his, no alteration has happened in the Doctrine of the Church, hath engaged us (that we may confound him) to make you perceive the eſſential Changes which have been introduced, both in its Doctrine and Worſhip, at leaſt in the firſt five Ages, to the end, that from thence you may judg of all the reſt. But whilſt we purſue this deſign, which cannot preſently be executed; I underſtand that they ſeduce you by

by the Sophiſms of the Church, of its Unity, Viſibility, and the horror of Schiſm. And that which grieves us moſt is, that by the Letters which come, or are communicated to us, we ſee that the moſt part of you, who are willing (at any rate whatſoever) to be at eaſe and reſt where they are, do alſo endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of, and obſtinately to maintain theſe wicked Reaſons, and it may be that one of you will know himſelf in the following words, *All the World reaſons concerning Religion agreeably to their own Light and Paſſions. But the Queſtions which do moſt trouble and confound it are theſe:* 1. *The poſitive ſeparation which our Fathers made: 'Tis ſaid that we ought to ſuffer without ſeparating from the Communion of the Church, that the Abuſes introduced by Governors may not be imputed to Believers. But the Scriptures that make mention of the Hereſies that muſt arrive in the Church, do not command Separation for the ſake of them: On the contrary they exhort us mutually to bear with one another; they ſay that Wood, Hay, and Stubble may be built on that foundation, which is Chriſt Jeſus, and that he alone will ſeparate one from the other, that the good Grain and the Chaff ſhall be ſeparated at the laſt day, but we muſt let them grow together till then.* Behold exactly the Religion, 1. Of our revolted Miniſters. There has been ſent unto us an Account of a Conference which *Cheyron* an Apoſtate Miniſter of the City of *Niſmes* had with the famous Confeſſor called Mr. *Matthew* an Advocate of *Duras*, who is in the Town of *Conſtance* at *Aggues-Mortes*, that which this Wretch ſays is the ſame with what hath been written and you have read. 2. 'Tis alſo the Religion of all thoſe which have any underſtanding or illuminations, they cannot but ſee, that the Church of *Rome* is extremely corrupt. But the queſtion is, ſay they, whether we ought to ſeparate from it becauſe of its Corruptions, yea, they ſay, we ought to bear them; and add further after all, there is but one true Church; and although it be corrupt,

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it is nevertheleſs the Church, and we muſt endure its Diſeaſes and Imperfections. The Poyſon of this illuſion is ſo eating and dangerous, that we have reaſon to fear that it continues long upon your Minds; it will penetrate into them and totally corrupt them, and ſo whilſt we are purſuing other Subjects, your hearts will be poyſoned by this miſchievous Sophiſm, in that manner and to that degree, that you will never recover. This is it which obliges us to return to the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Letter ſooner than we intended. Nevertheleſs without forſaking the ſubject matter we are upon, for we will endeavour to intermix things in ſuch a manner, that in every one of our following Letters you will find one Article concerning Antiquity, and another concerning the Queſtions of the Church, as you will find in this. And foraſmuch as theſe Letters ought to be inſtead of Sermons to you, we will joyn unto them ſome words of Exhortation as often as we can. We return therefore to the Letter of Monſieur *de Meaux*, one of the Biſhops of *Rome*. We are conſidering the third Article of his Paſtoral Letter: This third Article, and that which follows, will give us an occaſion to confute the Sophiſms which they make, or you make for your ſelves about the Church. The Biſhop of *Meaux* in his Paſtoral Letter does ſix things: 1. He endeavours to eſtabliſh the Idea and Unity of the Church principally upon the Teſtimony of S. *Cyprian*, and in conſequence thereunto, the Unity of the Miniſters. 2. He proves,

* *Page* 12. † *Page* 14. ‡ *Page* 13. ‖ *Page* 14.

* There is none allowed to ſeparate from the Church, and that all ſeparate Aſſemblies are in a ſtate of Damnation †; ſo that a Martyr which dies for the Faith of the Church out of this Unity, is nevertheleſs damn'd. 3. ‡ That we muſt not examin Opinions to know whether ſuch an Aſſembly be the Church ‖. But we muſt know if an Aſſembly be the Church, and judg

judg from thence concerning the truth of Opinions. 4. He endeavours to anſwer to that Text, *Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, I will be in the midſt of them.* A Text that proves wherever is Truth, there is a True Church; and then comes to his Chimera, that all Separation ruins Unity; a Chimera which he ſupports by the Teſtimony of the great S. *Cyprian*, who is indeed his only Author. 5. * By the ſame S. *Cyprian* he proves that the Church, with whom we muſt preſerve Union, is the Church of *Rome*, or the Chair of S. *Peter*. 6. In concluſion, he falls on the common place of the invalidity of the Call of our firſt Reformers, he proves their Vocation invalid; becauſe they were either Laicks or Renegado Prieſts which had renounced the Miniſtry. The firſt never having Miſſion, the laſt having it no longer, cannot be lawful Paſtors. This is the Abridgment of a great number of Volumns, which have been made to ſeduce you within twenty years laſt paſt; concerning which we do intreat you to be attentive to theſe invincible Arguments which we have to produce for the ſubverſion of theſe wicked Engins. Although we do not account it a Duty to follow preciſely the order of the Articles of the Biſhop of *Meaux*: Nevertheleſs, ſeeing he begins with the Unity and Viſibility of the Church, we will begin there alſo, and we will make you underſtand, 1. What is the true Unity of the Church. 2. What is the Unity of its Miniſtry. 3. What is its perpetual Viſibility. 4. That to ſeparate from a corrupt Church, is not to break the Unity thereof. 5. That there is ſuch a degree of Corruption that obliges to ſeparation, and that the Church of *Rome* is corrupt to that degree.

* *Page* 17.

Firſt, My Brethren, it is neceſſary that you make to your ſelves a juſt and ligitimate Idea of the Unity of the Church. They tell you that there is but one Catholick Church, and that there cannot be many. This is true, there is but one Church univerſal, and even the

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Word Univerſal, that is added thereunto makes it apparent, that there can be but one. Juſt after the ſame manner that the word Univerſe (by which is ſignified the World) ſignifies alſo that there is but one, for if there were another World beſides this, ours would not be the Univerſe, ſeeing it would not comprehend totally all. But the Biſhop of *Meaux* and thoſe that are like unto him, give you a pleaſant Idea of its Unity and Univerſality both together. The Church of *Rome*, ſay they, is this univerſal and only Church, it is univerſal, and yet nevertheleſs, out of it, and ſeparate from it there are many other Churches. This is juſt as if I ſhould ſay, our World is the Univerſe, nevertheleſs there be many other Worlds beſides it. Is not this abſurd? But it will be ſaid, that theſe Propoſitions are not alike nor the ſame, for we mean thereby all other Churches; beſides, the *Roman* Churches are falſe Churches. This is another abſurdity altogether alike, as if a perſon or a man ſhould ſay; 'Tis true, there are many Worlds beſides ours; nevertheleſs, ours is the Univerſe, becauſe all the reſt are falſe Worlds. If the Church of *Rome* did ſay, Indeed I am but part of the Church Univerſal; but I am the only ſound and entire part, the others are ſick and diſeaſed. where a man cannot be ſaved: If it ſhould ſpeak thus, ſay I, it would ſpeak falſe, but it would ſpeak nothing abſurd or contradictory, and there would be reaſon to examin its pretenſions to the bottom, to know if indeed it be the only Church that is ſound and without Errors. But it muſt have renounced common ſenſe, to avow that out of her Boſom there are many Churches, and nevertheleſs call her ſelf the Church univerſal.

However it be, her pretenſion is, that the Unity of the Church conſiſts in a certain Communion, characterized and diſtinguiſhed from all others by certain limits and boundaries, and under certain Paſtors, out of which Communion, whether you believe in Jeſus Chriſt or not, whether

whether you have conſiderable Errors or no, you are always out of the Church and hopes of Salvation, altho you ſhould believe and maintain all the truths of the Goſpel from the beginning to the end, tho you ſhould be Orthodox as S. *Paul*, retaining all the Articles of the Chriſtan Faith, yea, of the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, if nevertheleſs you live in ſeparation with this certain Seat and this certain Church, which is the Church Catholick, you muſt be certainly damned. I intreat you, my Brethren, before you go further, propoſe a Queſtion to your Converts. Tell them I am content to grant there is a certain particular Church, in which is that Unity from which we muſt never ſeparate. But how ſhall I know that this Church, in which is that Unity to which we ought to adhere, is the Church of *Rome?* for I have heard ſay, that there are many other Churches; among others, it hath been told me, there is a Church in the *Eaſt*, called the Greek Church, which hath ſix Patriarchs, that is to ſay, for Popes, the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, and theſe do all in like manner Anathematize the Pope of *Rome*. Propoſe to them, ſay I, this difficulty, and preſs it home, and you will ſee them brought into ſuch ſtreights, that they can ſay nothing but impertinences and abſurdities: They will tell you that *Rome* is the ſeat of S. *Peter*, it is to her that this Priviledg was granted, all thoſe which ſeparate from her, depart from Unity. So that the *Greek* Church, and the three Popes whereof we have ſpoken, are out of the Unity. Can there be a greater Abſurdity than to anſwer by that which has been under diſpute? It is not true that *Rome* is the Chair of S. *Peter*, we ſhall it may be have occaſion to prove it to you in ſome other place. But although it ſhould be true, where is it ſaid that the Priviledg of Unity ought to be affixed to the Chair of S. *Peter*? The Pope of *Conſtantinople* ſays, I am in the Chair of S. *Andrew*, who was an Apoſtle. The Pope of *Antioch* ſays, 'Tis I who

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am in the true Chair of St. *Peter*; for according to Tradition, St. *Peter* was ſeven years Biſhop of *Antioch* before he was Biſhop of *Rome:* ſo that it is the firſt Chair, founded by the chief of the Apoſtles. The Pope of *Alexandria* ſaith, I am in the Chair of St. *Mark*, who was an Evangeliſt, and had the Spirit of Infallibility as well as St. *Peter*. Behold three Popes againſt one, three Churches againſt one, three Apoſtles or Evangeliſts againſt one; wherefore then, Gentlemen Converters, would you that I ſhould eſteem you as only in the rightful poſſeſſion of Unity, to the prejudice of Perſons which pretend to have as good a Title to it as your ſelves? Preſs theſe falſe *Babyloniſh* Teachers on this point, and you will ſee ſuch confuſion, and ſuch a multitude of Words in their Diſcourſe, which will diſcover to you the falſeneſs of their pretenſions.

After this we will conſider the Propoſition in it ſelf, *The Union that is neceſſary to Salvation is included in the Church of* Rome *alone; out of it there is neither Salvation, Faith, Grace, Remiſſion of Sins, nor the True Church: ſo that every man which is ſeparate from it by Schiſm alone, without Hereſie, dies eternally.* I do maintain, That this Propoſition is the moſt fooliſh, but withal, the moſt cruel and barbarous that ever was aſſerted: and I do beſeech you, my Brethren, to be attentive to the proofs that I ſhall make thereof.

Firſt, According to the Scripture, Fathers, and Evidence of Reaſon, the Unity of the Church ought to contain Univerſality in it ſelf; that is to ſay, That Church which is One ought to be univerſal, and extended through all the World; it ought to comprehend all Chriſtians. I will not prove this, for it's clear and alſo confeſſed: 'tis a truth ſo known among the Ancients, that they look on certain Schiſmaticks of the fourth and fifth Age, called *Donatiſts*, as Fools. Theſe People, in the beginning of the fourth Age, ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of the Church of *Carthage*, and all *Africa:* this Separation was

cauſed by the Election of a Biſhop of *Carthage*. This hath always been one of the moſt fruitful Sources of Diviſion. Theſe *Donatiſts* ſaid preciſely that which the Church of *Rome* ſays at this day, * *All the Church is fall'n into Apoſtaſie, and is only preſerved in the Communion of* Donatus: upon which St. *Auguſtine* thus cries out, *Oh proud and wicked Tongue!* Certain other Schiſmaticks called *Luciferians*, fell into the ſame dotage, That the Church was periſhed, and continued not but in *Sardinia*, and ſome Mountains near *Rome*, where they had Followers and Diſciples. St. *Jerome* treats them on that Subject, as men that had loſt their Underſtanding. † *If it be ſo*, ſays he, *Jeſus Chriſt died only for the Peaſants of* Sardinia: *Where then is the accompliſhment of that word of the Father, Ask of me and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance?* Behold exactly the folly of the Papiſts, the Church is periſh'd throughout the World, except at *Rome*, and in the *Weſt*; but we, with the Scriptures and the Fathers, ſay, *Let the North give up, and let not the South keep back.* All the parts of the World ſhall bring forth Children to God; and the Church ought to be extended to all places where the Goſpel is. Now the Church of *Rome* is not at *Conſtantinople*, nor in *Muſcovy*, *Aſia*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, or *Ethiopia*, where nevertheleſs there are multitudes of Chriſtians: it is not in *England*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, nor in a great part of *Germany*. The Church of *Rome* reacheth not to all the Countries and Kingdoms; for 'tis ridiculous to ſay that 'tis diſperſed throughout the World, becauſe there are ſome Jeſuits at *London*, in the *Low Countries*, *Sweden*, *Conſtantinople*, and in the *Eaſt*, and ſome *Latines* hid here and there, where they have ſmall Congregations, but little known, and as it were under ground. I might as well ſay that Calviniſm is extended through all *Italy*, becauſe there are ſome of the Reformed ſcatter'd here and there in it.

* *Aug. de Agone Chriſti*, cap. 28.

† *Jerome Dialog. adv. Luciſer.*

Secondly, According to the Hypotheſis of the Church of *Rome*, every one that errs, though never ſo little, that is to ſay, who goes off from that which the *Romaniſts* determine, is out of the Unity of the Church, and without hopes of Salvation. Behold how ill this agrees with that notable Paſſage whereof thoſe of ours that are weak and fearful make great uſe; 'tis that of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. iii. 11. where the Apoſtle ſays, *For other Foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt. Now if any man build upon this Foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble; every mans work ſhall be made manifeſt*, &c. *and the fire ſhall try every mans work*, &c. *And if any mans work be burnt he ſhall ſuffer loſs, but he himſelf ſhall be ſaved.* Without taking notice of what may be difficult in this Paſſage, 'tis clear, That thoſe which build are Teachers, that the Gold, Silver, and precious Stones are ſound Doctrines, that the Wood, Hay, and Stubble are ſuch as are unſound and falſe; 'tis alſo clear, that they which teach theſe falſe Doctrines may be ſaved, and with greater reaſon they which are ſeduced by them. It follows not from thence, as our perverted People pretend, that a perſon may be ſaved in the practice of that Worſhip which ruines the Foundation, as they do in the Church of *Rome*: but it follows at leaſt, that a perſon may be ſaved that teaches Doctrines oppoſite to Truth, provided that they ſubvert not the Foundation: and by conſequence, the Church of *Rome* is ridiculous, as well as cruel, to damn all thoſe which are out of her Communion for Errors that are light and trifling; for having pronounced Anathema againſt thoſe which deny, for example, that Infants dying without Baptiſm are damned, Mr. *Nicholas* makes no difficulty to condemn all thoſe, which do not believe the ſovereign and abſolute neceſſity of Baptiſm.

Thirdly, We have a third proof of the falſeneſs of this Pretence, that the *Roman* Church is in poſſeſſion of that Unity out of which there is no Salvation, in this, That

That God preſerves the Miniſtry of his Word in many Places, and in many Churches, which do not ſubmit to the Latin Church. The Word of God never returns without effect. The Wiſdom of God will not permit, that he ſhould preſerve the Miniſtry in places where there are none but Non-elect and Reprobates; ſo that it is abſurd, that God ſhould cauſe his Goſpel to be preached to a herd of Reprobates, among which there is not one perſon on whom the Word can produce its effect. It will be therefore in vain, that God ſhould preſerve Chriſtians in all the Eaſt and South, for theſe Chriſtians being out of the ſaving Unity, will be damned juſt in the ſame manner as if they were Pagans.

Fourthly, The Schiſm of the Ten Tribes gives us a convincing Proof that in Schiſmatical Churches every ſingle Perſon is not in a ſtate of Damnation. *Jeroboam* ſeparated ten Tribes from the other two; he would not ſuffer them to go up to *Jeruſalem*, but engaged them in a formal Schiſm; nevertheleſs God there preſerved both Prophets, as *Elijah* and *Eliſha*, and a multitude of Perſons which he affirmed to be his own, becauſe they had not bowed the knee to *Baal*. There is therefore no particular Church that has reaſon to boaſt it ſelf of having Unity alone, to the prejudice of all other Churches.

Fifthly, The truth is, that on one ſide the Jews converted to Chriſtianity in the time of the Apoſtles, and on the other ſide the Pagan Converts lived in a true Schiſm; for theſe Jewiſh Chriſtians would have no Communion with the converted Pagans, nevertheleſs they did not mutually damn each other: therefore we ought not to damn thoſe which live in Schiſm, whatever it be. The converted Jews had conſiderable Errors; they obſerved the Law, and would retain Circumciſion with all their might, Things incompatible with Chriſtianity, as S. *Paul* declares ſo poſitively as to ſay, *If any one be circumciſed Chriſt ſhould profit him nothing*: nevertheleſs, God ſuffers and ſaves them with conſiderable Errors. It is not there-

fore true that the Church is ſhut up in one ſole Communion, and that every Error damns when we ſeparate from a Society, that is juſtly called the Church: but it's true, that remaining in a Society bearing that Name, we may nevertheleſs be damned, when there are mortal Errors there, as there are in the Church of *Rome*.

Sixthly, Ask your Converters, who would oblige you to return to the Church of *Rome* on pain of Damnation, under pretence that Unity is in that Church alone; ask them, I ſay, whether they would pronounce, that all the *Greek* Chriſtians (of whom there are millions) are damned for this only reaſon, becauſe they will not adhere to the *Roman* Church, who alone has Unity in her poſſeſſion? If they have the front to ſay yea, ask them if they acknowledge the *Greeks* for Chriſtians? They will alſo alſo anſwer you yea: purſue and preſs them, by asking how God can abandon to eternal Damnation an infinite number of Chriſtians, who according to the Church of *Rome* hold no Capital Errors, and are only miſtaken in things of ſmall conſequence? If the Papiſts boaſt of the conſent of all Chriſtians of other Communions, and particularly of the *Greeks*, in the Invocation of Saints, in the Adoration of Images, in the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, the real Preſence and Adoration: they do therefore hold all that the Church of *Rome* eſteems neceſſary to Salvation; why therefore will they damn them for little things, and for this alone, that they will not live in this pretended Unity?

To compleat the confuſion of your Converters, by themſelves, on the ſubject of this Unity, out of which we are departed, Ask them if this Unity be not a certain circle in which the true Church is encloſed? They will anſwer you yea: proceed to ask them, Whether this certain Circle of Unity has not its Centre, that is to ſay, a certain eminent Church to which all the reſt ought to have their Relation, to the end that they may be within the circle of Unity? they will alſo anſwer you yea; and they

they will add that the Pope, or Biſhop of *Rome*, is this centre of Unity.

Monſieur *de Meaux* finds a way to ſecure himſelf from the Thunders of *Rome* by frequent repeating this: and indeed this Suppoſition, according to their Hypotheſis, is of abſolute neceſſity; for if this Circle of Unity have no Centre of Adherence, it vaniſhes immediately; a man will always be able to ſay with good reaſon, To what Church would you that I ſhould adhere? is it to that of *Paris*, or that of *Toledo?* Theſe are particular Churches which may err; if therefore the Pope be ruined, if the neceſſity of Adherence to the Pope be removed, the circle of Unity periſhes with him, which they call the centre of Unity. Now obſerve, that at this day the Divines of the *French* Church, your Converters, ruine the Pope from head to foot; they take away the centre of Unity, and by deſtroying the centre they deſtroy the circle. 'Tis to this that ſo many modern Writings of *Maimbourgh*, *Gerbas*, *Noel Alexander*, made, after the Kings Declarations, and the Definitions of the Biſhops on this Subject, or in proſpect of them, do tend. But the *Gallican* Church never ſpake ſo openly as ſhe hath done but a little while ſince, by the Pen of a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, called *Elias Pin*, touching the ancient Diſcipline of the Church. Thoſe among you, my Brethren, which do not underſtand the Latin Tongue, may conſult thoſe that do; and they will inform you, that in this Book may be read, 1. That the Biſhop of *Rome* had originally no power over other Churches. 2. That in the firſt Inſtitution of Patriarchs, he had no power but over the *Suburbicane* Provinces, that is to ſay, thoſe near to *Rome*. 3. That the Popes, by little and little, ruined the Rights of the Metropolitan Biſhops, and by Uſurpation aſcribed them to themſelves. 4. That the Pope has no right to review, and finally judge the Cauſes determined by the Biſhops. 5. That the Priviledges which the See of *Rome* at this day enjoys, are not by divine Right, but

either by Uſurpation or the Conceſſion of Councils. 6 That to be a good Catholick and a good Chriſtian, it is in no wiſe neceſſary, in many Occurrences, to adhere to the See of *Rome*. 7. That the Primacy of the Church, which the Pope poſſeſſes, appertains not to him but by a tolerated Uſurpation, or as a Priviledge granted by Councils. This gives him no character of Infallibility, nor the right of judging finally, and above Councils. Behold exactly the Divinity of the *Gallican* Church at this day; for this man, in the view of the Court, had not written thus without its Order. Behold alſo the centre of Unity intirely ſubverted, and ſo ſubverted as it was by *Calvin* and *Luther*. This being ſo, why do theſe Gentlemen everlaſtingly beat upon your ears, about their Unity, and the centre of Unity? There is no more Unity in the Church of *Rome* ſince there is no centre of it there; for ſince adherence to the Pope is no farther neceſſary to be a true Chriſtian, you are not departed from Unity and Chriſtianity by departing from the Communion of the Pope: obſerve therefore thereon, that Monſieur *de Meaux*, and your Converters, are not men of Fidelity, to preſs you by Principles the falſeneſs whereof they themſelves confeſs: for in the Paſtoral Letter of Monſieur *de Meaux*, in his Catholick Expoſition, and every where elſe, to hear him ſpeak of the centre of Unity, you would ſay, that the Pope poſſeſſed this Title by divine Right: and behold theſe Gentlemen profeſs to us, That 'tis by a handſome Uſurpation tolerated, and by the conceſſion of Councils. That which Councils have given him they may take away from him. This makes it apparent how little of honeſty there is in the Quotations, which theſe Monſieurs make from St. *Cyprian*, who without doubt had a falſe Idea of the Unity of the Church, ſo falſe, and ſo ill formed, that your Converters themſelves will not dare to warrant it. We have treated this matter at large in our Anſwer to Monſieur *Nicholas*, where we have made it apparent, that this

this falſe Idea of the Unity of the Church, which St. *Cyprian* did communicate to St. *Auguſtine*, did put the latter to that perplexity and confuſion, from which he could not withdraw himſelf on the ſubject of the validity of the Baptiſm of Hereticks. In the following Letter we muſt ſay ſomething as well on the point of Antiquity as that of Controverſie; and we will make it evident alſo in the ſame Letter, that ſuppoſing this *Roman* Idea of Unity to be falſe, all their Arguments and Sophiſms vaniſh and come to nothing.

15. January, 1687.

The ELEVENTH

PASTORAL LETTER.

AN

Article of Antiquity: the end of the Hiſtory of the Chriſtianity of the Third Age: concerning Tradition, and the Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*. An Article of Controverſie. Reflections upon a Writing lately addreſſed to the Reformed of *France*: A Continuation of the matter concerning the Unity of the Church.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

I Have not obliged my ſelf to acquaint you with all the ſad Accidents that do betide us in our Exile and Perſecution: but the death of the excellent Mr. *Claud* is an event ſo grievous, that I cannot forbear ſpeaking one word concerning it. God hath taken him to himſelf ſince our laſt Letter. He was the Father of our Prophets, and we may well cry after him, *My Father, my Father,*

Father, the Chariot of Iſrael, and the Horſeman thereof. God had formerly affixed him in a particular manner to the conduct of the moſt conſiderable of your Congregations, but Providence made him become in a manner your univerſal Paſtor, by the care that he took to defend you from the dangerous Sophiſtry of thoſe that endeavoured to ſeduce you; and he was herein ſucceſsful in ſuch a manner, as might cover all our Enemies with ſhame and confuſion. I acquaint you with the loſs that you have ſuſtained, that you may lament, and look on it as a mark of the continuation of God's diſpleaſure againſt you. His Juſtice was not yet ſatisfied; the Arrows of his Quiver were not all drawn forth; this ſtroke was ſtill owing to us: I pray God this may be the laſt. If you be grieved, your Enemies (you may be ſure) rejoyce at it; but they muſt know, that if the Aſhes and Blood of the Martyrs hath been the ſeed of the Church, the Tombs of the Prophets do preſerve their Spirit which paſſeth to their Diſciples. If the Grave incloſe the Fleſh and Bones of this great Man, his Writings will preſerve his Wit, Knowledge, and Illuminations; and God will not ſuffer a failure of Perſons, which ſhall propheſie on his Tomb, for the maintenance of thoſe Victories that he hath gained for the Truth. God will do his work in your ſight, and you ſhall ſee this Church, which is dead, riſe again after four days: but it may be he will do this work himſelf; and when you ſee thoſe fall and drop away one after another, whoſe Writings and Diſcourſes might be of uſe to ruine the ſucceſs and triumph of Lyes, be perſuaded that God will derive his Praiſe from the mouths of Children; and that he that laid the Foundation of the Kingdom of his Son by Fiſhermen, will re-eſtabliſh the Ruines thereof by earthen Veſſels, into which he will pour his Treaſures. He whoſe loſs we lament, was, whilſt he lived, one of thoſe Inſtruments which God ſerved himſelf of, for your Edification and Defence. Whilſt you pour out tears upon his Grave, and throw

your

your ſhowers there, you may gather ſweetneſs thence. *Out of the Eater came forth meat, and out of the ſtrong came forth ſweetneſs.* Death, that devours and takes all things from us, cannot hinder us from ſearching and finding our Edification in the Remains of this great Man. His laſt Words will ſerve as a Support to our Faith. It was not the pleaſure of God that he ſhould ſhed his Blood for the defence of his Truth; but he hath made his laſt Words (which are the effuſion of his Spirit and of his Soul) give Teſtimony to thoſe Truths which he had preach'd and defended. *I have,* ſays he, *laboured all my life in the ſearch of the beſt Religion; and being now about to give up my Soul to God, I do declare, That I have not found any but our own (which I have ſo often defended, and in which I am now about to dye) which is the true way to Heaven.* The Words of dying men are the proper Voice of Conſcience; for in that laſt moment Diſſimulation has no place; ſo that they are the Seal of all the Truths which he hath ſo gloriouſly defended. My deſign will not permit me to ſpeak all on this Subject which it were neceſſary you ſhould know; I ſhall leave it to ſome other Perſon, and return to the matter of our preceding Letters.

This ſhall conſiſt of one point of Antiquity, and another of Controverſie. We are to finiſh the Hiſtory of the Chriſtianity of the Third Age. And after we have fortified you againſt the Illuſions which your Seducers frame upon ſome Paſſages of the Writings of St. *Cyprian* and *Tertullian*, on the Subject of Repentance, Auricular Confeſſion, and Satisfaction; I muſt alſo fortifie you againſt the Snares that they compoſe for you from the Writings of the ſame *Tertullian* on the Subject of Tradition: for they do not fail to tell you, That the Fathers neareſt the Apoſtles had a great reſpect for the unwritten Word; that they did often diſpute againſt Hereticks by Tradition, and that *Tertullian* himſelf did maintain, That there was no other way of diſputing againſt them.

But

But to ſecure you from this Snare, Learn Firſt, That when *Tertullian* diſputes, and proves that which he advances by Tradition, it is almoſt alway about indifferent Ceremonies, and matters of practice. As in the Book concerning the *Soldiers Crown*, where he proves by Tradition, the bearing of no Crown upon the Head; of Dipping three times in Baptiſm; of giving Milk and Honey to be eaten by the newly baptized; of giving Alms and Oblations for the Dead; of not Waſhing ſeven days after Baptiſm. 'Tis true, that in his Book of Preſcriptions, from the 15th Chapter to the 22th, he proves that we may not diſpute againſt Hereticks by the Scripture, but by the Tradition of the Churches. And he returns to it again in the 37th and 38th Chapters thereof. But if the new Converts which have written to us, and do ſend us to that Book, had read it with ſome wiſdom and attention of mind, they would have ſeen that it neither doth nor can concern us.

1. The Hereticks, concerning whom the queſtion is there, were no Chriſtians, they were Magicians, Diſciples of *Simon Magus*, who retained the Name of Chriſtian, and no more. Beſides, *Tertullian* ſays plainly, **That we muſt keep them at a diſtance from the Scriptures, becauſe being no Chriſtians, they did not belong to them.* 2. Theſe Hereticks did not acknowledg the Authority of the Scriptures; they rejected them, or received only ſome pieces of them cut off from the reſt, and which were wholly corrupt and falſified. And when the Catholicks quoted to them the Holy Scripture, they derided it as a fabulous Writing. How then could any man diſpute with them from a Book whoſe Authority they did not acknowledge? there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to another ſort of proofs.

* Chap. 37.

2. That which was good in the time of *Tertullian*, is not good at this time of day. I do maintain that it was then very eaſie, and very convenient to diſpute againſt

againſt Hereticks by Tradition. It was then not above an hundred years ſince the laſt of the Apoſtles died. There was nothing more eaſie than to learn what had been their Doctrine by their Succeſſors. It is about a hundred and fifty years ſince the Reformed Church of *Geneva* had its exiſtence. If the Doctrin of *Calvin* were now under diſpute, nothing were more eaſie, than to prove without Book, that his Doctrine paſſed without alteration, even to thoſe that now teach in that Church and School. But is it the ſame thing, when there are 1200, 1500, and 2000 years paſt? By what way can we ſearch ſo far, and aſcend ſo high through an infinite number of Men, of whom not one hath retained the Doctrine that he did receive, in the ſame eſtate in which it was delivered to him? Behold a very fine Compariſon. 3. Add to this, that *Tertullian* ſends us to the Teſtimony of thoſe Churches which were founded by the Apoſtles, becauſe thoſe Churches had the *Authentick Letters* (as he calls them) that is to ſay, the Original Writings of the Apoſtles; ſo that to ſend the Hereticks to the Churches, and to their Teſtimony, (by reaſon of thoſe *Authentick Letters*) was to ſend them to the Scripture it ſelf. 4. Beſides, let theſe He and She Converts, which have been ſeduced by the reading of this Book, read it from the 22 to the 32 Chap. and they will ſee, that the Doctrine which *Tertullian* would have us ſearch in Tradition, is the ſame which was contained in the Writings of the Apoſtles, and not an unwritten Word, and certain Doctrines which the Apoſtles did commit to the Ears and the Memories of their Succeſſors. The Hereticks would not acknowledge the Authority of the ſacred Volumes, *Go to*, ſays *Tertullian* to them, *lay by the Holy Books, and let us lay hold of Tradition, let us ſee what the Biſhops have taught ſince the Apoſtles, and I will prove, that 'tis preciſely the ſame Doctrine with that which is written in our Books which you reject.* Read, you that have ſuffered your ſelves to be abuſed, read, I ſay, the 22 Chap.

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and thoſe that follow, to the 27, and you will ſee that the Hereticks ſpake exactly the ſame Language which your Converters do, that we muſt not apply to, nor ſupport our ſelves by the Writings of the Apoſtles, * *That the Apoſtles indeed might know all, and agree in the things which they did preach, but they did not reveal all things to all; that they ſaid certain things publickly and to all, but that there were other things which they ſaid in ſecret, and to a few; and that is it which St.* Paul *means, when he ſaith to* Timothy, *O* Timothy, *keep that good thing which was committed to thee.* Behold exactly the Doctrine of your Converters, and that of the ancient Hereticks! 'Tis that which *Tertullian* oppoſes, proving that the Apoſtles delivered nothing by Tradition, but that which is written. 5. Poor ſilly Fools! which have ſuffered your ſelves to be ſeduced by I know not what ſhadows and appearances, and who put your ſelves to judge of Antiquity without knowing any thing thereof. If you knew againſt what Hereticks *Tertullian* diſputed, you would ſee that the Controverſie was not about things that were not in the Holy Scriptures. Theſe Hereticks denied, that Jeſus Chriſt was God, and that he was a true Man; They ſaid that he had no true Fleſh, and that his Paſſion was nothing but a Tragedy, and an appearance of a great many Phantoms; they denied the Reſurrection of the Fleſh. Was there any need to recur to Tradition to prove ſuch things as theſe? Doth not the Scripture contain thoſe Truths that are oppoſite to theſe wicked Imaginations, as clearly as Tradition? And do you not ſee that *Tertullian* forſakes the Scriptures on this Subject only, becauſe the Enemies againſt which he diſputed had forſaken them, and had no reverence for their Authority? 6. To conclude, If there be any hard terms in this Book, attribute them in the firſt place, to the heat of Diſpute, which always carries Men too far; ſecondly, to the Genius and *African* manner of *Tertullian*'s Expreſſions; and learn, that according

* *Tertull. de Preſcrip.* c. 25.

cording to the ſame Author, * *One cannot prove any thing which reſpects the Faith but by thoſe Letters and Writings which are the Rule thereof.* Learn by this excellent Paſſage of *Tatian*, who was then the Judge of Controverſies, and the Source and Fountain of Inſtruction: 'tis to that he refers the manner of his becoming a Chriſtian, † *As I ſought every where with care, I happened on ſome Books of the* Barbarians, (ſo the Pagans call the Books of Chriſtians and Jews) *and I found them, as to time, much more ancient than the Phil ſophy of the* Greeks, *and much more venerable, if we conſider the Errors which are in the* Grecian *Books. I gave credit to theſe Books, becauſe their ſtyle was ſimple, and yet magnificent, becauſe there was nothing affected in them, becauſe the Diſcourſes were not obſcure, and many things to come were predicted in them: I was affected with them becauſe of the greatneſs of the Promiſes, and becauſe they learn'd me that there was but one Monarch in the Univerſe.* This Ancient knew not as yet the Divinity of Monſieur *de Meaux*, that the firſt Article of Faith is, *I believe the Church*, and that we ought not to believe that the Scripture is Divine, but becauſe the Church ſays ſo. And as to Tradition, you which ſuffer your ſelves to be dazled by the Words of *Tertullian*, ill underſtood, learn from the Example of St. *Cyprian*, who lived in the ſame Age, That Tradition was at that time a proof whereof Men made uſe according to the diverſity of their Apprehenſions, and their Intereſts. *Tertullian* ſeems to make great account of it; and St. *Cyprian* laughs at it, when on the ſubject of Hereticks, which he would re-baptize, contrary to the Practice of the Church, they objected to him Tradition, Cuſtom, ancient Uſage and antique Practice, he rejected theſe Proofs with Contempt and Scorn. *Stephen* had written to him, *Let nothing be innovated in Tradition. Where is this Tradition*, anſwers he, ‖ *is it in the Goſpels, in the Acts, or in the Epiſtles? An ancient Cuſtom,*

* *Lib. Preſcrip.* c. 15.

† Tatian. *Orat. in Græc.*

‖ *Epiſt.* 74.

Cuſtom, without truth, is nothing but an old Error. And in another Epiſtle he ſaith, * *Since we muſt hear none but Jeſus Chriſt, we need not examine what thoſe that went before us have done, but that which Jeſus Chriſt hath done before all; for we muſt not follow the Cuſtom of Men, but the Truth of God.* * *Epiſt.* 63.

To conclude, they endeavour to put Scruples in your minds on the Queſtion of the pretended Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the *Roman* Church, by certain Paſſages of *Tertullian* and St. *Cyprian*, either corrupted, or ill expounded. But that is a buſineſs, the diſcuſſion whereof is too long to be handled at this time; yea 'tis above the capacity of moſt of you: only know, that 'tis ſo far from truth, that they did acknowledge the Sovereign Authority of the Pope in that Age; that *Tertullian* makes no ſcruple to ſcoff at the Pretenſions of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to call him in Raillery the *Biſhop of Biſhops*, becauſe of ſome kind of Primacy which he began to pretend to. For even in that time, the Myſtery of Iniquity began to work. St. *Cyprian* deſpiſes the Excommunications of *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, and oppoſes himſelf to the attempt of thoſe who would appeal to *Rome* about matters determined in the Provinces of *Africa*. This is that St. *Cyprian* to whom ſome Perſons attribute the Acknowledgment of the Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who ſaid on the Queſtion of the Baptiſm of Hereticks, and of the Admiſſion of Biſhops which had lapſed and fallen, † *In which caſe we will do violence to no man, nor will we give Law to others, obſerving that every Biſhop may uſe the Power given him according to his Will, in the Government of the Church, being under no Obligation to give an account thereof to any one but the Lord.* 'Twas to *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Rome*, that he ſpake thus. Judge you whether he acknowledged him for his Superior. Hear how the ſame *Cyprian* ſpeaks in the face of a Council aſſembled at *Carthage* in the Year 258. *Let none of us call himſelf Biſhop of Biſhops, or* † *Epiſt.* 72.

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endeavour to force his Collegues to a neceſſity of Obedience, by a tyrannical fear and terror, ſeeeng every Biſhop is Maſter of himſelf, and cannot be judged by another Biſhop, nor can be judge other Biſhops. 'Twas alſo with reſpect to *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome* that he ſpake thus. Has any one the front to ſay, That ſpeaking thus he acknowledged him for his Superior? Obſerve that it was no ſmall Affair that was now under debate; 'twas about the Baptiſm of Hereticks, a Queſtion which had made a great noiſe, and which *Stephen* would have decided with too much Authority.

The Biſhop of *Meaux* (after a hundred others of his Communion) to prove the Primacy of the Pope by S. *Cyprian*, quotes a Paſſage from his fifty ſecond Epiſtle, which proves that theſe Gentlemen do not fear to make themſelves ridiculous, provided they may ſeem to ſay ſomewhat. 'Tis a Paſſage where he pretends S. *Cyprian* ſays, *That the Roman Emperor did ſuffer in* Rome *a Prieſt which was his Rival, with more impatience than he ſuffer'd a* Cæſar *in his Armies which diſputed the Empire with him*; That is to ſay, that the *Roman* Emperors did impatiently ſuffer that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould be called High Prieſt, to the prejudice of that Dignity, which the Emperors aſſumed unto themſelves. So that according to this reckoning, they were jealous of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and look'd upon them as their Rivals in the High Prieſthood. In truth this is more ridiculous than if one ſhould ſay, The King of *England* (who calls himſelf Head of the *Engliſh* Church) were jealous of the Curate of the Pariſh of St. *Martin* in *London*. The Chriſtians certainly were not above one in a hundred in *Rome*, and the Biſhops of *Rome* at that time made leſs Figure in the World, than an Incumbent of five hundred Crowns *per annum* makes at this day: for beſides that they were Poor, they were alſo humble. What Agreement could the Emperor, in quality of a Pagan High-Prieſt, have with this pretended High-Prieſt of the Chriſtians? To be

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his Rival, he muſt aſpire to the ſame thing. I ſhould rather have choſen to have ſaid, That the Muſti looks on the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* as his Rival. The meaneſt Scholar knows that the Word *Æmulus* which ſignifies Rival, ſignifies alſo Enemy; and 'tis clear, that S. *Cyprian* means that that cruel Perſecutor, the Emperor *Decius*, beheld with more Indignation a Prieſt that oppoſed his Religion, than he would have look'd upon an Enemy that had diſputed the Empire with him. To conclude, although St. *Cyprian* ſhould have intended to compare the Biſhop of *Rome* with the Pagan High-Prieſt, it would not follow that the Biſhop of *Rome* was Head of all the Chriſtians in the World; for the *Roman* Prieſt was not Head but of the Religion of the City of *Rome*, and not of the whole Empire.

'Tis true that St. *Cyprian* corrupted the Idea of the Church, and opened a door to the moſt cruel Doctrine that ever was advanced: he made a falſe Idea of the Unity of the Church, which he encloſes in one only external Communion. And becauſe the Unity of one viſible Head was not yet invented, he imagined I know not what Unity of Epiſcopacy, which all the Biſhops did individually poſſeſs; whereof nevertheleſs they all adminiſtred but a part. This inconſiſtent Imagination gave place afterwards for the Subſtitution of one ſingle Head, to the end that a viſible Head might be given to the Unity of the viſible Communion, which might be the centre thereof. This ſuffices to give you an Idea of the Chriſtianity of the Third Age; and by this Hiſtory you may obſerve what was altered in Doctrine or Worſhip.

1. They introduced the uſe of the Sign of the Croſs, at leaſt in private; for we find it not as yet in the publick Acts of Religion. We have ſaid nothing to you concerning it as yet, becauſe it is a little thing, about which we ſhould never make Complaints againſt any one provided they be not ſuperſtitious in the uſe of it.

2. The Liturgy of the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, was augmented and increaſed exceedingly by many Prayers, ſo that it became very long; whereas it was plain and ſhort in the firſt and ſecond Age.

3. There they added, particularly, Oblations and Prayers for the Dead.

4. To Baptiſm they added Unction, whereof hath been made a Sacrament by it ſelf: they added there alſo Milk and Honey, which they gave to the newly baptized, and ſome other unprofitable Ceremonies.

5. They appointed two days of Faſting and Regular Prayers every week: in ſome Places *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, and in other Places *Thurſdays* and *Saturdays*; and 'tis from thence the two Fiſh-days came, *viz.* *Friday* and *Saturday*, according to the uſe of the *Roman* Church.

6. They increaſed their rigor of Diſcipline, on the one hand ordaining long Penances to Sinners; and 'tis from thence that the Doctrine of Humane Satisfactions had its birth.

7. On the other hand, they looſened the rigor of this Diſcipline with reſpect to ſome ſingle perſons, by reaſon of the value they had for the Letters of Interceſſion written by the Martyrs; and 'tis from thence that Indulgences have their original, and the application of the merit of Saints to thoſe who have not enough of their own.

8. They began to put a value upon Tradition; and from thence came inſenſibly a contempt of the Holy Scripture.

9. They introduced a falſe Idea of the Church and its Unity, by which they put out of the Communion of Jeſus Chriſt, not only Hereticks erring in the Foundation, but all Societies beſpotted with Error, though never ſo little: this is that which has produced ſo many bloody Diviſions, ſo many Anathema's, unjuſt Excommunications, Hatreds and Quarrels.

Add

Add all theſe Alterations to thoſe which we have already obſerved in the ſecond Age, and you will ſee, that the exterior face of Worſhip was already wholly changed, although the interior had not yet received any conſiderable Alteration: but this change in the exterior part did afterwards wholly ruine the interior, in ſuch a manner, that we cannot deny but from the Third Age Chriſtianity hath received a conſiderable Alteration. When they had dreſſed up the Euchariſt after the manner of a Sacrifice, it was not difficult to fall into a perſuaſion that it was one indeed. When they had introduced the words Merit and Satisfaction, they ſoon after changed the firſt ſenſe and meaning of them. When they had eſtabliſhed Prayers for the Dead, it was a good ſtep leading to the Opinion of Purgatory. When they had clothed the Sacrament with ſo many pompous Ceremonies, that did inſenſibly diſpoſe mens minds to ſearch more than Bread in the matter of it.

An Article of Controverſie. Reflections on a Writing newly ſent to the Churches of France. *A continuation of the matter concerning the Unity of the Church.*

HAving finiſhed our Article of Antiquity, it were convenient to engage in that of Controverſie; and we ſhould have done it without any delay, if we had not met in our way a Writing, Intituled, *Charitable Advice to comfort the Conſcience of thoſe that are obliged to conform themſelves to the Worſhip of the* Roman *Church; taken from the Letter of a private Perſon to his Friends.* This dangerous Letter hath a deſign exactly oppoſite to ours; we would awaken you; this would lay you to ſleep, and perſuade you, that the Superſtitions they oblige you to pra-

ctiſe cannot hurt you, yea that they may ſerve you, provided that you make them means of uniting your ſelves to God. That which makes the Poiſon of this Writing the more dangerous, is, That there is mingled in it a character and appearance of Humility, Piety, and Devotion. We are informed, That Perſons, who to make themſelves acceptable at Court do deſign to bring you to a Submiſſion to your Perſecutors, have ſent you many Copies thereof: ſo that we have all ſorts of reaſon to fortifie you againſt the peril unto which this pernicious Writing may thruſt Perſons who have already too much inclination to flatter and lay themſelves to reſt. It ſhall not be by refuting the Reaſons of this Author, that we will defend you againſt him; it ſhall be by making him known unto you. That will ſuffice to learn you what credit you ought to give to the Principles of ſuch a Doctor; you muſt know therefore, that he is none of your ancient Paſtors, that hath thus written to you. 'Tis true, that the Author of this Letter had ſometimes this Character, but he renounced it many years ſince, to put himſelf in the Arms of a certain Hypocondriack Woman called *Anthoniette de Bourignon*. This Woman conceiving there was not already Sects enough amongſt Chriſtians, had it in her Head to make another. And moreover, Perſons of her Sex having not been accuſtomed to be Foundreſſes of Religions, ſhe thought that hers would make her conſiderable in the World by the ſingularity of its Original. With great appearance of Devotion (which is ſeen in all hypocondriack and doting perſons) ſhe puts her ſelf upon Preaching to the World, by eighteen or twenty Volumes of Writings, which ſhe either cauſed to be printed during her Life, or left to be printed after her Death. In theſe Works, beſides Chriſtian Verities, and particularly what appertains to Morality, which ſhe hath adorned happily enough in ſome Particulars, ſhe puts off a thouſand paradoxical Viſions, and a thouſand empty Dreams againſt the Truths which are received by

by Divines. Mr. *P.* Author of the Writing of which we are now diſcourſing, more through weakneſs of Mind than corruption of Heart, put himſelf into this Sect, and is become the Head thereof. Thirteen Volumes of his may be ſeen, which without doubt do explicate and much promote the myſteries of his Miſtreſs. It will ſuffice to learn you what is the character of theſe Gentlemen, by giving you ſome draughts of their Religion, drawn from that very Writing which hath been ſent unto you. Firſt of all, Their Opinion is to have nothing, to be fond of no body, to entertain among them Papiſts, Lutherans, Remonſtrants, the Reformed, Socinians, Mennonites, Anabaptiſts. All are there welcome, without being obliged either to change their Opinions or Practices, if they think fit to retain them. But alſo their Religion is, to practiſe nothing externally. They go neither to Sermons, nor to Maſs; they perform no exerciſe of Religion, neither publick nor private. They have no Aſſemblies, as other Sects among Chriſtians. If the humor takes them, they will go this day to Maſs, and to morrow to the Church of the Reformed; but that doth not happen, it may be, once in a year, nor peradventure once in all their Life, for they do profeſs a very mean opinion and a great indifference for the exerciſes of Piety, looking on them as things without, which are of no uſe any further than the intention and manner of uſing them (to rectifie the Mind and Conſcience) makes them profitable, yea they do more hurt than good, becauſe they draw the Soul out of it ſelf. I believe that they have in this a great correſpondence with the Followers of Dr. *Molini*, whom they call Quietiſts, and who make a very great noiſe in *Italy*. They reproach the Paſtors exceſſively, and under an appearance of Zeal, there is nothing which they do not ſay, to make odious and contemptible both the publick Miniſtry and thoſe that exerciſe it, in the one and other Religion. This may be ſeen in the Writings of their Foundreſs, *An-*

thoniette de Bourignon. They perform no private Exerciſes of Devotion in their houſes, at leaſt, which are viſible: for Mr. *P.* himſelf hath made known to the Publick, that *Madam Maiſelle de Bourignon* had no Prayers in her Family, unleſs it were at Table; and yet he obſerves, that that alſo was done with a low Voice, not that they do not permit the uſe of Prayers to ſuch as will, as they permit them to go to Sermons, or to Maſs indifferently: but thoſe which are perfect among them do not concern themſelves about it. And one of the Principles of Mr. *P.* is, That Deſires, Prayers, Elevations of Heart towards God, and Meditation, are perfectly contrary to the Spirit of perfect Chriſtianity, and hinder the deſcent of the holy Spirit, and the coming of his Grace. According to him, the only eſtate proper to draw down the holy Spirit, is that which he calls a ſtate of *Inaction*, by which, in a privation of Prayers, Deſires, and Motions, a man lets himſelf fall into nothing. And this annihilation of all the Faculties, is that acceptable Sacrifice to God which cauſes a deſcent of the Holy Spirit. They have perpetually thoſe Words in their mouth, *Let all Creatures keep ſilence, and let God ſpeak*; by which they ſignifie, not only that we ought to impoſe ſilence on our Paſſions, that we may hear God, which is very true, but alſo that we ought to ſhut the doors to all external Objects, and to lay all our internal Faculties aſleep, to procure a kind of Extaſie, which whilſt it continues, God ſpeaks to the Heart immediately, and by himſelf. Behold one of the Dreams of this Sect; whereof you will ſee ſome footſteps ſcattered here and there throughout the whole Letter; for this is the meaning of thoſe Humiliations, Annihilations, and internal acts of Adherence to God which you are there exhorted to make.

Behold another Dream of theſe diſeaſed Minds, which is read alſo in this Writing, in the fourth Page thereof, and the ſecond Column: *Moreover*, ſays he, *it muſt be remem-*

remembred, that 'tis ſaid in the Goſpel, That all things are poſſible to him that believes, That Faith can remove Mountains, and that Jeſus Chriſt always ſaid to Men, Be it unto you according to your Faith. So that if thoſe which officiate, and aſſiſt at the Celebration of the Euchariſt, do believe that Jeſus Chriſt is preſent there, this Faith is ratified by God, and it engages him (beyond his Word and his Promiſes) to make himſelf preſent, as it is believed; and this is a Conception ſo clear, that I do not doubt but you will comprehend the force thereof. Muſt not he have a beſotted mind to call this a clear Conception? I will explain it to you. One of the Opinions of this myſterious Cabala is, that originally God created Man maſter of all things, in the literal ſignification of the Words, ſo that he was able to ſtop the Sun in his courſe, to remove the Globe of the Earth, to remove Mountains, *&c.* and the Inſtrument by which he doth this, or could do it, is his Faith; for all things are poſſible to him that believes, without any Figure, or Exceptions. The ſtate of Perfection to which Chriſt calls us, is that of Faith, which makes all things poſſible to us: ſo that, at this day, to overturn the order of the World, you have no more to do, but to believe that you can do it, and it ſhall be done; for 'tis preciſely in the literal ſenſe that they would have us underſtand the words of Chriſt, *If you had Faith but as a grain of Muſtard-ſeed, you ſhould ſay to this Mountain, be thou removed and caſt into the Sea, and it would be done.* And that it was not a Priviledge of the Apoſtles, but for all Believers. Behold that admirable Conception which he tells you is ſo clear, that *it is impoſſible you ſhould not underſtand the force thereof.* If you don't underſtand its ſtrength, at leaſt you will underſtand the convenience of it; for when it ſhall pleaſe you to believe that Chriſt is corporeally preſent in your Andiron, and in the Mantle-tree of your Chimney, it will be ſo; and by that means, without going out of your Chimney-corner, you will go to Maſs, and every one of you,

by his Faith, will conſecrate and tranſubſtantiate all the Utenſils of his Houſe.

In the ſame Writing you will find another Dream, which to me ſeems yet more ridiculous. 'Tis in the ſixth Page, and the ſecond Column, on the Subject of Purgatory. *Then when it happens that a Soul departs this Life in the love of God, having nevertheleſs ſome impurities and evil habits in it ſelf, the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, or the purifying Grace of Jeſus Chriſt which comes after death into this Soul to puriſie it, or to finiſh its purification from all ſin, finding there, as yet, more or leſs of the remainders of Evil, and of evil Habits and Inclinations, fights with them that he may expell them; this Combat of the purifying Grace of Jeſus Chriſt againſt the evil which is in a Soul very ſenſible, which he would cleanſe from all the remainders of Sin, is not done, nor can be, without great and ſenſible ſorrows.* Is not this very ſingular, That when a Soul is ſeparated from his Body, the blood of Jeſus Chriſt ſhould thruſt it ſelf in there, (like Sand to ſcour) to cleanſe this Soul, which is an occaſion of quick and pungent Sorrows. Surely Mr *P.* could not have done better to excite the curioſity of the Publick, than to give us this little ſpark of his Myſteries. This alſo will be worth ſomething to his Printer; for I am aſſured, that the Curious of *France* would at any rate whatſoever ſee a compleat Syſteme of this admirable Theology.

However it be, it is not without a particular Providence that it happens, that in a Writing, otherwiſe apt enough to flatter the minds of our *Nicodemites*, the Author hath ſufficiently diſcovered himſelf, and made known what he is. After this, my Brethren, judge what credit you ought to give a man, who gives you an Idea of Piety according to which the Iſraelites might worſhip the Golden Calf without fault, becauſe they believed it to be God; according to which, a Man may be a *Turk*, and adore even Cabages, provided he makes uſe of them as a means of uniting him to God, and to excite his Love. Theſe Gentle-

Gentlemen desire of us to leave them in peace; let them leave us so then, and let them not intermeddle to give Advice to our Congregations, being not called thereto. With all my heart, I am willing to leave them at rest, for I take no pleasure to trouble any body; and I will leave them in their Retirement very peaceably, provided they put themselves into a state of *Inaction*, as well in respect to us as to God; but if they continue to trouble us, the Dispute may have an Issue which will not turn to their honor.

This Digression, which hath been longer than I could have wished, will be the cause that we cannot proceed far in the Article of Controversie. We are on the true Idea of Unity. The last part of our preceding Letter was employed in refuting the false Idea of Unity. We have made it appear, that 'tis a foolish and cruel Opinion to shut up Salvation in any single Communion, and that of all the Sects of Christianity, that of *Rome* has the least right to pretend to it. The Bishop of *Meaux* brags much of four or five Passages of St. *Cyprian*, to prove this cruel Paradox. This ancient Doctor goes so far as to say, * *That there can be no Martyr but in the Church; that when a man is separated from its Unity, 'tis in vain that he sheds his blood for the Confession of Christ Jesus.* This Maxim, in a large signification, may be endured; for indeed there may be Hereticks, who confessing the Name of Jesus Christ, but on the other side ruining the Foundations of the Christian Religion, may dye for the Religion of Jesus Christ to no advantage: but the Application which S. *Cyprian* makes thereof, is one of those faults over which wise men ought to draw a Curtain. He proceeds so far as to apply it to the *Novatians*. Now it must be known, these *Novatians* were good Christians, a thousand times better than are the Papists, seeing they did not ruine any of the Foundations, but retained and believed all the Christian Verities: only they were some-

* *Lib. de Unitate.*

thing

thing ſevere in Diſcipline, and would not receive thoſe that fell in times of Perſecution to the Peace of the Church. Was not this a great crime? Was not this a fine occaſion to ſay, as *Cyprian* did, *That a Novation was no Chriſtian?* Was not this a very fine Foundation for that terrible and cruel Sentence, That a *Novation* dying a Martyr for Jeſus Chriſt, was nevertheleſs damned? Of what make and conſtitution are the Doctors of the *Roman* Church, that make uſe of theſe Exceſſes, which ought to be hid out of Honor to thoſe great men which fell into them. Theſe are Scars remaining in their Fleſh, to the end that we ſhould not exalt them too much by reaſon of their great Virtues. Behold, my Brethren, the eye wherewith Mr. *de Meaux* looks on you: he, for your ſakes, makes uſe of the eyes which St. *Cyprian* had for the *Novatians*, concerning whom he ſaid, *A Novatian is out of the Church, he is no Chriſtian.* So ſays Mr. *de Meaux* concerning you, *The Calviniſts are out of the Church, and are no Chriſtians.* And why then, Gentlemen, do you addreſs to us Paſtoral Letters? Why do you call us your wandring Brethren? Will you dare to ſay, that we are no Chriſtians? Let theſe Writers of Paſtoral Letters, ſays Mr. *de Meaux, who ſhrowd themſelves with ſome ſhreds of* S. Cyprian, *take all his Doctrine entire.* Go to Mr. you may ſay unto him, If you find the Doctrine of S. *Cyprian* ſo good, why don't you take it whole and entire? Why don't you ſay that all the *Greeks* and all the Chriſtians of the Eaſt are not Chriſtians? Dare you ſay that all the *Greeks* which have been martyred by the *Turks* and *Saracens* ſince the Tenth Age are damned, and that they did not ſuffer Martyrdom although they ſuffered for Jeſus Chriſt? For my part, I am perſuaded, that if you preſs your Converters on this Subject with their Paſſages of St. *Cyprian*, they will bluſh on both Cheeks. Remember therefore, with reſpect to St. *Cyprian*, that the love which he had for the Peace of the Church, and the horror that he had for Schiſm, ran him into that exceſs, to believe

lieve, or ſay, That out of that, I know not what, exterior Unity of the Church, a man could not be ſaved. 'Twas in this Age that men began to corrupt the Idea of the Church, as I have already obſerved.

To what will all this come, and what profit will you draw thence, my Brethren? 'Tis that thereby you will prove to your Converters the falſeneſs of this Doctrine, That the Unity of the Church is included in the *Roman* Church, that out of this Church, or in any other private Communion, there is no Salvation; and thereby you will convince them, that they are not infallible: for if this Article be falſe, That the *Roman* Church alone poſſeſſes that *Unity*, ſhe hath erred, and that in an important and capital Affair. You will alſo thereby convince them, That the *Roman* Religion is the moſt cruel, and the moſt damnable of all the Sects of Chriſtianity, foraſmuch as it condemns the moſt men: For by defining that ſhe alone poſſeſſes ſaving *Unity*, and by condemning all thoſe that are not in this *Unity*, ſhe damns three fourth parts of the Chriſtian World. And to conclude, you will eſtabliſh your ſelves in a holy confidence, that by being, or having been, out of the *Roman* Communion you have not been out of the *Unity*, and you have not ſhut the door of Salvation upon your ſelves, ſince Salvation is not included preciſely in the *Roman* Communion, and that ſaving *Unity* is not ſhut up within the circle of any certain Communion.

On the Subject of this *Unity*, you will deſire me, without doubt, that I will furniſh you wherewithal to anſwer the Queſtion which your Converters will put to you. In what then does the *Unity* of the Church conſiſt, if it does not conſiſt in adherence to ſuch and ſuch Paſtors? Anſwer them, my Brethren, That this *Unity* conſiſts, 1. In the *Unity* of Spirit, foraſmuch as God and the Spirit are the Soul of all Chriſtian Communions which do retain the fundamental Truths. 2. In the *Unity* of Doctrine, which is one through all the World where

where Jeſus Chriſt is purely taught. 3. In the *Unity* of Sacraments, which are the ſame every where, where they have been preſerved and not corrupted. Let Churches be ſeparated, and ſet at a diſtance one from another as far as the *Antipodes* are from us, let them have no knowledge one of another, They will not ceaſe to be one by this triple *Unity of Spirit*, *Doctrine*, and *Sacraments*. If there were a pure Church in the fartheſt part of *Ethiopia*, or in the utmoſt part of *China*, we ſhould be one Church with them, though we had never heard any thing ſaid one of another. It is not therefore the Unity of *Ceremonies*, of *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, and *Paſtors*, which makes the *Eſſential Unity*; that's an accidental Unity, which a man may break without going out of the true Unity. So the *Novatians* which were ſeparated from the Church for a little unhappy point of Diſcipline, were in the wrong no doubt, and greatly in the wrong, and *Novatian* above all, who was the firſt Author of that Separation. But 'tis a ridiculous Chimera, to imagine that they were out of the Eſſential Unity, ſeeing that when they went away, they carried with them the true Jeſus, the true Doctrine, and the true Sacraments. They were yet the Church; they were Chriſtians, whatever St. *Cyprian* ſays of them: and not only their Martyrs obtained the Crown of Martyrdom, but their penitent Chriſtians obtained Salvation, although they died in Schiſm. There are particular Unities, and a general Unity. Particular Unity conſiſts in certain Bonds, ſuch as are common Eccleſiaſtick Government, common Diſcipline, and certain common Ceremonies. You are not in particular Unity with the Epiſcopal *Church of England* with reſpect to Government. But this Unity ſignifies nothing to Salvation: he muſt be a mad man to damn Chriſtians becauſe they either have or have not Biſhops. The general Unity, which conſiſts in the three things which I have ſaid, is the only eſſential, neceſſary, and ſaving Unity. If you agree with the Church in Govern-

ment,

ment, Diſcipline, and Ceremonies, and don't agree with it in Opinions, in Sacraments, and Spirit, you have no Communion with it; if you differ in Government and Diſcipline, and agree in Truths, Sacraments, and the ſame Jeſus, you are at Unity with it, and with God.

This *Unity* of the Church, whereof we have now diſcourſed, makes me think of that unity of Souls which ought to prevail among the true Members of the Body of Chriſt. It is the Character under which the Apoſtolick Church is deſcribed unto us, *They were all of one heart, and one mind.* 'Tis this holy Unity which draws down the holy Spirit; for when the firy Tongues fell upon the Apoſtles, they were all with one accord aſſembled in one place. 'Tis the abſence of this holy Unity which in part hath drawn down thoſe unhappy Effects of the Wrath of God under which we now groan. Call to mind the Diviſions, the immortal Hatreds, Jealouſies, Quarrels, and Strifes, which have been ſeen in the midſt of you, even on occaſions, and in things, for which Peace, and the Spirit of Charity were particularly requited. One was of *Paul*, another of *Peter*, but not one for Jeſus Chriſt. Men made their own Paſſions and Intereſts to triumph, and trampled under foot the Glory of God, and the publick Edification. The ſtricteſt friendſhips were always ready to break on the firſt tranſport of Paſſion. The Spirit of Vengeance had no reſt, till it had revenged the Injuries it thought it had received; and we knew not what it was to ſacrifice a reſentment to the Love of God, and his Chriſt. God has made theſe civil Wars to ceaſe by a cruel and ſtrange War. You have a common tye more than you have had: you have had the ſame Faith, the ſame Sacraments, the ſame Churches, and the ſame Holy Table; beſides, you have at this day your common Affliction, and your common Misfortunes. 'Tis certain, that even in the World this makes a tye among Souls, and it ſhould do, with far greater reaſon, when men ſuffer the ſame grief, for the ſame cauſe, and for the ſame

God.

God. You ought mutually to love each other, becauſe you are afflicted for God; and by conſequence, you ought to love thoſe alſo who ſuffer for you: they are your Confeſſors, who have the glory to maintain, in the Priſons, thoſe Truths which you have been ſo weak only to keep cloſe in your Hearts, having not the courage to ſhew them openly. Among thoſe which are in divers Priſons of the Realm, for the Cauſe of God, there are an infinite number that want all things: theſe are Voices that cry againſt you to Heaven in a terrible manner, and ſay, What a ſhame is it that Jeſus Chriſt is in Priſon, that he is Sick, Hungry, and Thirſty, that he freezes with cold during the rigor of the Winter, and that theſe *Peters*, who grew pale at the word of a Servant, don't go to viſit him, to give him Bread and Cloaths. You know what will be the Sentence that the Lord will give to ſuch; think of it, and partake in the Bonds of your Brethren, though they be at the utmoſt ends of the Kingdom.

Feb. 1. 1687.

The

The TWELFTH PASTORAL LETTER.

AN

Article of Antiquity. The beginning of the Hiſtory of Chriſtianity of the Fourth and Fifth Ages. Of the Original of Monks. An Article of Controverſie. Of the Unity of the Miniſtry.

HAving finiſhed the Hiſtory of the Chriſtianity of the Third Age, we enter upon the Fourth. We ſhall not diſtinguiſh that of the Fourth and Fifth, they are ſo interwoven, that they cannot be ſeparated. All the Superſtitions, falſe Worſhip, and Corruptions of Diſcipline, which are found eſtabliſhed in the Fifth Age, took their beginning in the Fourth. We enter upon Ages in which the Church had entirely changed its Face; it is no longer a perſecuted Church; it triumphs, it reigns, it aſcends the Throne. The Emperors becoming Chriſtians, drew along with them by their Authority and Examples, an infinite number of Pagans, who had that Complaiſance and Civility for their Maſters, as to become Chriſtians. But the Church

Church alſo on her part, had the Complaiſance to burthen Religion with vain Worſhip and Ceremonies borrowed from Paganiſm: All that which ſhe thought might be innocently taken from thence, ſhe took to draw them over to her. The Biſhops inrich'd by the Liberality of *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors, became proud, they would have a diſtinct Juriſdiction from the Civil; they eſtabliſhed for themſelves Tribunals. It appears by the Book of Conſtitutions, falſely aſcribed to the Apoſtles, that the Biſhops had Flatterers which ſaid of them, or rather they ſaid of themſelves, many incredible, proud, and impertinent things. * They ſet themſelves above Kings; they ſaid that they muſt pay them Tributes and Tenths, and that Men owed them greater Honors than Kings, and that they had power to condemn to everlaſting Fire. Above all, the Pomp and Pride of the Biſhops of *Rome*, that ruling City, became ſuch, that they gave jealouſie to the Chief Magiſtrates of the Empire.

* *Vit. Conſt.* lib. 2. cap. 37, & 38.

They added to the Sacraments new Ceremonies, an Unction before Baptiſm, beſide that which followed after it; the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Liturgy of the Euchariſt, which they call at this day the Maſs, were much increaſed and augmented; they made uſe of Holy Waters; they conſecrated Oyls and Chriſm; their Funerals were enriched with Ceremonies borrowed from Judaiſm or Paganiſm; they had their Ninth day, their Fortieth day, and their yearly Obits or Prayers for the Dead; they affixed Prayers to certain hours, which at this day they call *Canonical*, *the Cock crowing*, *Nine of the Clock*, *Mid-day*, *Three of the Clock*, *and Veſpers*. In theſe Ages they did eſſentially alter Divine Service, by intermingling therewith the Service of Creatures. A kind of Furie for Relicks ſeized on the Spirits of Men, nothing was heard to be ſpoken of but Viſions, by which they had been diſcovered, and Miracles which had been done by them; they carried them in pomp, they kiſſed them,

them, and built Churches to them; They prayed unto Saints, they relyed upon their Interceſſion, they put themſelves under their protection. To conclude, as the time of the manifeſtation of the Man of Sin drew near, and Chriſtianity to be eſtabliſhed, all things moved towards it with prodigious ſpeed.

There was nevertheleſs a profound divine Providence which appeared then, and deſerves to be admired, and to which we can never give ſufficient attention. Antichriſtianity, which then advanced it ſelf, was not to ruine Chriſtianity, nor overturn the Foundations thereof. It was to be built upon thoſe Foundations which were to remain entire from Age to Age. To ſet theſe Foundations of Chriſtian Religion in ſecurity, God permitted that they ſhould be violently aſſaulted by Hereticks, and zealouſly defended by the Orthodox. The Arrians denied the Eternal God-head of the Son; the Macedonians that of the Holy Spirit; the Neſtorians gave him two Perſons as well as two Natures, that is to ſay, they renewed the Hereſie of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, and *Photinus*, who made a ſimple or mere Man of Chriſt Jeſus. This is a thing which ſome Perſons at this time have not well conſidered, who excuſe *Neſtorius* and his Hereſie. It ſeems to me, that 'tis eaſie to comprehend, that he which places a human Perſon in Chriſt, makes of him a mere Man: For if the joyning the Divine Nature be not made in a perſonal Union, it can be no more than a Union of Grace and Aſſiſtance, ſuch as is that of inſpired Men. The Eutychians, by an oppoſite Error, confound the two Natures. All theſe Hereſies gave opportunity for the clearing theſe matters, and ſetting the Foundations of the Chriſtian Religion in great light and in lovely order, and fortifying them with the conſent of all Chriſtians. This is it which produced divers Creeds beſides that of the Apoſtles, which is too general. If Providence had not taken this care and precaution, Antichriſtianity, which came a great pace, had entirely ruined

the Chriſtian Religion; for beſides theſe Fundamentals, whereof God had taken care and ſet them in ſafety, in three or four Ages their remained nothing elſe found in the Church.

We will not therefore buſie our ſelves in reckoning all the Changes which happened in Religion during theſe Ages, that would carry us too far, and would not be peradventure very profitable for you; we will ſtay our ſelves only on the moſt conſiderable Innovations: For example, we ought not to forget, that it was in the Fourth and Fifth Age that Monaſtick Life had its Original. Thoſe among the Doctors of the *Roman* Church which will grant us nothing, make it deſcend from *Elijah*, the Rechabites, *John* the Baptiſt, and the Apoſtles; but this Opinion is ſo difficult to be maintained, that I do not know whether, at this day, any Men of Learning, which make any pretence to ſincerity, will deny that this kind of Life had *Paul* and *Anthony* for its firſt Authors, who during the Perſecutions of *Diocleſian* in the beginning of the Fourth Age, or about the end of the Third, withdrew themſelves into the Deſart of *Thebais*, and were followed thither by many Men, and there began that which they call the Eremetick Life. It muſt be, that this truth is plain in Hiſtory, ſince many Doctors of the *Roman* Religion, notwithſtanding the Intereſt they have to maintain the antiquity of this Inſtitution, do confeſs that it is but of the Third and Fourth Age.

'Tis a long while ſince that * *Polidore Virgil*, Biſhop of *Urbin*, proved it; and in our days Mr. *d'Auteſerre*, Profeſſor of Law at *Tholouſe*, not only confeſſes it, but proves it by the Teſtimonies of S. *Hierome*, *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Caſſian*, and *Sozomon*, and indeed he muſt be ignorant in Antiquity, or very knaviſh, that will not own it; and you may reckon this as a thing certain, ſince 'tis confeſſed by Popiſh Authors at this day, and by S. *Hierome* who lived in the Age when

* *Polid. Virg.* lib. Invent. 7. cap. 1.

† *Aſcet.* lib. 1. cap. 7.

when Monkery had its original, and who was one of the moſt zealous Lovers of Monaſtick Life that ever was. 'Tis true, that in the preceding Ages, the Fathers tell us of Virgins conſecrated to God; yea, and of Men who preſerved their Virginity, and lived in a chaſte Celibate, to the end they might ſerve God with greater freedom; but this hath nothing common with the Life of the Monks and Nuns of the preſent Age. Theſe young Damoſels were not cloyſtered; it appears by S. *Cyprian* *, that they might marry when they pleaſed, that they lived with their Friends, or in their own Houſes. And even in the time of S. *Jerome* the moſt part of them were ſo little reſtrained, that they made and received Viſits, they went to Weddings, they were found at Feaſts, they went to the Baths, they adorned themſelves with the ſame Pride and the ſame Exceſs as did the Daughters of the World.

* *Cyprian* Epiſt. 72.

Paul and *Anthony* having been driven by Perſecutions into the Deſarts, did there firſt eſtabliſh the Hermetick Life: Afterwards they formed there ſome kind of Convents and Societies. So they inſtituted in the Deſart a kind of Cenobitick Life; but this kind of Life received its moſt perfect Figure about the end of the Fourth Age, by three Biſhops, whereof two were Hereticks, and the third Orthodox; one of theſe Hereticks was *Marathon* * Biſhop of *Nicomedia* an *Arrian* and a *Macedonian*: The other Heretick was *Euſtachius* of *Sebaſte* in *Armenia*, a *ſemi-Arrian*, depoſed by the *Arrians*, the eldeſt of all thoſe who made Rules for the Cenobitick Life †. The Orthodox was S. *Baſil* Biſhop of *Ceſaria* in *Capadocia*: This laſt drew the Monks from the Deſart, under pretence of confuting the *Arrians*, he formed Societies of them near Cities, and gave them Rules: 'Tis he which the Greek Monks at this day acknowledg for their Author; and there are no Monks

* *Socr.* lib. 2. cap. 3.

† *Sozom.* lib. 3. cap. 14.

of any other Order in the Eaſt, but of that of S. *Baſil*, whereas in the Weſt there is an infinity of Orders.

We doubt not many of thoſe, and theſe, who in the beginning engaged themſelves in this kind of Life, did do it with a good intention, yea, and there led a Life eminently Holy: But as God does not bleſs Inſtitutions which reſpect Religion, which are but humane, we may obſerve that the Spirit of Darkneſs, and we may ſay, a Spirit of Malediction, fell upon this Inſtitution, even from its beginning. It was not above a hundred years after there had been diſcourſe of Monks and Nuns, but the Spirit of Fables, and Legends had ſeized on their Societies. S. *Jerome* hath left us the Life of *Paul* and *Hilarion*, two Founders of the Monaſtick Life: Theſe Lives are written in good Latin, but with ſo little judgment and truth, that we may be aſhamed thereof, for the ſake of ſo great a man. There is the Life of S. *Anthony* attributed to *Athanaſius*, which is alſo a Spiritaal Romance, made up of Stories which do no Honor neither to S. *Anthony* nor S. *Athanaſius*, nor in general to the Chriſtian Religion. I know not what Spirit of Fanaticiſm and Melancholy, does mingle it ſelf therein; they had, or they feigned themſelves to have Viſions, the Devils appeared to them, they tempted and ſollicited them to fleſhly Sins, and when they could not prevail upon them, they beat them cruelly. The Abbot *Serenus* in *Caſſian* ſays*, *As ſoon as we have formed a Convent of Eight or Ten Monks, the fury of the Devil rages in ſuch a manner againſt them, that they experience his Aſſaults very frequently, and in a plain and obvious manner, for which reaſon, they dare not ſleep all together, but whilſt ſome ſleep others watch.* To this may be joyned a Spirit of Superſtition, which produces Exceſſes, ſome whereof are capable of horror and aſtoniſhment. A Monk named *Batteus**, mortified himſelf through Faſting to that degree and meaſure, that Worms were bred

* *Caſſ.* Collat. 7. cap. 23.

* *Sozom.* lib. 6. cap. 34.

bred in his Gums, and came out of his Teeth; another named *Cyrus* †, lived Seventy years without taſting any Bread. Another named *Acepſemus* *, lived Sixty years ſhut up in a Cell, never going out, or being ſeen of any one. One named *Macarius* ‖, during the ſpace of Twenty years lived by Bread and Water, he did eat and drink by weight, he faſtened his Body by night to a Wall that he might not ſleep. Another called *Dorotheus* *, made it a thing neceſſary, and a part of Devotion, never to ſtretch out his Legs upon his Bed. Another called *Didymus*, lived to the Age of Ninety years without ſpeaking to, or ſeeing any Perſon. Another named *Pior* *, having made a Vow never to ſee any Perſon; his Siſter, after Fifty years, paſſionately longed to ſee him, and he was obliged by his Superiors to give her that ſatisfaction. He came therefore and preſented himſelf at the Door of his Siſter, he made himſelf ſeen to her, but he ſhut his Eyes that he might not ſee her, and after he had repeated certain Pſalms he went his way. Another Sirnamed *Stilites* *, (becauſe of the Pillar on which he lived) ſpent Thirty Seven years thereon. And many afterwards in imitation of him did the ſame thing, and obtained the Sirname of *Stilites*. † *Amonius*, a Companion of S. *Anthony*, being choſen Biſhop, cut off his Ear, to the end that he might not be ſo, and declared he would cut out his Tongue if they preſſed him farther thereon. A Monk named *Thomas* *, an Inhabitant of *Thebais*, lived Thirty years without ſpeaking. Another Monk named *Paul* †, in his Devotions impoſed a neceſſity upon himſelf of making three Hundred Prayers to God every day, and that he might not miſcount, he had three Hundred little Flints, where-

† Ibid.
* *Theod.* lib. 4. cap. 28.
‖ *Socrat.* lib. 4. cap. 23.
* *Sozom.* lib. 6. cap. 29.
* Ibid. 6.
* *Evag.* lib 1. cap. 13.
† *Niceph.* lib. 11.
* *Soz.* lib. 6.
† Ibid.

of he threw one out of his Boſom at every Prayer that he made. Behold what was the Character of the Monks of the Fourth Age, and behold that which at this time men report to the Honor of theſe poor Ideots, which did paſs for great Saints, or of theſe Hypocrites which did impoſe upon mankind.

But can a Man read without horror that which *Evagrius* reports concerning the cuſtoms and manner of Life of the Monks of *Jeruſalem*, in the time that the Empreſs *Eudoxia* Wife of *Theodoſius* the younger went thither? Some of them made a War upon themſelves ſo cruel, that oftentimes they remained upon the ground without appearance of Life, and were taken for unburied Carcaſes; others lodged themſelves in Holes where they could neither lye nor ſtand; others hid themſelves in Caves, and made it a piece of Devotion to live among wild Beaſts; others, both Men and Women, ſtript themſelves naked, covering only their ſhameful Parts, and in this nakedneſs expoſed themſelves to be roaſted in the Beams of the Sun from Morning to Evening in the Summer, and in the Winter they continued in the ſame eſtate, expoſing themſelves to the ſevereſt rigors of cold, they ate nothing of what Men do uſe to eat, they fed on Graſs like Oxen, they were alſo called *Boſcoi*, *i. e.* Eaters of Herbs; and in time they became altogether like Beaſts, not preſerving the very appearance of Men, and human ſhape; if they ſaw Men afar off, they ran to hide themſelves, as from Bears in ſome Cave, or they ſecured themſelves upon Rocks with the ſwiftneſs of a wild Goat. But all this is nothing in compariſon of what *Evagrius* adds, There are Monks who to make it appear, that they had extinguiſhed Concupiſcence, converſed in the World promiſcuouſly, Men and Women all naked, they went into Brothel Houſes, into the moſt infamous places, they lay together both Men and Women, the Men bathed themſelves with Women, and Women with Men, and all this in publick view without Shame,

and

and without covering their Faces. Beſides the Madneſs, is there not Impudence in theſe Devotions, and muſt not a Man have a depraved taſte in matters of Piety, to look on theſe Extravagancies with admiration, as at that time they did?

Beſides all this, the Spirit of Lying and Error ſeized on theſe Men; a Man may ſay truly, that all the Depravations of the Chriſtian Religion did take their Original from Monks. In the Fifth and Sixth Age they became *Anthropomorphites*, and Originiſts; and thoſe who have any knowledg of the Hiſtory of the Church, do know, that they ſtirred up many Troubles there. They maintained their Opinion and their Friends, not only by Words and Clamors, but by Blows. *Socrates* reports, that during the Controverſies that *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria* had with *Oreſtes* Governour of *Egypt* *, five Hundred Monks came from the Mountain *Nitria* to the City, for the aſſiſtance of *Cyril* their Biſhop: They ſtirred up a Sedition againſt the Governour; one of theſe Monks, called *Ammonius*, gave him a knock on the Head with a Flint, whereby he loſt a great deal of Blood. There are no Hereſies or Superſtitions, of which they may not be called the Authors, 'tis they which introduced the Superſtition of invocating Saints and adoring Relicks. *Eunapius* a Pagan Author, who lived at the end of the Fourth Age, ſaith, *That in* Egypt *they appointed Monks in the Village* Cannopus *to worſhip Slaves*; ſo they called the Martyrs. And S. *Auſtin*, in the Book concerning the *Work of Monks*, ſays, That in his time a Swarm of Monks ſcattered themſelves abroad every where, and made Merchandiſe of the Bones of Martyrs. It was they who brought Images into the Church, and that Worſhip which gives ſo much Grief to Souls, which are jealous of the Love of God, and ſo much Scandal to Chriſtians. Alſo in the War between the Breakers of Images, and the Worſhipers of Images, they were the principal Agents. The Monks at this day think it an Honor to acquaint us with

* *Soc.* lib. 11. cap. 14.

the Combats, and the Travels which the Men of their Order have ſuſtained to hinder the Worſhip of Images from falling. 'Twas in the Convent of *Corbie*, and in the Brains of *Paſchaſius* the Monk, that the Opinion of *Tranſubſtantiation* had its Birth. When that new ſort of Monks which are called Mendicants came into the World; a Man cannot tell the Evils which they cauſed there, the Superſtitions that they brought, and the Corruptions which they introduced into it. It is from them that thoſe Exceſſes (whereof the honeſt Men of the Church of *Rome* themſelves, at this day, have an abhorrence) took their Original: Theſe Exceſſes, ſay I, which reſpect the Worſhip of the bleſſed Virgin, the Invocation of Saints, and the Adoration of Images and Relicks; Exceſſes which are gone ſo high by the aſſiſtance of the Monks, that all which is moſt odious in Pagan Idolatry, did never go beyond it. 'Tis that whereof your Converters themſelves are at an Agreement with us, 'tis of that which they tell you that we ought to make no uſe, that we ought not to impute thoſe things to the Church, which were the fooliſh imaginations of the *Friers* of the laſt Ages, and the Devotions of Monks, as they themſelves call them, and that honeſt Men did never approve. 'Tis a thing far enough from Truth, that the Church of *Rome* never approved theſe Exceſſes. But it is not a thing upon which we have any purpoſe to ſtay at preſent: It is ſufficient for you that it is evil by the confeſſion of your Converters, and that this Corruption took its original from Monks.

They are the ſame Men which have diſhonored Chriſtianity by an Hiſtorical *Theology* more ſhameful and fabulous than was that of the Pagans and Poets: 'Tis to them that we owe the *Legends*, the Lives of Saints, the Chronicles, and Annals, the Orders of S. *Francis*, the *Jacobites*, and the *Carmelites*, in which Works, the leaſt trace of Truth and Purity is not to be ſeen, but a heap of ridiculous Fictions, impertinent Miracles, and filthy Fables, whereof at this day Men of the Character of

Canus

Canus Biſhop of the Canaries, and *de Launoy* are aſhamed, and make no ſcruple to confute them in all their Shapes and Forms. Do not theſe Gentlemen alſo confeſs, that the Monks have been always the Inſtruments of the Violence of Popes, and the Incendiaries of Chriſtendom? They were the Men that preached the Croiſades againſt pretended Hereticks: 'Twas they that kindled the Fires, and committed the Maſſacres: They were thoſe that mutinied the People againſt thoſe Kings and Emperors that would not obey the Pope: They were they that ſeized on the Rights of Biſhops, and favoured the Pope in all thoſe ways whereof he ſerved himſelf to oppreſs the other Biſhops. They have withdrawn themſelves from the Authority of their Ordinances, by Immunities obtained in the Court of *Rome*. They have withdrawn Confeſſions from the ordinary Paſtors: They were the Maſters of the Chairs, and publick Teachers during the ſpace of four Hundred or five Hundred Years. To conclude, 'tis certain they have always been the moſt potent Supports of that Throne of Iniquity which hath raiſed it ſelf in the Church.

For their Manners, I can make it appear by Teſtimonies that cannot be reproached, that never were Lives ſo debauched as thoſe of the Monks, that during more than ſeven or eight Hundred Years, they were the Sinks of all the Impurities that could be imagined, and we have the Confeſſion of the *Arnolds*, the *Maimbourghs*, and other famous Defenders of Popery in this Age concerning it. They add that it is not ſo now, and that the Convents at this day are well governed, and the Monaſtick Life very clean and innocent. He muſt be very bold to advance a matter of Fact ſo little known: If there be ſome Convents reformed, there are a great many others that are not ſo.

I have a little enlarged my ſelf on this Article concerning the original of Monks, their Hiſtory, their Spirit,

rit, and their Conduct, becauſe I know 'tis a Snare in which many Perſons ſhut up in Convents have unhappily fall'n. They have written to us from thence, that they have been much moved with the great Piety which they have found in theſe Houſes, with the Mortification of the Nuns, with their conſtancy in Prayer, with their Humility, with the continual elevation of their Hearts to God, and with their entire renunciation of the World. And they have given us to underſtand, that this hath been the principal Motive of their Converſion. And even very devout and pious perſons, who, thanks be to God, do yet perſevere in the Truth, have not been able to eſcape ſome ſurprize, by theſe fair Appearances and Formalities. God is witneſs that we have no intention to leſſen the Reputation of any Perſon in particular, and yet much leſs of theſe Nuns, of whom ſo much good is ſpoken, we wiſh that there were more of truth therein. And if it be ſo, that there is ſo much virtue in Some of them, we hope that God will not ſuffer them to die in the ſad eſtate wherein they are. But we do adviſe our Brethren and Siſters to be ont heir guard, and beware of this Temptation, and to conſider Firſt, That theſe Mortifications wherewith they ſeem to be ſo much charmed are human Devotions, upon which God doth not pour down his Bleſſing. It may be ſeen by that which we have reported concerning the Mortifications of the firſt Monks, how far this miſerable Spirit of ſuperſtition and falſe Devotion may go. That kind of Life obſerved by the Monks of *Attrappe*, for example, doth not find its Original or Model in the Goſpel, and they are thoſe Worſhips of which it will be ſaid, *Who hath required theſe things at your hands?* We muſt not make it a thing of Merit to be more wiſe than God, than Jeſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and do more than they have done. It is a folly and madneſs to believe that a Man is more acceptable to God, by ſhutting himſelf up in a place where he may ſee no body, where he

he ſpeaks to no body, where he renounces his Friends and Relations, where he deprives himſelf of the ſociety of good Men, whoſe converſation might aſſiſt his piety. 2. I do intreat them to conſider, that in theſe kind of things the *falſe Religions* go farther than that which is true. Ask your Converters, and they will not deny, that the Mortifications of the *Mahometan* Monks, and thoſe of the penitent *Indians* and *Mexicans*, are infinitely more cruel to the Body than are thoſe of our moſt mortified *Europeans*; ſo they are at leaſt equivocal things, with reſpect to which, we muſt be extreamly upon our guards.

3. In the third place it muſt be known, That there are depths in the conduct of God, which cannot be fathomed: 'tis his pleaſure that we walk always in the midſt of Thorns, and among Snares: 'tis for this reaſon, that in the true Church there be ſo many Scandals, ſo much Negligence, ſo much Indevotion, ſo many Debaucheries, ſo much Luxury, ſo little Reformation of Life, and ſo little Zeal for the converſion of thoſe which go aſtray and wander. 'Tis for the ſame reaſon that he permitted the *Reformers* to have their faults, that they did not agree together, and that they intermingled humane Paſſions in their conduct: and on the other ſide, for the ſame reaſon God permits that in Churches the moſt corrupt both in Doctrine and Worſhip, there be Souls that ſeem to ſeek ſeriouſly their Salvation, who have at leaſt the appearance of Chriſtian Virtues, and it may be good Intentions. If the true Doctrine were always accompanied by a holy life, and an edifying conduct, in thoſe that follow it; and that on the other hand, Error and Superſtition were never found without diſorder and an ill life, the choice would be too eaſie: Where would be the difficulty? Where would be the ſnares? Where would be the danger of wavering? Therefore God, who will lead his Elect to his end by obſcure ways, that they may have recourſe to him for his light; by rough Paths, that they may ſupport themſelves on him,

him, ſuffers this mixture and confuſion of good and evil, of evil Doctrine and good Manners, of good Doctrine and evil Manners. 'Tis his pleaſure, by this profound conduct, to oblige us to regulate our Faith, not by Prejudices, but by his holy Rules and Word.

4. In the fourth place, once more, though I condemn no Perſon in particular, nevertheleſs, I conjure you, my Brethren and Siſters, to ſtand at a defiance with Hypocriſie: 'tis a grand Comedy, and an inexhauſtible Fountain of Illuſions; 'tis the Character of Perſons that live in Convents, and a Character that has prevailed for a great number of Ages. I could produce to you Witneſſes concerning it, againſt which nothing can be ſaid; *Arnald d' Villeneve*, *Nicholas de Clemangis*, Arch-deacon of *Bayeux*, and an infinite number of other Popiſh Authors, have made deſcriptions of the humble and devout Appearances of *Monks* and *Nuns*, which hid and diſguiſed an Abyſs of Pride and Impurity. Do you think, my dear Siſters, which are in Convents, that you ſee the inward part of the Houſes where you are, and of the Souls with whom you converſe? Do you not think, in the firſt place, that the Perſons with which you are placed have order to ſhew themſelves to you on the faireſt ſide, and that they do not take care of letting you ſee their Faults, their Jealouſies, their Quarrels, their Hatreds, their Luſts, their Mirths, if they have any? Beſides this, Do not you apprehend, that they have choſen the Houſes which they know to be beſt governed to lodge you in, and that you ought not to judge of all Convents by thoſe in which you are? If you read the Relations of thoſe which have travelled in *Italy* and *Spain*, they will inform you, That in thoſe Countries, thoſe Houſes that are called Religious are infamous Places, where the moſt criminal Debaucheries are exerciſed with Impunity. Thoſe of *France* are leſs irregular: but ſo it is, that we do not at all know the inſide of them; but when the curtain is drawn never ſo little, we ſee that 'tis there

there almoſt as 'tis elſewhere. The Buſineſs of the Nuns of St. *Claire* and of *Provence* againſt the *Cordeliers* of the ſame place, which was pleaded a little more than twenty years ago, informs us thereof, and makes it apparent, That at that time, all the Convents of Nuns under the Government of the *Cordeliers*, in what place of *France* ſoever they were, were places of Proſtitution. This is of no ancient date. Behold the original of Monks, which have cauſed ſo many Evils.

An Article of Controverſie concerning the Unity of the Miniſtry.

WE having refuted, in our two preceding Letters, the Fallacy which your Converters take from the Unity of the Church. Before we leave the matter of Unity, we muſt ſay ſomething of the Unity of the Miniſtry: for that alſo is another ſource of the Illuſions of your Converters. The Miniſtry of the Church is one, and only one, ſay they; it hath proceeded from Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles; they have delivered to their Succeſſors that which they received from the Lord; theſe delivered it to others: at length, this only Miniſtry is come to us, and he that hath not Communion with us hath no Communion with Jeſus Chriſt, of whom we are the only legitimate Succeſſors and Ambaſſadors. Is it poſſible that men ſhould be capable of ſuffering themſelves to be cheated by ſo great a Chimera? Certainly if we did not ſee this we could not believe it. That men of good ſenſe ſhould be capable of believing that God hath tied Salvation to a Succeſſion of men, which hang upon each other, and are faſtened tail to tail like *Sampſon*'s Foxes, in ſuch a manner, that out of this file of men, there is no Salvation, whatever a man does or ſays. Theſe men make us a cruel God, who damns Chriſtians only be-

cauſe

cauſe hazard, birth, and a thouſand other accidents, hindered them from being born and living under this thread or chain of certain Doctors which call themſelves the *Succeſſive Biſhops from Jeſus Chriſt even to us*. That is to ſay, that in the Biſhoprick of *Meaux*, for example, there hath been no Salvation but for thoſe who have been preciſely under the Paſtoral Staff from Mr. St. *Faron* unto Mr. *Boſſuet*, who ſhall be alſo one day Mr. St. *Boſſuet*, if the Gods which rule at *Rome* favour him. In the extent of the whole World, he who hath not lived under the long Succeſſion of thoſe Biſhops which have ſat at *Rome*, from St. *Peter* to *Innocent* the XI. is damned as certainly as the Devil; be it that he hath been chaſte as *Joſeph*, patient as *Job*, zealous as St. *Peter*, orthodox as St. *Paul*, pure as the Virgin: for there is but one Miniſtry, and out of this Miniſtry all are in a ſtate of Perdition. The *Greeks* have a Miniſtry, they have Biſhops, and thoſe true Biſhops. According to Mr. *de Meaux*, they hold all the Doctrine of the Church; they believe Tranſubſtantiation it ſelf: for we have good teſtimonies, that they have been well paid for it in theſe laſt days: but that ſignifies nothing, they are all damned, becauſe they are ſeparated from him who is the centre of the Unity of the Miniſtry; they are not under that one Miniſtry which alone is ſaving. I do maintain, that the time will come, when we ſhall no more believe that which we ſee at this day. It will be ſaid, you would fain make us believe it, you would perſuade us that the men of paſt Ages have loſt their ſenſe; yea, I do maintain they muſt have loſt it to ſuffer themſelves to be deluded with ſuch Imaginations. It muſt be that the Medicine be given thee by ſuch a hand, if thou wilt be healed, elſe it will poiſon thee. Ah! my Brethren, open your eyes upon this folly, and be aſhamed thereof. Be aſſured, that every hand which gives you the true Doctrine, is good in that reſpect; the ſaving Remedy of Truth heals from whomſoever it comes. Where is this pretended Unity of the *Roman* Miniſtry?

Where

Where was this Miniſtry, and this Unity of Miniſtry, during the ſpace of a hundred and fifty years, in the Tenth Age and half the Eleventh? a time in which *Baronius*, and all the *Roman* Doctors, do confeſs to us, that the Popes were Monſters, Ungodly, Wicked, Adulterers, Magicians, Poiſoners, Simoniacks, and Blaſphemers. 'Tis the *Popiſh* Hiſtory it ſelf which teacheth us this. Was not this a very fine centre of Unity? The Lines which proceed from this Centre to the Circumference, were they not very clean? The Rays which beam from ſuch a Star, do they not pour down benign Influences? Theſe were the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. Bleſſed Succeſſors! They left what they did receive; they gave one another an infamous Miſſion (irregular and againſt the Canons) by the Miniſtry of two Whores which ruled at *Rome*. Behold the brave *Unity* and Succeſſion of this pretended Miniſtry. What became of this glorious Unity of the Miniſtry in the time of the Weſtern Schiſm, when we ſaw, for the ſpace of fifty years, a Pope at *Rome*, and another at *Avignon*, which damned one another, of which one was the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and the other of Antichriſt, who not only mutually damned each other, but alſo thouſands of millions of Men which lived in the different Obedience of *Avignon* and *Rome*? What a fine thing was this, to ſee *two Centres of Unity*? How finely at eaſe would Mr. *de Meaux*, and his Collegues, have been at that time? they who ſpeak ſo much to us of the centre of the Unity of the Miniſtry, inſtead of one only centre to have had two. Confeſs, my dear Brethren, that this Unity of Miniſtry is a fooliſh dream in it ſelf, yea vain in the Church of *Rome*, who find it no more there than elſewhere.

The Church, as all Societies in the World, in its progreſs ſuffers a thouſand changes in its form. We may not imagine that the Miniſtry of the firſt Ages of the Church was conſtituted as that of this Age. The Biſhops were neither Worldlings, nor great Lords, nor Plenipoten-

potentiaries, nor Tyrants in the Church. They were the firſt Presbyters, and the perpetual Preſidents of the Elders, or Presbyteries who were of the ſame Order with themſelves. 'Tis the Pride and Vanity of Man which hath made this diſtinction between the Biſhop and the Presbyter. 'Tis the myſtery of Iniquity which began to work even in the times of the Apoſtles. The Presbyters were then ſo little diſtinguiſhed from the Biſhops, that even the Clergy were not eſſentially diſtinguiſhed from the People. Remember, my Brethren, that which you have read in the eighth Paſtoral Letter, that in the time of *Tertullian* all the *Laicks* were accounted Presbyters, and that it was permitted even to them, to celebrate the Euchariſt in private, and in their Families. So that this Unity of the Miniſtry could not depend upon I know not what external form: for this external form hath changed perpetually, until at length it degenerated into this Antichriſtian Power which is ſeen in the *Roman* Hierarchy. This Unity is no more in Succeſſion. For we cannot find a Church which hath not ſuffered Interruption in its Miniſtry, either by the Violences of Perſecutions, or by the intruſion of falſe Paſtors, or by the Crimes and Vices of wicked Biſhops. If Mr. *Boſſuet* were obliged to prove the Unity of his Miniſtry without interruption from Mr. St. *Faron* to himſelf, he would, it may be, have ſomething of trouble therein. In what then conſiſts the Unity of the Miniſtry? In the Unity of Doctrine and Religion. If the *Bonzes* of *China*, and the *Brachmans* of *India* did preach the ſame crucified Jeſus with my ſelf, and the ſame Chriſtianity, pure and without corruption, they would have the ſame Miniſtry with me. It would ſignifie very little, with me, from whence they derived their Succeſſion, whether from St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, or from another *Thomas*, a *Neſtorian* Heretick. God has not tied Salvation to ſuch and ſuch hands, nor hath he obliged us to a neceſſity of receiving the Goſpel from ſome certain men rather than from others.

But

But enough concerning this *Article* of the Unity of the Miniſtry, becauſe 'tis a matter which muſt be handled again, when we come to diſſipate the cheats and juggles by which your Converters endeavour to perplex you, about the Character and Miſſion of thoſe from whom we have received the Reformation.

If we would ſee a lamentable Deſolation, we muſt behold the Province of *Languedoc*. Perſons worthy to be believed lately arrived from thence, do repreſent unto us this Deſolation as one of the moſt hideous and frightful Objects which ought to have place in the Hiſtories of theſe days. It can never be well underſtood how the fury of falſe zeal ſhould tranſport the Court to make a horrible Deſart of one of the moſt lovely Territories of the Kingdom.

Cevennes and lower *Languedoc* are cover'd with Troops which find means to live where *Turks* would have died of Famine more than ſix months ſince, after the Plunder, Extortions, and Waſtes that have been made there, that is to ſay, after theſe miſerable People had ſuffered thoſe Oppreſſions which had drawn from them that little Blood that did remain; ſo that Paleneſs, Fear, and Death may be ſeen written and engraven upon their countenances. There are Villages and Towns wholly depopulate. The Inhabitants that could not flee are guarded by Dragoons, which carry them to Maſs with Muskets and Swords in their hands; and who at their coming out of the Church put them into Files, that they may number them, and ſee whether any be wanting yea or no. There are a great number that lye in Woods, which have no other places of Refuge but Rocks, no other Houſes but Caves, neither Nouriſhment, but Roots of the Field, becauſe whereof, they do better reſemble Carkaſſes than Men. The City of *Niſmes* have had experience of new Severities; They have baniſhed to the Iſlands, and I know not whither beyond the Seas, four hundred of its Inhabitants; and they have hanged ſe-

ven, and ſent Priſoners the Heads of the chief Families; *M. Baudan la Caſſaigne*, and others, all eminent Perſons, to *Carcaſſoon* and *Pierre An Ciſe*. Who can doubt but this is a juſt Caſtigation of that unworthy Action which the Country ſuffered to be extorted from them? *France* did oblige a great number of men to give under their own hand, that from henceforward they would do all the duty of good *Roman Catholicks*; that they would be found no more at Conventicles; that they would diſcover their Relations and Friends; that they would Communicate; and that if they failed in any of theſe things, they intreated the King to chaſtiſe them ſeverely for it. Who doubts but ſuch an Action as this is capable of bringing down the moſt terrible Judgments of God? 'Tis Violence, you will ſay, that hath extorted it from them. I doubt it not at all; but as men have Honor and Conſcience, ſo they have alſo Lives to give, rather than conſent to ſuch baſe and abject Actions, unworthy Men of Honor as well as Chriſtians: but it will be ſaid, that theſe Perſons of Quality upon whom the Chaſtiſements fell, did not all ſign this horrible Obligation. This may be; but nevertheleſs, they have been juſtly puniſhed for not maintaining the Courage of their Brethren to aſſemble and pray to God. We know that they were not Perſons of Quality that made up theſe Aſſemblies: but God hath chaſtiſed them in cauſing the puniſhment to fall upon them as well as on thoſe which were found there. They could have been in no other condition if they had done their duty: moreover, they are culpable in that they did not oppoſe the Cowardiſe of their Country-men, which have ſigned a Contract to renounce all their Duties, and have deſired a ſevere Caſtigation in caſe they ſhould ſerve God according to their Conſciences. An Action done by ſome Perſons, and tolerated by the ſilence of others, cauſes the Thunder of God's Vengeance to fall upon the whole body. To conclude, all the face of this Territory is hideous and frightful. There

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are nothing but Solitudes cauſed by the diſperſion of the Inhabitants, of Soldiers, which outrage the poor people which are reduced even to the point of Death by reaſon of Famine, Cold, and other miſeries. There are others which periſh in Priſons, particularly in that fatal Tower of *Aygue-Mortes*, called the Tower of *Conſtance*, where the evil Air of the Place, Want, Miſery, and the Stinks of the Priſon kill a vaſt number of theſe miſerable Creatures, which go out from thence drag'd at the Tail of a Horſe till they come to the Dunghil. On the other ſide we ſee in this Country a confuſed mixture, which alſo may be called frightful, a mixture I ſay of Courage and Weakneſs, of Lapſes and Recoveries, of Sin and Repentance. Being conſtrained by the Violence of the Dragoons, they go to Maſs, or ſuffer themſelves to be dragged thither: on the day after they are found at a private Aſſembly to make their Prayers and Applications to God. Happy were they if their Conduct being always equal and always alike to it ſelf, had made them Martyrs without ſpot and without offence. Amongſt all this confuſion of Light and Darkneſs, there are nevertheleſs found ſome lovely places: and from many hands the Courage of a Woman is brought to our Knowledge, of which we cannot doubt; She was one of thoſe condemned to death for having been at a private Aſſembly. At the foot of the Gibbet ſhe cauſed her Child which ſhe ſuckled to be brought unto her, and once more gave it the Breaſt; The Hang-man ſaid unto her, Unhappy Woman, what Milk do you give your Infant in theſe horrors of Death in which you are? Is not the Milk become poiſon? To which ſhe anſwered, If Death had been a horror to me, I had not been now here. This is an Example in which there is ſomething of Prodigy or Miracle, in a Perſon of that Sex, and in that Condition.

If you will have another ſad Relation, I will give you that of the Perſecution of our Brethren in the Valleys; a Perſecution more cruel than the paſt Ages have ever

ſeen. Theſe poor People taken in one day, as in a Net, were waſted and conſumed in the cruel Priſons of the Duke of *Savoy*, by the moſt inhuman Treatment that ever was. The Duke's People did induſtriouſly publiſh every where, that they were treated very well, and Letters to that purpoſe were ſent to us out of *Switzerland:* but this Treatment was ſuch, that at *Turene* and *Verſelles*, of more than a thouſand Priſoners there are not above ſixty or eighty ſent to *Geneva*; of whom we will give you the Hiſtory in an Extract of a Letter from *Geneva*, expecting a more ample Relation thereof hereafter.

An Extract of a LETTER from *Geneva* bearing Date *January* 24. 1687.

BEhold, at length thoſe brave and generous Men, the Confeſſors of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, arrived here; but they are but a ſmall remnant of a great number who have all died Martyrs under long and grievous Sufferings. We have as yet received but the firſt Squadron, made up of 70 perſons, of all Sexes and Ages, who came hither about two days ſince, in a Seaſon ſo cold, that the Rhoſne *was frozen to the bottom. Theſe 70 perſons are the Remains of more than a thouſand, who had been kept in two differing Priſons. And theſe 70 came not at us till after they had left twenty of their number on the way, who died of Cold, Famine, and other Miſeries, and with this cruel circumſtance, that their Conductors would not ſuffer any others to remain behind, to aſſiſt their poor Brethren dying and expiring, ſome here, ſome there, in the Snow and Ice, as if they had been dogs. It may be there was a Father which left his Child, a Mother her Daughter, Children their Parents, they with the reſt following their pitileſs Guides with bitter and piercing grief, as well through fear of blows, as through the rigor of the ſeaſon, which was ſuch, as ſeem'd to extinguiſh all other Sentiments in theſe poor men,*

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but that of their own proper Miſery. Shall I tell you in what eſtate we have ſeen them arrive with us? All rent and torn, benumm'd, and almoſt dead with Cold and other miſeries, and thoſe which could not go, laid like Calves on Horſes. Moreover, they were no ſooner arrived within our Gates, but they fainted through weakneſs and miſery, mingling their tears with them of their brave Brethren, which had made ſo glorious a Capitulation for themſelves in their Mountains; for to the Glory of Geneva *be it ſaid, all are yet here. But what grief did betide both the one and the other, when examining and endeavouring to count each other, one was found to have loſt his Father and his Mother, another her Husband or his Wife, another his Children, not knowing as yet who they might find in the reſidue which were to come of thoſe that were moſt dear unto them, and what to expect from the Remains of more than fifteen thouſand Perſons, who are reduced to two; for it is not believed that there are more left. (And 'tis a thing wonderful, that of thirteen or fifteen thouſand Perſons there are not ten which have renounced their Religion, if you except young Boys and Girls which were taken from their Parents in their Priſons, to be diſperſed here and there.) This is that which makes the grief of all theſe poor men, the true Confeſſors of the Truth of Chriſt, the more ſharp and bitter. Their Hiſtory, whether with reſpect to their Calamities or their Piety, will be believed with difficulty in the Ages to come, as well as the Cruelty of their Prince.*

Feb. 15. 1687.

The THIRTEENTH

PASTORAL LETTER.

A

Proſecution of the Hiſtory of the Chriſtianity of the Fourth and Fifth Ages. The Original of Oecumenical Councils; Seven Reaſons againſt their Infallibility drawn from their Original. An Article of Controverſie. The true Idea of Schiſm. All thoſe which are called Schiſmaticks are not out of the Church.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

IN our preceding Letter we began the Hiſtory of the Novelties which appeared in Chriſtianity during the Fourth and Fifth Ages, and the firſt which we found there, was the Original of the Monaſtick Life: The Second thing conſiderable (to the Original whereof we ought to give attention) in the Fourth and Fifth Ages, are the Councils called *General* or *Oecumenical*. Not as to the Original of a thing evil in it ſelf, but as to a thing of

of which ill uſe hath been made, and of which they make a ſnare at this day for ignorant and feeble Minds. The pretended Infallibility of the Church is the great Illuſion by which they endeavour to deceive the new Converts. They know not where to fix this Infallibility, ſometimes they fix it in the Pope, and ſometimes in a Council: But the *French* Church, by the Authority of the King, hath declared her ſelf boldly, a little while ſince, for the Infallibility of Councils againſt the Infallibility of the Pope; for which reaſon 'tis expedient, that you here learn in a few words, the Hiſtory of the Birth of General Councils, that you may underſtand the abſurdity of the Principle upon which your Converters build.

You muſt therefore know, my Brethren, that the *French* Church not knowing aſſuredly where to place the Infallibility of the Church, diſtinguiſheth Councils into *Dioceſan*, *Provincial*, *National*, *Oecumenick*, or *General*. *Dioceſan* Councils are thoſe which the Biſhop aſſembles, where he reads his Ordinances to his Curates. *Provincial* Councils are Aſſemblies of the Suffragan Biſhops of one and the ſame Metropolitan. *National* Councils are thoſe where the Biſhops of one or more Nations are Aſſembled. They have not been ſo bold as to aſcribe Infallibility to any one of theſe Aſſemblies; but there are Councils of an higher Order, which it pleaſes theſe Gentlemen to call *Oecumenical*, or *General Councils*, to which they aſcribe Infallibility; *they are*, ſay they, *thoſe in which the whole Univerſal Church is aſſembled.* When we ask them, where is the Inſtitution of theſe Aſſemblies in the Holy Scripture? they cannot find the leaſt foot-ſteps thereof: I ſay the leaſt; 'tis true, they there find Aſſemblies of Believers, of Paſtors and Elders, who conſidered Matters that were diſputed. We ſee one among others in the 15th Chapter of the Acts: Some of the Apoſtles, Elders, and Brethren which were at *Jeruſalem*, aſſembled to adviſe about means to determin the Controverſie, which the Phariſees had raiſed in the Church concerning the ne-

ceſſity of obſerving the Law of *Moſes*. But it would be ridiculous to call a very ſmall Aſſembly and very private, a *General Council*, where there appeared but three Apoſtles of thirteen, and only the Clergy which happened to be then at *Jeruſalem*. When we continue to ask theſe Gentlemen, where we muſt then take the Original of *Oecumenical Councils*, they anſwer us, in the Fourth and Fifth Ages of the Church; and indeed they have reaſon for it. The Firſt of thoſe Councils which bears this Name, is that of *Nice*, aſſembled by the Authority of *Conſtantine*, in the year 325, to determine the Controverſie of the Divinity of the Son againſt *Arrius*. The Second was aſſembled by *Theodoſius* the Elder, in the year 381, to determine againſt *Macedonius*, who denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The Third was called together at *Epheſus*, under the Empire of *Theodoſius* the Younger, in the year 431, againſt *Neſtorius*, who affirmed two Perſons in Jeſus Chriſt. The Fourth was aſſembled in the year 451, by the Authority of the Emperour *Martian* againſt the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, who confounded the two Natures. Behold four in 125 years or little more; before this Men knew not what a *General Council* meant. Now I intreat you, my Brethren, give attention to ſix or ſeven ſhort Reflections which I ſhall make thereon, that you may underſtand the great abſurdity of affixing Infallibility to theſe kind of Aſſemblies; this is at this time of the greateſt importance to you. You muſt throw to the ground this *Phantome* of Infallibility, which ſerves as a ſupport to all the Errors of Popery: Now this *Phantome* knows not where to fix its foot, and when you ſhall have forced it out of this laſt Entrenchment where your Converters have placed it, you will ſee it vaniſh and diſappear.

1. Make reflection upon the ſilence of the Holy Scripture concerning it, and ſee if there be any probability, that the deſign of God was to eſtabliſh a ſeat of Infallibility in certain Aſſemblies, and that he ſhould never ſpeak

a word thereof. It must be granted, that there is nothing in the World more important in Religion than this. It is not enough that the Scripture hath established the Infallibility of the Church in general, as they pretend; for it would be in vain for God to say, the Church is Infallible, if we know not what this Church is, where the seat of this Infallibility is placed; and by what Mouth she ought to give her Oracles. 'Tis true, they send you to Tradition, for all that, whereof the Scripture says nothing. But this cannot be a Point for which we are to be sent to Tradition, for this is the Foundation of Tradition it self: Tradition is the consent of the Ancients, and this consent is found in Councils: All the Authority of Tradition is nothing, at least before the Infallibility of Councils is established. The Infallibility of Tradition is not in the testimony of single Persons, of S. *Austin*, S. *Chrysostom*, *&c.* for these single Persons were not infallible; and as yet it has not been thought advisable to make them so. 'Tis therefore the Infallibility of Councils which alone can make Tradition certain: Now Tradition is the second Rule of Faith, equal in Authority to the Holy Scripture; 'tis therefore necessary at least, that the Scripture hath given credential Letters to these Oecumenical Councils, that their Authority, and that of Tradition may be confessed and acknowledged: This is not, say I, an Affair for which we are to be sent to Tradition, as well because it is the most important Point of Christianity, on which the Faith of the rest depends, as because this were to send to Tradition to prove the Authority of Tradition it self, which is absurd; it is not absurd in the Scripture to have recourse to the Scripture it self, to prove the Authority of the Scripture, because it is the highest Principle, and because there is nothing beyond it, it must be that it prove it self. But the Scripture is above Councils and Tradition, and by consequence it is necessary, that the Scriptures establish the Authority both of Tradition and Councils.

2. I intreat you to obſerve, that the Church continued three Hundred years without having one word of General Councils, ſhe paſſed without them during all that time: Nevertheleſs, ſhe had never more need of them, ſuppoſing them to be infallible means of ending Controverſies and ſuppreſſing Hereſies. For in the firſt three Hundred years the Church was plagued with near Fifty differing Hereſies. Now judg you, whether it be likely, that God ſhould appoint an infallible Judg to his Church, and a ſure way of knowing the Truth, and that he ſhould deny her the uſe of this means for the ſpace of well near two Hundred and fifty years, that is to ſay, from the death of S. *John* the laſt of the Apoſtles, till the Council of *Nice*. So that in the Ages of greateſt purity it will be found, that the Church did not derive this purity from any other Fountain, but from the ſimple and pure word of God; it makes it evident, that the Church may be pure without an infallible Judg in the midſt of her. Now if the Church may continue pure for the ſpace of two Hundred and twenty five years without a General Council, that is to ſay, without an infallible Judg, why may ſhe not continue pure three, four, or five Hundred years? For my part, I call this a Demonſtration, that the Church may very well make a ſhift without thoſe Judges that are called *Infallible*. Let them anſwer it when they pleaſe. Obſerve alſo, that the Church was tormented with Fifty horrible Hereſies, which thought to have overwhelmed and ſunk her, and having no Councils, ſhe was then left to a Spirit of Error, in thoſe times that ſhe had greateſt need of a Guide, for ſhe had no other Rule but the Writings of the Apoſtles, which according to our Adverſaries, are Medals with two Faces, which may be looked on in a various manner, and which all men expound in favour of their own Perſwaſions. It is not amiſs to bring hither *Tertullian*'s Book of Preſcriptions, of which they make uſe, with ſuch ſucceſs to deceive thoſe that

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are *weak* among us. It appears by this Book, that the Orthodox were in the greateſt diſtreſs in the World, to convince and ſtop the mouths of Hereticks. The Hereticks gave themſelves to expound the Scripture after their own manner, and in a ſenſe contrary to the truth. *Tertullian* complains thereof, and ſays, *That falſe Interpretations do as much injury to Truth, as the boldneſs of thoſe that corrupt the Scriptures.* He adds, *That the weak find themſelves confounded, ſeeing Hereticks, as well as Catholicks, diſpute from the Scripture.* To get out of this perplexity, he recurs to the Succeſſion of *Biſhops*, by whom it might be proved, that they taught nothing but what the Apoſtles had taught before them, he found no other way of eſcape; this man had a Mind very much ſtraitned, or he was very ignorant. Why did he not think of General Councils, who are the only infallible means of knowing the ſenſe of the Scriptures? Neither he, nor any of the Writers of this Age, and of that which followed it, had any knowledg of them. Nevertheleſs, as it is ſaid, it was a means eſtabliſhed and appointed by God; and yet for the ſpace of two Hundred years, it muſt be acknowledged, that God hid this means from the whole Church, and that he left her in a ſtreight given up to the Humors of Hereticks, and to their lewd and falſe Interpretations. No reaſonable Man will ever ſwallow ſuch a Prodigy.

3. I intreat you, my Brethren, to conſider if it be likely, that God ſhould place Infallibility in Aſſemblies, whoſe Original was wholly caſual and accidental. The occaſion which gave birth to General Councils, was the Converſion of the *Roman* Emperors to Chriſtianity, and the great extent of that Empire: For if the Emperors had continued Pagans, Councils from all parts of the Empire had never been aſſembled; the Emperors would have looked upon it as a Conſpiracy, and would never have permitted it. Beſides, if the *Roman* Emperors by becoming Chriſtians, had loſt half the Provinces of the Em-

Empire, there had never been any General Councils neither: For the divers Princes which had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Provinces of the Empire, would not have permitted their Subjects to aſſemble with thoſe, who continued under the Rule of the *Romans*, for fear leſt theſe Conferences ſhould be deſigned, to ſearch out ways of returning under the Government of their firſt Maſters. Now judg, if a Tribunal, which in the purpoſe of God, was to be the Fountain of the Oracles of the Church in all Ages, ought to owe its birth to a concourſe of Affairs, and Mundane Circumſtances, that were wholly and purely ſo. Ought not God to have eſtabliſhed this Tribunal without dependance on the World and the Affairs thereof, as from the beginning he eſtabliſhed *Presbyteries* (ſo S. *Paul* calls the Aſſemblies of *Paſtors*) in every City, and in every particular Church? He muſt have a very obdurate Mind, I think, who is not moved and touched with this Diſcourſe and Reaſon.

4. What may be the aſſurance that a Man may have of ſuch an Article of Faith which is founded on a Matter of Fact notoriouſly falſe. 'Tis that the Councils of the Fourth and Fifth Ages were aſſembled from the whole Univerſal Church. That, ſay I, is notoriouſly falſe; there were not above three Hundred and eighteen Fathers in the Council of *Nice*, the moſt ancient and the moſt venerable of all the Councils. What are three Hundred and eighteen Biſhops for the whole vaſt extent of the *Roman* Empire, where there was an infinite number of them? It does not appear that all the Churches did depute their Biſhops thither, nor that all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire did aſſemble to chooſe ſome one out of their Body, who ſhould carry their Counſel and Advice. *Conſtantine* called together all the Biſhops in general, thoſe that could, and thoſe that would, appeared there; none appeared there, but thoſe of the Eaſtern Church, there were not Twelve of the Latin Church there; out of all *Spain*, none were ſeen but *Hoſius* Biſhop

ſhop of *Corduba*; out of all *France*, none but *Nicaſius* Biſhop of *Die*, or *Dijon*. Beſides this, there were Churches out of the *Roman* Empire; it may be there were Churches even in the *Indies*, at leaſt, thoſe which tell us, that S. *Thomas* carried the Goſpel thither, ought to believe ſo. 'Tis certain at leaſt, that there were large Churches in *Perſia*. Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory ſpeaks of a great Perſecution which was raiſed at that time againſt the Chriſtian Churches of *Perſia*, by the Impudence or ill guided Zeal of *Maruthas* a Biſhop, who burnt one of the Temples which the Perſians had conſecrated to the Honor of the Fire. Theſe Churches of *Perſia* were not called to this Council, nor did they appear there. All the World are at an Agreement, that the firſt Council of *Conſtantinople*, held under *Theodoſius* the Great, was not General: There were none but Eaſtern Biſhops there; yea, two Hundred years after, in the time of *Gregory* the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*, the Weſtern Church did not as yet receive the Canons thereof: So that frankly and openly, 'tis to ſcoff Men to call them General Councils in the ſenſe which is given to the Word at this day. 'Tis true, that theſe firſt Councils called themſelves ſo, but why, and in what ſenſe? It was according to the Stile which was then in uſe. The *Roman* Empire was then called *Orbis*, the World Univerſal, the Greeks called it *Oikoumene* the habitable part of the Earth, the Emperors thereof were called the Univerſal Emperors; the Vanity of the Emperors occaſioned this; the great ones always blow up their Titles. The extent of the *Roman* Empire was great indeed, but as if they had been Maſters of the whole Earth, they cauſed themſelves to be called Maſters of the World Univerſal. A General Council in this ſenſe ſignifies no more than a Council aſſembled from all parts of the *Roman* Empire.

5. I intreat you to give attention to that which is neceſſary, according to theſe Gentlemen, to make a Council *Oecumenical*. Is it neceſſary that there be Biſhops from

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all parts of the Church? by no means; for then the Council of *Conſtantinople* were not *Oecumenick*. The Pope was not there, either by himſelf, or his Legates; and it is not known that there was any of the Weſtern Biſhops there. Nevertheleſs, 'tis *Oecumenick*; but why? becauſe that all the Church conſented to it at laſt: for its Canons were not received at *Rome* more than two hundred years after. The Church Univerſal, ſay I, hath approved it, not by Subſcriptions and a formal Conſent, but by a Conſent which they call tacit and implicite: and this is indeed the Opinion of the Doctors of *France*, That to make a Council *Oecumenick*, 'tis enough that it be afterward approved. That is the reaſon why the Canons of the Council of *Antioch*, which is generally believed to have been an *Arrian* Council, are at this day ſeen in the Code of the Univerſal Church. That is the reaſon why many men are willing the Council of *Sardis* ſhould be *Oecumenical*. 'Tis becauſe though there were none but *Weſtern* Biſhops there, yet the moſt part of the Biſhops of the *Eaſt* ſubſcribed it afterwards. Now I intreat you obſerve the Abſurdity which I am about to make you ſenſible of. Behold a Council, for example, the firſt *Oecumenical* of *Conſtantinople*, which in its form is but a particular Council, and by conſequence cannot be Infallible; nevertheleſs, becauſe God foreſaw that the Council would be approved by all the Church, he preſides there by a Spirit of Infallibility againſt all the Rules which he hath eſtabliſh'd for his own Conduct with reſpect to Councils. So that when God foreſees that a Council which is particular in its Compoſition, will one day be accounted Oecumenical, becauſe of a conſent that will be given to it either by Subſcriptions ſent and ſeparately made, or by a tacit conſent, he there pours out a Spirit of Infallibility. But if he foreſees that this Synod will be neglected, as a particular Synod, he lets it paſs for as much as 'tis worth, and doth not make it Infallible. Is not this to play with the Spirit of God, and the Reaſon

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of Men? Who ſees not by this example, that the Character of an *Oecumenical Council* doth in no wiſe depend upon a Spirit of Infallibility which preſides there, but on the conſent of men, which perſuade themſelves, right or wrong, that ſuch an Aſſembly hath happily hit on the truth.

6. I pray judge whether it be probable that theſe Aſſemblies, called *Oecumenical*, were infallible Judges of Controverſies, without knowing it. At this day, when the Pope aſſembles an *Oecumenical Council*, this Council believes it ſelf to be Infallible, it acts and ſpeaks as ſuch. Let them demonſtrate to us this Character in the firſt Councils; let them ſhew us, that they acted as infallible, and that they ſpoke as ſuch. If I ſhould make a Book, whereas I am only making a Letter, I could ſhew you a hundred circumſtances of theſe ancient Councils, which will make it evident, that this Dream never crept into the minds of any of the Members of thoſe Aſſemblies, that they were there as Infallible Judges. But in this caſe, 'tis not we that are obliged to prove, 'tis the Papiſts, for they are thoſe which do affirm. Preſs them, ſay I, about it, and ask them their Proofs, that the Ancient Councils believed themſelves Infallible. Go farther, and ask them, Whether it be poſſible that theſe Councils ſhould be Infallible, and that not one of the Divines of thoſe Ages ſhould doubt of it; and that in their Diſputes with Hereticks they ſhould make no uſe of this Authority? St. *Hilary*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auſtin*, St. *Gregory*, *Nazianzen* and St. *Athanaſius*, had great Diſputes againſt the *Arrians*, but they never thought fit to oppoſe unto them the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, as Infallible. Where were their Wits? Why did they not tell them, God hath promiſed, *That when two or three are gathered together in his name he will be in the midſt of them?* 'Tis a Promiſe of Infallibility, belonging to General Councils. The Council of *Nice* was aſſembled in the Name of God, held in all its forms, and aſſembled from the whole Church:

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it is therefore Infallible, and by conſequence you are obſtinate not to ſubmit unto it. Thus they reaſon againſt us, and 'tis thus that men ought to reaſon naturally when they are of the Opinion and Principles of Popery. We do not ſee one word of this in the Authors of the fourth and fifth Ages. On the contrary, St. *Auſtin* tells the *Arrians*, Let us lay by the Council of *Nice* on my part, and the Council of *Ariminum* on your part, and let us diſpute from the Scripture, * confeſſing, the one and the other of theſe Aſſemblies might err, although it be very certain that the Council of *Nice* did not actually do ſo. 'Tis as if I ſhould ſay to a *Mahometan*, Let us lay by my H. Scripture and your Alcoran, as ſuppoſing it poſſible that both the one and other of them may be falſe. It muſt be granted, that I were wicked, or a fool, to ſpeak thus, if it were not upon thoſe Suppoſitions which are called falſe, and whereof we ſometimes ſerve our ſelves to draw an Adverſary to an abſurdity. Behold then a Prodigy which paſſes all imagination; the Chriſtians had among themſelves infallible Judges, and knew nothing of it: but behold much more, St. *Auſtin* not only knew not, that he had right to oppoſe the Authority of the Council of *Nice* as Infallible, to the *Arrians*, but he even confeſſes to the *Donatiſts*, that no Authority of Council was ſupreme, and without Appeal. The *Donatiſts*, to prove to him that the Baptiſm of Hereticks was worth nothing, brought him the Teſtimony of St. *Cyprian*; He anſwers, without ceremony, That he acknowledged no Teſtimony ſure and certain but that of the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; that as to the deciſions of Biſhops, thoſe which came after, and above all Councils, might very well correct them. After which he adds, * *And even the Councils which are held in every Country, and in every Province, do without difficulty give place to full Councils, which are aſſembled from all the Chriſtian World; and theſe full Councils*

* *Cont. Maxim. lib.* 3. *cap.* 14.

* *De Bapt. cont. Donat.* lib. 2. cap. 3.

Councils, (ſo he calls Oecumenical Councils) *may be corrected by thoſe which follow; when that which was hid is diſcovered, and by ſome experience men come to know what they were ignorant in.* Obſerve, that the thing under debate was not a matter of Diſcipline only, as they will tell you, but to know whether the Baptiſm of Hereticks were of any value. 'Twas a Point of Doctrine, if there were ever any ſuch.

7. To conclude, I conjure you, my Brethren, give yet attention to this, 'tis, that although the Dream of your Converters ſhould have ſome foundation, and that the Church Univerſal aſſembled in a Body by its Guides were Infallible, the Church of *Rome* would have no part in this Privilege, nor would it extend it ſelf to the Councils ſince *Berengarius*, which they deſire you ſhould look upon as the Rules of your Faith. For theſe Councils were never Aſſemblies of the Church Univerſal ſince the Schiſm of the *Greeks:* they are at moſt but Councils of the Latin Church: but the Latin Church, ſay they, is become the Univerſal and Catholick Church, excluding all other Chriſtian Communions which are ſeparate from her; and by conſequence, her Councils are thoſe of the Church Univerſal. This is the moſt fooliſh of all Pretenſions, That the *Roman* Church ſhould be the only Church, excluding all the Communions of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*. We have ſhewn the extravagance of this Pretence in our former Letters, for which reaſon, at preſent we may well ſuppoſe it as indiſputable, *viz.* that the Church of *Rome*, for 800 years paſt, hath had no Oecumenical Councils in the ſenſe that ſhe her ſelf underſtands the Word; from whence you may conclude, that ſhe hath had no Infallible Councils.

Furthermore, 'tis neceſſary to oblige you to give attention to this Original of Oecumenical Councils in the fourth and fifth Ages; becauſe, without doubt, it was one of the means which the Devil made uſe of to eſtabliſh the Empire and Domination of Antichriſt. Not that the

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firſt Councils called Oecumenical were not aſſembled with good intention, and were not very uſeful at that ſeaſon, and in that time. But it happens to this good thing as to the moſt part of others which have been introduced with a good intention, the Devil hath taken occaſion from thence to bring in either Opinions or Practices which have deſtroyed the Church. Martyrdom is an excellent work; yet from thence men have taken occaſion to introduce the Opinion of Merits, and Works of Supererogation. Reſpect for the Martyrs is very juſt, and very reaſonable; yet that hath made way for Indulgences, the Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Relicks and Images. The uſe of Oecumenical Councils hath been found good upon ſeveral occaſions. The Biſhops coming from all Parts have appeared not as Judges, but as Witneſſes of the Faith of their Churches, and this unanimous conſent in the Faith hath produced a very good effect for the eſtabliſhing of Points fundamental. But the Spirit of Lies hath nevertheleſs made uſe thereof afterwards, as a means to build that Univerſal Empire over the Church; an Empire which is one of the characters of Antichriſt. At the beginning it was the Emperors which aſſembled theſe Councils. Theſe Aſſemblies were made by their Authority; the Biſhops of *Rome* were of the number of thoſe called to them: he muſt have renounced all Sincerity that doth not agree unto it, after he hath read *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, *Zozomon*, and *Theodoret*. When the *Roman* Empire was ruined in the Weſt, the Emperors having no Authority any longer to call Aſſemblies of the whole Church, becauſe they were no longer Maſters of it; the Popes, who advanced according to the meaſure that the Emperors declined, were willing to lay hold of this Right. They endeavoured to re-unite, under their Authority, all the Provinces which had formerly been united under the Emperors; in which they were ſucceſsful, and thereby formed the ſecond *Roman* Empire, which is the Empire of the Beaſt and of Antichriſt. Theſe Oecumenical Aſſemblies were

were of great uſe to them in this; at the head of which Aſſemblies they placed themſelves in the quality of the firſt Patriarchs. The cuſtom which the Councils took in the Fourth Age, of adding Anathema's to their Deciſions, did alſo ſerve them afterwards to poſſeſs men with a Chimera of their Infallibility. I have not been able to find that Councils did anathematize any one before the Council of *Nice*. We have the Council of *Carthage*, reckoned for the third in the Collection of Father *Labbeus* held under *Cyprian* in the year 258. *Zonarus* holds it for the moſt ancient of all the Councils, he means, whoſe Deciſions we have. It ſeems to me, we have therein the form of the ancient Councils. Every one there ſpeaks his Opinion modeſtly; that which had the plurality of Voices paſſed, but they there made no Decrees nor Anathema's.

We do not ſee that in the firſt two Ages, they held Councils for the deciding matters of Faith and Doctrine. There was one held about the Controverſie concerning *Eaſter*, that is to ſay, Whether they ought to celebrate the Fourteenth of the Month of *March?* but this was a Point of Diſcipline. There was in thoſe times an infinite number of Hereticks, as appears by the Book of *Irenæus*; but I have not obſerved that they did aſſemble Councils againſt them before the third Age: nevertheleſs, if they had look'd upon Councils as Infallible, it would have been neceſſary to prevent Seduction, and to ſecure the Faith of Chriſtians.

An Article of Controverſie. The true Idea of Schiſm. That thoſe which are called Schiſmaticks are not out of the Church.

AFter having ſpoken of *Unity*, and confuted the Sophiſm which they draw from this *Unity* in the preceding Letters; we muſt anſwer the Sophiſm, which is drawn from the Schiſm which ruines this Unity. 'Tis a Point

which your Converters do continually repeat, and beat upon you. Schiſm, ſay they, is a hideous crime: Schiſmaticks are out of the Church; there is no Salvation for them: and although the Church of *Rome* it ſelf were corrupt, you ought not to break with her. Their modern Writers which ſeem willing to ſoften the Maxims of the *Roman* Church, do nevertheleſs obſerve no meaſure on this Subject, and on this Point. They proceed ſo far as to maintain, That although it ſhould be true that even the Church of *Rome* ſhould be fallen into Idolatry, we ought not to forſake her, and could not juſtly ſet up Altar againſt Altar. We muſt return to theſe Gentlemen, not Paradox for Paradox, but Truth for Lies: but a Truth which is oppoſite to their Falſhood, as our Antipodes are oppoſite to us. They ſay, that though even the Church ſhould fall into Idolatry, we cannot be ſaved if we ſeparate from it. And I ſay, although even the Church of *Rome* ſhould have Reaſon at the bottom, and were not Idolatrous, and that we were out in our Separation, we ſhould not hazard our Salvation by continuing as we are. Men are every where well where they have Chriſtianity and the marrow and ſubſtance of it; and 'tis a folly to imagine that the Salvation of men depends upon the humor of their Guides. It may be therefore that *Luther* and *Calvin* were miſtaken, *i. e.* That the corruption of the Church of *Rome* was not great enough to oblige the Faithful to go out of her: let us ſuppoſe, they had done better to leave things as they were, I do nevertheleſs maintain, that at this day you do not in any wiſe hazard your Salvation by continuing where they have placed you; becauſe however it be, you have Chriſtianity in its integrity, you have it wholly pure and uncorrupt. In every Society where that is found, a man may be ſaved, after whatſoever manner it be formed. The Idea which men have formed of Schiſm for many Ages paſt is the moſt falſe that can be imagined: but beſides the falſhood of it, 'tis the moſt dangerous and cruel

Chimera

Chimera that could be found. Every Society would be Catholick Church to the excluſion of all others. The Church of *Rome* pretends thus far for her ſelf. The Greek Church makes no leſs pretence thereto. He that goes out of this Church breaks the Unity, and he that breaks it is no longer in the Church. Now he who is no longer in the Church, is no longer in a ſtate and way of Salvation, whatever he ſay and whatever he do. Behold what they ſay; behold the Chimera.

We muſt therefore rectifie this Idea of Schiſm, according to the Unity which we have given you. The Unity of the Univerſal Church does not ſubſiſt within the bounds of one certain Communion, nor in adherence to certain Paſtors, to the excluſion of all others: but in the Unity of *Spirit*, *Doctrine*, *Sacraments*, and Evangelical *Miniſtry* in general, *i. e.* of Paſtors declaring the Truth of the Goſpel. What muſt be done then to make a Schiſm with reſpect to the Church Univerſal? He muſt renounce the Chriſtian Doctrine, the Sacraments of the Church, and the Goſpel Miniſtry; that is to ſay, He muſt be an Apoſtate, or an Heretick. But every Society that goes out of another and greater Society of which it was a part, makes no Schiſm with reſpect to the Church Univerſal, whilſt it retains the Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Miniſtry of the Goſpel: it goes not out of the Church becauſe it carries the Church with it, and it carries the Church with it, becauſe it carries Chriſtianity with it. It carries, ſay I, the Church with it, in ſuch a manner nevertheleſs, that it leaves it in the Society which it leaves; for leaving true Chriſtianity there, it leaves the true Church there alſo. And the advantage of being the Church, and of having Chriſtianity, is a Privilege which may be poſſeſſed intire, and without prejudice to other Chriſtian Societies.

We muſt therefore know, that there is an *Univerſal* and *Particular* Schiſm. Particular Schiſm is a Separation from a particular Church: a Univerſal Schiſm is a Separation

from the Universal Church. Universal Schism consists in the Renunciation of the Universal Church, by renouncing her Doctrine, Sacraments, and Ministry. For example, If the one half of Christians should separate from the other, and set up a new Gospel, according to which *Moses* should be set side by side with Jesus Christ, the legal Ceremonies re-established, the Evangelical Ministry should be changed into the Ministry of Priests after the Order of *Aaron*; the Sacraments of the Church should be joyned to the Sacraments of the Old Testament; it were certain that this would be a true Schism; for these Men would renounce the *Doctrine*, the *Sacraments*, and the *Ministry* of the Gospel. The *Mahometans*, without renouncing Jesus Christ, and calling him false Prophet, have set up a Prophet superior to him, and receive the Impostures of *Mahomet*, admit Circumcision, and reject Baptism, have made a Religion truly and essentially different from that of Christ's. 'Tis therefore a true universal Schism. The *Socinians*, who have renounced almost all the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, who despise and neglect the Sacraments by going out of the Church, are become Schismaticks, and true Schismaticks with respect to the Church Universal; for they have not carried the Church with them, because they have not carried Christianity with them. According to this Idea, Universal Schism, or Schism with respect to the Universal Church, doth not essentially differ from Heresie and Apostacy.

Particular Schism is when a Man separates from a particular Church, be it for some Point of Doctrine, be it for some quarrel about Discipline, be it for some personal Differences of the Guides among themselves. Of this sort of Schisms there is an infinite number of Examples. In the Second Age there was a Schism between the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *Asia*, about a controversie of Ceremonies, about the day on which *Easter* ought to be observed. The Churches of *Asia* maintained, that the Christian

Chriſtian Paſſover ought to be obſerved on the ſame day that the Jews obſerved theirs; and they ſaid, they held it as a Tradition from St. *John*. The Church of *Rome*, on the contrary, ſaid that Chriſtians ought to obſerve *Eaſter* on the Lord's-day following the Jewiſh Paſſover. And for the ſake of this goodly Controverſie, *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* was ſo raſh, as to ſeparate the Churches of *Aſia* from his Communion. This Schiſm continued not only until the Council of *Nice*, but a very long time after; for mention is made of the *Quartodecimani* in the General Council of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorius* in the year 431. So they called thoſe who celebrated *Eaſter* with the Jews, on the 14th day of the Month of *March*. In the Third Age, *Novatian* formed a conſiderable Schiſm, about a Point of Diſcipline; *viz.* Whether we ought to receive thoſe who fell in times of Perſecution to the Peace of the Church. This Schiſm continued a long time. We find this Schiſm continuing amidſt all the great troubles that were betwixt the *Arrians* and the Orthodox; the union of Opinions that was between the *Novatians* and the Catholicks with reſpect to the Doctrine of *Arrius*, did not put a period unto it. In the ſame Age, the *Donatiſts* made another Schiſm in *Africa*, about the choice of a Biſhop of *Carthage*. Two Parties being formed about it, a Diviſion was made, it ſpread through all *Africa*, and continued many Ages. There happened another in the beginning of the Fifth Age, by one named *Neſtorius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who taught there were two Perſons, as well as two Natures in Chriſt. Another was made a little while after by *Eutyches*, Abbot of a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople*, who deſiring to oppoſe *Neſtorius*, who diſtinguiſhed two Perſons in Chriſt Jeſus, confounded the two Natures that he might not ſeparate them; and theſe two Schiſms have continued for 1200 years, and do continue to this day. In the Tenth Age happened the great Schiſm of the Greek Church from the Latin. The Church of *Rome* it ſelf has had an infinite number of Schiſms in her own

Bowels, occaſioned by her Anti-Popes. And the greateſt (which may ſerve for a Rule for all) was the great Schiſm of Popes and Anti-Popes, whereof the one ſat at *Rome*, and the other at *Avignon*. This Schiſm divided the Weſt into two different Parties, under two diſtinct Heads. To conclude, in theſe laſt times a great Schiſm is happened in the Latin Church, which is divided into three great Bodies, the Papiſts, the Lutherans, and the Reformed. I paſs by an infinite number of little Schiſms, which have been in the Eaſt between Church and Church, and oftentimes among the Members of the ſame Church. Two Biſhops were ſeen for a long time at *Antioch*; the Party of one of them was called *Meleſians*, the other Party *Euſtathians*, this was in the Fourth and Fifth Ages. Theſe are, ſay I, particular Schiſms. And it may be ſaid, that not one of theſe Schiſmatical Parties did ſeparate from the Univerſal Church, becauſe not one of them abandoned Chriſtianity; they returned and carried it with them.

Now the Illuſion in this matter comes from hence, that we confound theſe two ſorts of Schiſms, thoſe that are Univerſal with thoſe which are particular, and we aſcribe to particular Schiſms that which belongs only to Schiſm univerſal, *viz.* Excluſion from Salvation. For 'tis true, that he who makes a Schiſm from the Univerſal Church, by renouncing her Doctrine, Sacraments, and Miniſtry, is utterly out of the Church, and without any right to eternal Life. But 'tis falſe, that particular Schiſm either from the Church of *Rome*, or from the Greek Church, or Schiſm of the Church of *Rome* in it ſelf, doth exclude from Salvation. This folly proceeds from another, and that is, that every particular Church looks on herſelf as the Catholick and Univerſal Church, and her particular Doctrines as the Univerſal and Fundamental Doctrines of Chriſtianity: In ſuch manner, that thoſe who ſeparate themſelves from her, and renounce her Doctrines, ſhe looks on them, as being ſe-

parate

parate from the Univerſal Church, and as having renounced the Univerſal Doctrine of Chriſtianity. But no Church hath carried this folly to that degree of extravagance as the Church of *Rome* hath done; for ſhe calls herſelf the Catholick and Univerſal Church, to the excluſion of all others: And ſhe would fain, that the Doctrines which are peculiar to her, as the Supremacy of the Pope, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, *&c.* ſhould be accounted the Univerſal Truths of Chriſtanity. Thence it comes to paſs, that ſhe conſiders as Schiſmaticks, and damned all thoſe which ſeparate from her, and renounce the moſt inconſiderable Doctrines which ſhe hath conſecrated by her Anathema's. To make this fooliſh Pretenſion vaniſh and diſappear, no more is to be done, but to make more evident the true Idea of Schiſm, which the Diſputes of theſe laſt Ages, and the Prejudices of the Ancients, have ſtrangely perplexed and confounded. To this end it will be uſeful to conſider divers of thoſe Schiſms of which we have ſpoken, and ſee what we ought to judge concerning the Salvation of thoſe who lived in them.

Firſt, there have been Schiſms which have been made without any Controverſies about Doctrine or Diſcipline, only upon perſonal Quarrels between Biſhop and Biſhop; ſuch was that furious Schiſm of the Donatiſts in *Africa*, which was made only upon the occaſion of the choice of a Biſhop of *Carthage*: Afterwards the Donatiſts eſpouſed the Opinion of S. *Cyprian*, about the Nullity of the Baptiſm of Hereticks, and it may be, ſome other Opinions of little importance, that they might the more eaſily maintain and continue their Schiſm with the Catholicks. But the true foundation of the Schiſm was nothing but a particular Quarrel. The Donatiſts held all the Opinions of the Catholick Church, they had the ſame Sacraments, the ſame Diſcipline, and the ſame Miniſtry. This being ſo, he muſt be very cruel that will damn an infinite number of private Perſons, who followed their

their Guides, as the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* followed *Abſalom*, in the ſimplicity of their Hearts. I ſay nothing concerning the Authors of the Schiſm, nor of thoſe who did maintain it; as they violated the Laws of Charity, and troubled the Peace of the Church, we leave them to the Judgment of God: We ſay nothing neither of the *Circumcellians*, a ſort of People which aroſe among the Donatiſts, and offered an Hundred Violences to the Orthodox. I ſpeak of thoſe plain People, who in the ſimplicity of their Heart, do without Diſſimulation believe in Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Creed explicated according to the ſenſe of the Church Univerſal, who believe all the Chriſtian Doctrine, from the firſt Article to the laſt; and beſides, labour with great diligence in the practice of Holineſs and Devotion: to condemn theſe Men, ſay I, only becauſe they do not communicate with the Paſtors of the Catholick Church, is a fooliſh and a barbarous Doctrine, of which I do not think there is a Man in the World throughly perſwaded, although there be a Thouſand and a Thouſand pretend ſo to be.

There are other Schiſms which were made about Controverſies in Doctrine, ſuch is the Schiſm of the *Neſtorians* and that of the *Eutychians*, who continue at this day, and comprehend an infinite number of Chriſtians in the Eaſt. I believe that *Neſtorius* deſigned to reduce the Opinion of *Paulus Samoſatenus* to another form; which Opinion is that of our Socinians, who make Jeſus Chriſt a mere Man. But we muſt judg otherwiſe of their Succeſſors. At this day the *Neſtorians* and the *Eutychians* embrace the Apoſtles Creed, and that of *Conſtantinople*, as do the Greeks and the Latins, they believe in Jeſus Chriſt the eternal Son of God, God himſelf, dead, and raiſed again for the Salvation of Men; and the Diſputes which they have with the reſt of the Church, are at preſent, nothing but Queſtions about Words and differing manners of expreſſion.

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To damn theſe Millions of People, becauſe of the raſhneſs of a ſingle Man, who had the boldneſs a Hundred and twenty years ago, to teach contrary to the manner after which we ought to conceive of the Incarnation of the Word, is a Cruelty founded in a moſt prodigious Error and Miſtake. 'Tis evident, that we ought to range them with the reſt of the Eaſtern Church, which is not much more pure, than that of the Weſt, and to leave their Salvation to the judgment of God, who alone knows how far his Patience will proceed. Theſe two Schiſms were without doubt criminal in their Original: But time hath changed the ſtate of things, and at this day thoſe Chriſtians which are called *Jacobites*, and follow the Schiſm of *Eutyches*, ſuppoſing they embrace all Chriſtian Truths neceſſary to Salvation, are as well where they are, as if they rejoyned themſelves to the other Chriſtians of the Eaſt, provided they be endowed with a Spirit of Charity. If they be ſo raſh as to condemn the reſt, therein they ſin; but the Greeks which condemn them are not leſs guilty than they, although they deſcend directly from the Catholick and Orthodox ſtock, and the others be only a ſeparate branch. And this helps to ſhew you, that although a Schiſm were criminal in its Original, and headily and raſhly made, nevertheleſs it is not always neceſſary under pain of eternal Damnation, to return from whence we came. From whence I confirm the Theſis which I laid down at the beginning of this Queſtion; that the Idea which they make to you about the horror of Schiſm, is a Dream, and that tho it ſhould be true, that our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome* in the beginning of the paſt Age were raſh, the People which followed it in the ſimplicity of their Hearts, would not hazard their Salvation thereby, they that made it were to account for it, and at the moſt, thoſe which do maintain it. So my Brethren, you would be in ſafety, and only we in danger. But I very well perceive, that this is not enough

nough to calm the Perturbations which your Converters, and your own Thoughts may give you about it: For you will ſay, ſuppoſing that our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome* in the laſt Age were unjuſt and raſh; 'tis true, that we who did not make the Schiſm ſhall not ſuffer thereby. Our Fathers when they went out of the Church of *Rome*, carried the Church and Chriſtianity with them, and this Chriſtianity may nouriſh, and ſave us, maugre the Separation. Nevertheleſs on this ſuppoſition, we do no ill, yea we ſhall do well to re-unite our ſelves to the Church of *Rome*: We ſhall heal a Wound, which being open, renders the Church deformed; Peace is to be preferred before Diviſion: This is without doubt, the deſcendants which acknowledg that their Anceſtors did wrongfully ſeparate from a certain ſtock, do well to re-unite themſelves thereto for edification, although it were not abſolutely neceſſary to their Salvation. Therefore that we may come nearer to the caſe in which you are at preſent with the Church of *Rome*, we muſt ſuppoſe a Separation which was made for reaſons of ſome worth and value, *i. e.* becauſe of Corruption in Doctrine and Worſhip. This is the caſe in which you are, and on this ſuppoſition we will ſhew you in what follows, that you cannot return to the Church of *Rome*.

March 1. 1687.

The

The Fouteenth PASTORAL LETTER.

AN

Article of Antiquity. The Original of the Hierarchy, and the Antichriſtian Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*. An Article of Controverſie. A Continuation of the matter of Schiſm: Although the Corruption of the Church of *Rome* were not extreme, it would not be lawful for us to return thither. Some Objections of the new Converts concerning it.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

SInce we have been upon the Hiſtory of the fourth and fifth Ages, we have found there two great Novelties, which have had very unhappy effects in the following Ages. They are the Monaſtick Life, and the Councils that are called Oecumenick. Behold a third of them; 'tis the Original of the Hierarchy, which hath given birth to the Antichriſtian Tyranny. This Word ſignifies *ſacred Rule* or *Government*: and thereby

by is underſtood that Subordination of Paſtors, which hath been ſeen in the Church for a 1000 or 1200 years. In this Subordination are ſeen the loweſt Orders in the loweſt Seats; above theſe loweſt Orders are ſeen Prieſts ſubdivided into Curates, Deans, rural Deans, *&c.* Above the Prieſts are the Grand Vicars, above the Grand Vicars are the Biſhops, above the Biſhops are the Arch-Biſhops or Metropolitans, above the Arch-Biſhops are the Primates, above the Primates are the Exarchs, above the Exarchs are the Patriarchs, and above all theſe is ſeen a Head, which was framed inſenſibly, and by little and little, and placed there; this is it which is called the Pope. All this is a new Invention with reſpect to the Apoſtles, and this Hierarchy was unknown before the Fourth Age. We have the Happineſs at this day to have the *French* Church, that is to ſay, your Converters, for teſtimonies of this Truth. They do maintain, That the Apoſtles eſtabliſhed no preciſe form of Government, that they contented themſelves to preach the Goſpel, to ſend perſons to do ſo, and to place in every Church a Biſhop to govern it. They ſay, that it is not certain that S. *John*, the eldeſt of the Apoſtles, *i. e.* he which lived longeſt, did give to the Churches of *Aſia*, amongſt whom he died, any form of Government; that it was in the Fourth Age that the Hierarchical form of Government was given to the Church; that therein they followed no divine Right or Inſtitution of the Apoſtles, (who determined nothing concerning it) but the Polick Order and Form of Government found in the *Roman* Empire. As this Empire was divided into Provinces, Metropolitical Cities, and Prefectures, *i. e.* Governments, ſo they alſo divided the Churches into Metropolitan, Provincial, and National.

And indeed, from the time of the Apoſtles there was no Principality, nor ſo much as any Primacy in the Church. The Apoſtles, by an Authority which they received immediately from Jeſus Chriſt, governed the Church without Subordination, and without Diviſion.

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The Spirit which guided them being one, and poured out on them all, they were always at agreement in what concerned the Edification of the Churches; but they did not leave any Succeſſor that had the ſame Authority with themſelves. It is not true that St. *Peter* was their Prince, it does not appear that he had any Primacy of Order above the reſt; 'tis true he is often named firſt; but that doth not prove that he was the firſt, or the Preſident of the Apoſtolical College. We ſee that the other Apoſtles treated with him after ſuch a manner, as makes it apparent, that they did not acknowledge in him any kind of Preheminence, which ſhould advance him above them. We ſee that they ſent him to *Samaria*; it would have appertained to him to ſend, and not be ſent, if he had been the Prince of the Apoſtles. We ſee that after he had preached the Goſpel to *Cornelius* and ſome other Pagans, they made great complaints thereon. We ſee that S. *Paul* rebuked him to the face, and even in publick, becauſe in the preſence of the Jews he warped, and uſed ſome diſſimulation with reſpect to the uſe of indifferent things forbidden by the Law of *Moſes:* Men do not uſe to deal ſo with their Prince. The Succeſſors of the Apoſtles left in all Churches Presbyters or Biſhops to preach the Word, and adminiſter the Sacraments: but in the beginning the Preſbyter and the Biſhop were not diſtinguiſhed. Thoſe which S. *Paul* calls Biſhop in one place, he calls alſo Elders or Presbyters, in the ſame place or in another. 'Tis a matter of Fact which our Adverſaries cannot deny. In the 20th of the *Acts*, the Apoſtle ſpeaking to the Presbyters or Elders of the Church of *Epheſus*, calls them Biſhops; and in his Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, where he ſpeaks ſometimes of a Biſhop, he ſpeaks more frequently of Elders, and by Elders he underſtands the very ſame which he had called Biſhops. In the Cities where the Churches were great, there were many Presbyters; one of them did preſide over the reſt, not by turn, but by a privilege which did always appertain to him. St. *Paul* ſpeaks of this

this Preſident, *The Elder which rules well is worthy of double honor.* This preſiding Presbyter, in the beginning of the ſecond Age, arrogates to himſelf the name of Biſhop, (which before was common to his Collegues,) ſo that there was no other but the Preſident of the Presbytery who call'd himſelf Biſhop. He attributed to himſelf alſo the right of impoſing hands as well on thoſe which were received as Paſtors, as on the Penitents, and thoſe which were received to the Communion of the Myſteries. In all this there was as yet no Hierarchy, no Dependence, no Appeals, no Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. Every Biſhop, with his College of Presbyters, was Sovereign in his Diſtrict, and in his Church; and this Church was not dependent of any other. You may remember how S. *Cyprian*, in our Eleventh Paſtoral Letter hath told us in expreſs words, *Every Biſhop may uſe his Authority in the Government of his Church according to his own Will, being under no obligation to give an account thereof to any but the Lord.* And elſewhere, † *That every Biſhop is Maſter of himſelf, and cannot be judged by another Biſhop, as he alſo cannot judge other Biſhops.* All honeſt men are agreed at this day therein. The Divines themſelves of the *Gallican* Church maintain it, and at this time they lend us their Studies and Illuminations to refute the Flatterers of the Papal Tyranny, who would find in the three firſt Ages of the Church Proofs of the Primacy, *i. e.* of the Principality of the Biſhop of *Rome* over all the Churches of the World. The Defenders of this Antichriſtian Power quote to us the Action of *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, who about the end of the Second Age excommunicated the Churches of *Aſia*, becauſe they would not keep *Eaſter* preciſely the ſame day that he did: and from thence they conclude, That the Pope was even then the Prince of all Churches. But to this your own Converters do anſwer for us, that in this *Victor* exerciſed no Right but what was common to all Biſhops, and that the Biſhops of *Aſia*

* Epiſt. 74.

† Concil. Carth. Anno 258.

Asia might exercise it on *Victor*, as he had exercised it on them; that this Excommunication of *Victor* was a separation from his Communion; that the Bishops did communicate one with another by Letters, which they called *Letters of Communion, formed Letters*, &c. When they were angry or discontented one with another, they did no longer write these Letters of Communion to those of whom they believed the Church had reason to complain, and they received no more from them; that this is it which *Victor* then did, and that all Bishops have Right, by custom, to do the same thing. The Flatterers of Popes quote to us also the Words of *Irenæus*, who speaking of the Church of *Rome*, says, **That it was necessary all other Churches should have recourse to this Church, because it was the principal, and the most potent.* But the *French Roman* Catholick Doctors answer for us, that the sense is, That the *Roman Church*, because the City of *Rome* was the Capital City of the Empire, and because of its grandeur might be a sufficient Witness of Apostolical Tradition, because Christians came thither upon business from all Parts of the World, and that coming thither they might there be Witnesses of the Faith of all Churches scattered throughout all the Empire: and that so the *Roman* Church, made up and formed of all Nations, might be a Witness of the Faith of all the Churches in the World. They object to us also, That it appears by the Works of St. *Cyprian*, that Bishops condemned and deposed in *Africa*, had recourse to the Bishop of *Rome* for their re-establishment. But the *French* Doctors answer with us, That by the same Letters of St. *Cyprian* it appears also, that these Attempts were disallowed and condemned, and that they gave the Bishop of *Rome* to understand, that he had nothing to do to receive the Complaints of any of the Ecclesiasticks of the *African Church*. So that these Gentlemen acknowledge with us, that in the three first Ages of Christianity there was no Principality, no subordinate

* *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

Juriſdiction, nor no dependence of one Church upon another, not excepting the Church of *Rome* it ſelf. But we do alſo maintain unto them, That from the Third Age, the Churches that had their Seats in thoſe Cities which are called Metropoles, *i. e.* Heads of the Provinces, did obtain a certain Superiority upon the leſſer Churches that were in the little Villages of the Neighbourhood, becauſe of the need they had of them. The Metropolitan Cities were the dwelling places of the Governors of the Provinces, the Courts of Juſtice were there, 'twas thither they carried their Tributes; ſo that all the Provinces had buſineſs there: beſides, the Biſhops of theſe Cities were ordinarily more able than thoſe of little Cities; for it has always been the ordinary cuſtom to chooſe the ableſt men for the conduct of the moſt important Churches, and ſuch as were moſt expoſed to the Temptations of human Authority. Beſides this, there were in theſe Cities many Presbyters which aſſiſted the Biſhop, and who with him, made a Senate able and knowing in matters of Faith and Diſcipline. For theſe Reaſons the Churches of the Country, and ſuch as were Provincial, addreſſed themſelves to the Churches of the *Metropolitan* Cities in all their doubts, and in all their neceſſities: ſometimes to obtain Paſtors, ſometimes to know how they ſhould ſuppreſs Hereticks, and thoſe which were ſcandalous, and ſometimes in other caſes, and on other occaſions. This was the reaſon that the Churches of the Metropolitan Cities obtained by conſent a kind of Superintendence over others. They confirmed, by impoſition of hands, *Paſtors* in vacant Churches, after the People of thoſe Churches had made an Election of them. This is the eſtate in which the Government was found in the beginning of the Fourth Age. Before that time the Names of Arch-Biſhops, Primates, Exarchs, Patriarchs, and every other Name of Power and Dignity, were wholly unknown in the Church. But the Emperors becoming Chriſtians, Pride introduced it ſelf into the Eccleſiaſtical Government;

vernment; and in the ſpace of an 150 years, or thereabout, that Hierarchy was ſeen to be born and to eſtabliſh it ſelf, which certainly made way for the birth of the Antichriſtian Empire of *Rome:* and behold how it came to paſs.

Conſtantine the Great, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, aſſembled a Council in the City of *Nice*, to determine the Controverſie which *Arrius* had unhappily raiſed about the Divinity of the Son of God. The Council, after it had determined thoſe matters which reſpected Faith, were willing alſo to regulate matters of Diſcipline, and made twenty Canons concerning it: in which they cauſed thoſe Practices which were then in uſe, to paſs into Laws, ſuppoſing it may be, that they were much more ancient than indeed they were. For example, it found that the Churches had yet preſerved this mark of mutual Dependence, that is to ſay, not to make void the judicial Sentences of one the other, and not to ſuffer that a perſon excommunicated in one Church ſhould have recourſe to another to be re-eſtabliſhed in its Communion. It made a Law thereof in the fifth Canon, *As to thoſe that are ſeparated from the Communion, be it that they are Layicks, be it that they are of the body of the Clergy, let the Biſhops of every Province obſerve this agreeably to the Canon that ſays, Let thoſe that are rejected by one, not be received by others.*

But finding alſo that it was a cuſtom, that in difficult matters reſpecting Faith or Diſcipline, when it happened that any Perſons were excommunicated or depoſed, the neighbouring Churches were wont to aſſemble to judge thereof, of that alſo it made a Law in the ſame Canon, and ordained, that for the examination of Cauſes determined by particular Churches *a Synod ſhould aſſemble twice a year in every Province, to the end that the Biſhop of the Province being aſſembled, might examine theſe ſort of Queſtions.* As the Chymera of the Sovereign Authority of General Councils was not yet born, ſo the Fathers of the Council of *Nice* contented themſelves to ordain, That

Provincial Councils ſhould be held, but gave no advice for the appointing General Councils, from ten Years to ten, as lately the Council of *Conſtance* did.

The Biſhops aſſembled at *Nice* alſo found, that by cuſtom, the Churches that had their Seats in Metropolitick Cities, had entertained ſome ſuperintendency over the Churches of the leſſer Cities of the Province, they confirmed this uſage, and made a Law thereof in the ſixth Canon. *Let the ancient Cuſtoms*, ſay they, *be obſerved, that is, that the Biſhop of* Alexandria *have power over the Churches of* Egypt, *of* Lybia, *and* Pentapolis, *becauſe tis ſo alſo, that the Biſhop of* Rome *has been accuſtomed to have. In like manner at* Antioch, *and in the other Provinces, let the Priviledges of other Provinces be preſerved.* There is nothing that has leſs foundation than the pretence of moſt part of the Doctors of the *Roman* Church, who imagin that here is the eſtabliſhment of thoſe Seats which were afterwards called Patriarchal: Neither the Name nor Power of Patriarchs were known at that time. And the Council of *Nice* had no other deſign, but to confirm by a Law, that which it found eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, that is to ſay, that the greater Churches ſhould have ſome ſuperintendency over the leſſer. There were then three great Governments in the *Roman* Empire, *Rome* for *Italy*, *Alexandria* for the South, and *Antioch* for the Eaſt. The Churches which were in theſe three principal Cities of the Empire, had arrogated ſome preheminence over the neighbouring Churches. The Council confirms to them this preheminence. But we may not imagin, as the *Roman* Doctors would perſwade us, that the Council did then divide the whole Church into three Patriarchates, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, as if all the other Churches had been ſubjected to theſe three: Theſe three Churches are named but for example, becauſe they were the principal. Beſides it is added, *Likewiſe, let the Priviledges be preſerved to other Churches*; that is to ſay, let the Churches, which

by cuſtom have obtained a ſuperintendency over their Neighbours, as leſſer Churches, preſerve that Preheminence. So the Church of *Aſia* (which is not named in this Canon) is one of thoſe which had Preheminence over her Neighbours, to whom this Priviledge was preſerved for ſome time. At that time therefore, by cuſtom, and by the Law of the Council of *Nice*, *Alexandria* had inſpection over the Churches of *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*; the Biſhop of *Rome*, had inſpection over the ſuburbicarian Churches, that is to ſay, the Cities which were either of the Government of the Vicarſhip of the City of *Rome*, and no more. Now the Vicarſhip of *Rome* was ſo far from extending it ſelf to the whole Empire, that it extended to but about half *Italy* on the ſide of *Naples*; the other part of *Italy* which is on the ſide of *Milan*, was of another Vicarſhip, that is to ſay, of another Government, whereof the City of *Milan* was Capital, and the Biſhop of *Rome* had nothing to do there. The Biſhop of *Antioch* had inſpection over the Churches of *Syria*, and no more. The other Churches in the *Roman* Empire were independent of theſe three Seats, and had their Metropolitan Churches, under which they ranged themſelves for the aſſembling of their Synods, ſo that in the Canon of *Nice* nothing is found of the Inſtitution of Patriarchs, but only a Confirmation of the Priviledges that the Churches of the Metropolitan Cities had obtained by conſent from the leſſer Churches round about them.

It is nevertheleſs true, that ſoon after the Metropolitan Biſhops of theſe three Cities, *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, began to play the Maſters, and to claim Right over the neighbouring Churches, much beyond the ancient uſe and intentions of the Council of *Nice*. They took advantage from this, that theſe three Cities were the three great Cities of the Empire; and becauſe they alone were named in the Canon of the Council, they made uſe thereof, ſay I, to extend their Juriſdi-

ction as we ſee: But it muſt be obſerved, that this Council of *Nice* (having found, that by cuſtom the Metropolitan Biſhops had inſpection over other leſs conſiderable Cities, by contributing their aſſiſtance and their Care to eſtabliſh Biſhops there) did confirm alſo this Priviledge by the ſame ſixth Canon. *This muſt remain certain*, ſays the Council, *that he who hath been made Biſhop without the Advice of the Metropolitan, the Great Synod declares, that he ought to be no Biſhop; but if Two or Three, through Obſtinacy and a Spirit of contradiction, oppoſe themſelves to an Eſtabliſhment made by a reaſonable common conſent, and according to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, let the plurality of Voices prevail againſt them.* This ſecond part of the Canon makes it appear ſufficiently plain, that in the firſt part thereof, nothing is handled concerning the Eſtabliſhment of the pretended Rights of Patriarchs, but only of the Priviledges of the Metropolitan Cities, without which, the Council will not ſuffer that any Ordination of Biſhops be made in the Cities of the Province.

The Biſhops of theſe three Cities, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, making uſe of the Canon of the Council, began to raiſe themſelves above all others. In the ſame time *Byzantium*, which had not been hitherto any other than a very obſcure Church, ſubject to the Metropolitan of *Heraclea*, a City of *Thrace*, ſees her ſelf honored by the preſence of the Emperors. *Conſtantine* carried thither the Seat of the Empire, and called it *Conſtantinople*, after his own Name, and obtained for it the Name of *New Rome*. Then the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* began alſo to make uſe of an Advantage by the Dignity of the City where he was: So that inſtead of three Tyrants in the Church, which aſpired to make themſelves Maſters of the Flocks, there are found four; the Biſhop of *Rome*, he of *Alexandria*, he of *Antioch*, and he of *Conſtantinople*. But as *Rome* always preſerved a Character of Greatneſs and Preheminence over other Cities, becauſe it was the ſtock and root of the Empire, they allowed a Primacy of Or-

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der to the Biſhop of that City without contradiction. And this by ſo much the more eaſily, as the Spirit which built the Myſtery of Iniquity had univerſally eſtabliſhed the Opinion, that S. *Peter* accounted the chief of the Apoſtles had placed his Epiſcopal Seat at *Rome*, where he eſtabliſhed Succeſſors; in ſuch a manner that all Biſhops in the World did ſilently conſent to grant this Primacy of Order, and of Preſidence to the Church of *Rome* for theſe two Reaſons: the firſt that the City of *Rome* was the Capital of the Univerſe; the ſecond, that the chief of the Apoſtles had had his Seat there; ſo the Biſhop of *Rome* was acknowledged for the firſt in order in their Aſſemblies, but without any kind of Power or Juriſdiction over others. In the mean time, the reſt of the Hierarchy was formed after the Model of the Government of the Empire. The *Roman* Empire in the Eaſt was divided into Five principal Governments: 1. That of the Eaſt, whereof the Metropolis was *Antioch*, and which extending it ſelf over *Syria*, is called Eaſt by diſtinction from the other Oriental Provinces. 2. That of *Egypt*, whoſe Head was *Alexandria*. 3. That of *Pontus*, whereof the Capital was *Cæſarea*. 4. That of *Aſia*, whereof the Capital was *Epheſus*. 5. That of *Thrace*, whereof the Metropolis was *Conſtantinople*: So that theſe five Cities, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Cæſarea*, *Epheſus*, and *Conſtantinople*, were the places where the five great Governors of the Oriental part of the *Roman* Empire had their abode. The Biſhops of the ſame Cities advanced themſelves alſo above the other Biſhops of the Provinces, and formed five Exarchates, *i. e.* five ſorts of Patriarchates independent the one from the other, in every one of theſe Exarchates or Patriarchates, there were many Biſhops, and even many Metropolitans in the ſenſe that the Word is taken at this day. The Exarchs of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, of *Epheſus*, of *Cæſarea*, and of *Conſtantinople*, every one in his Exarchate, was above the Biſhops in Government, whether they were Metropoli-

tans or ſimple Biſhops; ſo it was in the Weſt alſo. There was in *Italy* two principal Governments under the Name of Vicarſhips; the Government of *Rome* and that of *Milan*, for which reaſon the Biſhops of theſe two Cities imitating the Civil Government, advanced themſelves alſo in the Eccleſiaſtick, above the other Biſhops of *Italy*.

The Biſhop of *Rome* had therefore at that time a Primacy of Order and Preſidence, as we have obſerved, becauſe of the Preheminence of the City, and the falſe Opinion that had obtained, that S. *Peter* had been Biſhop there. But he exerciſed no Act of Juriſdiction or Superiority over others. It was not permitted him to receive Appeals, nor to make void the Deciſions of other Biſhops. They were not the Biſhops of *Rome* that called General Councils, they were the Emperors; it was not they that determined Controverſies of Faith, they were the Councils; they could not ſend out their Interdicts, nor Excommunications againſt other Churches, or conſtrain them to Obedience by any Cenſure. If the Biſhops of *Rome* did ſeparate other Churches from their Communion, other Churches alſo kept themſelves ſeparate from their Communion, adherence to the Biſhop of *Rome* was of no neceſſity to obtain the eſteem of an Orthodox, and Catholick Church, and there were Churches in thoſe Ages which continued many Years in ſeparation, and without any Communion with the Church of *Rome*, without ever being eſteemed either Hereticks or Schiſmaticks. Nevertheleſs, it was in the Fourth Age, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did ſow the Seeds of his Tyranny, and took upon himſelf to judg thoſe which other Biſhops had already cenſured. And this happened chiefly on the occaſion of the Troubles which the Hereſie of *Arius* raiſed in the Church. The *Arrians* became Maſters in the Eaſt, and drave the Orthodox Biſhops from their Seats, as *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *Paul* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, *&c.* Theſe Biſhops unjuſtly depoſed and driven away, retired themſelves into the Weſt, where Arrianiſm had made far leſs Ravages. The Biſhops of *Milan*,

Milan, *Rome*, and the principal Seats of *Italy*, continued Orthodox. S. *Athanaſius*, and others came into *Italy*, and to *Rome*, to implore the Succour of the Biſhop thereof, and other Biſhops of the Weſt, to the end that by their Credit and Authority, as well with other Biſhops, as principally with the Emperors, they might be re-eſtabliſhed in their Seats. The Biſhop of *Rome* receives them, treats them as Biſhops, and declares that he had no regard for the unjuſt and violent Deciſions of the *Arrians*; yea he did all that was in his power to re-place them in their Seats. At this time, *i. e.* in the heat of theſe Controverſies ſtirred up by the *Arrians*, the Biſhops of the Weſt which were Orthodox, held a Council at *Sardis*, in the Year 347. there to judge the Cauſe of *Athanaſius*, and *Paul* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. In this Council the Biſhops of the Weſt obſerving that the Violences which the Orthodox Biſhops of the Eaſt had ſuffered from the hands of Heretick Biſhops were without remedy, whilſt theſe Heretical Biſhops ſhould be abſolute Maſters, they thought fit to make three Canons or Eccleſiaſtical Rules, according to which, when a Biſhop found himſelf oppreſſed by unjuſt Judgment, he might have recourſe to *Rome*; that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have power to appoint a review of the Proceſs, and for that reaſon ſend Deputies on his part which ſhould cauſe a Synod of the Province to aſſemble and re-judg the matter a ſecond time, that in expectation of this ſecond Judgment, the Affairs ſhould remain in ſuſpence, and the place of the depoſed Biſhop ſhould not be filled. Behold exactly the fatal Point of the firſt conception of this tyrannical Power, which hath ſince ſwallowed up the Church. The truth is, that the Council of *Sardis* was made up of Weſtern Biſhops, which had no power to make Laws for the Eaſtern Church: It is alſo true, that the Churches of the Eaſt have always ſcoffed at the Canons of *Sardis*, and never would receive them: It is alſo true, that in the Weſt it ſelf,

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theſe Canons were not received but very lately, and a long time after. But 'tis alſo true, that ſince that time the Biſhops of *Rome* have never ceaſed to make valid, and even to extend theſe Canons very far beyond their intention. They have been willing to perſwade, Firſt, That they have right to receive Appeals, whereas the Council of *Sardis* grants them nothing but the right of appointing a review, which is very much different from it. Secondly, And above all, they would make us believe that they have this Power by Divine Right, and from the Apoſtles, whereas they have it not, but by the Canons of this Council of *Sardis*. In the Year 383, that is to ſay, about Sixty Years after the Council of *Nice*, and Thirty ſix after that of *Sardis*, was held the firſt Council of *Conſtantinople*, which is reckoned for the ſecond of thoſe which are called General, altho it were made up of an Hundred and fifty Fathers, and no more, and tho there were none at all of all the Weſt. This Council enlarges and confirms the Hierarchy. But it did not yet eſtabliſh the Patriarchs, *i. e.* the four Seats which pretend to have Dominion over all the Churches of the World: On the contrary, in the ſecond Canon it ordains, 1. That the *Biſhops of one Dioceſs*, *i. e.* of one *Province*, for then a Dioceſs did not ſignifie the particular Church of one Biſhop, 'twas a Collection of many Biſhops under one Exarch. It appoints, ſay I, *That the Biſhops of one Province ſhould not intermeddle in the Affairs of another*; and this without excepting the Biſhop of *Rome*. 2. It appoints, *That the Biſhop of* Alexandria *adminiſter only the Affairs of* Egypt. 3. *That the Biſhops of the Eaſt*, i. e. *of* Syria, *govern their Churches, preſerving to the Biſhop of* Antioch *the Preheminence that had been given him by the Council of* Nice. 4. *That the Biſhops of* Aſia, whereof *Epheſus* was the Head, *govern the Dioceſs of* Aſia, without being ſubject to *Antioch*, *Conſtantinople*, or *Rome*. 5. *That the Churches of* Thrace *be governed by the Biſhops and Synods of the Province*, without any other Superior.

perior. 6. *That the Churches amongſt the barbarous Nations govern themſelves according to the cuſtom of their Fathers*, without Patriarchs and without Pope. There is no footſtep of any Papal Authority, nor even of any Patriarchal and Univerſal. In the following Canon we read theſe words, *That the Biſhop of the City of* Conſtantinople *hath the Priviledges of Honor after the Biſhop of* Rome, *becauſe it is new* Rome. A Canon which gives to the Biſhop of *Rome* nothing but Priviledges of Honor and Preſidence, and grants them to be enjoyed by *New Rome* in the ſecond Place: For this reaſon the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* would no longer ſit below the Biſhops of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, becauſe the City of their Seat was the Imperial City. This makes it appear, that the Biſhops had no Preheminence one before another, but by reaſon of the Cities where they had their Seats, and not by any divine Right. The Caſe is the ſame with the Biſhop of *Rome:* That Biſhop gained nothing by all this, as is evident; nevertheleſs, the truth is, he always grew higher, according to the meaſure that the Hierarchy advanced. For the Exarchs aſſumed unjuſt Rights over thoſe which were merely Biſhops. The Biſhops of the Four firſt Seats, *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, raiſed themſelves by little and little above the Exarchs, and at laſt ſubjected and ſwallowed them up. Particularly he of *Conſtantinople*, whoſe Ambition was not inferior to that of the Biſhop of *Rome*, made himſelf Judg of the Exarchates of *Pontus* and *Aſia*, and that of the *Barbarian* Churches, with that of *Thrace*, which he had already. 'Twas in the Fourth Oecumenical Council held at *Calcedon* in the Year 451. where it was ordained, that * *The Church of* Conſtantinople *ſhould enjoy the ſame Priviledges and Honours in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, ſeeing the City of* Conſtantinople *in Temporal Matters, did enjoy the ſame Priviledges and Honors with ancient* Rome. But if *Conſtantinople* did then exalt it ſelf, *Rome* did not do it leſs in proportion. Already the

* *Can.* 28.

Biſhops

Biſhops of *Rome* began to Lord it over all the Weſt. *Leo* I. was placed in that Seat, a Man who had great Parts, but of great Pride, who played the Maſter in the Church: He declared that a Man is not of the Church, when he does not obey it; he proceeded ſo far as to ſay, *That Jeſus Chriſt intended that all his Gifts ſhould run down from the Chair of S.* Peter, *as from the Head, on all the Body of the Church, and that he which dared to ſeparate himſelf from the Chair of S.* Peter, *ought to underſtand, that he is excluded from the divine Myſteries*, i. e. *from the Church.* This was the *Leo* that obtained a Law from the Emperor *Valentinian*, by which he was eſtabliſhed Sovereign Judg of all other Biſhops; for which reaſon we take this Epiſcopacy of *Leo* for the firſt Point of the birth of the Antichriſtian Empire.

This is enough for my end, which is not to give you a Hiſtory of the Hierarchy, and after that of the Papal Tyranny in all their Progreſſions, but only an Abridgment of the Hiſtory of their birth in the Fourth and Fifth Ages. That which I have to obſerve for the concluſion of this Article, whereunto you ought to give good attention, is, that the brief Hiſtory that I have given you, is perfectly agreeable to the Spirit of the *Gallican* Church at this day. She maintains 1. That the Church of *Rome* is no more but a particular Church as others are. 2. That S. *Peter* had nothing but a Primacy of Order and Preſidence above the Apoſtles. 3. That S. *Peter* could give (to his Succeſſors) over other Biſhops, no more, but that Primacy which he had over the Apoſtles. 4. That the Biſhop of *Rome* originally and by divine Right, had no power over the Univerſal Church. 5. That he did not receive Appeals in the firſt Ages of the Church. 6. That he had no Right to aſſemble General Councils. 7. That he could take cognizance of the Affairs of no other Province but his own, no not by Appeal. 8. That he had no Right to take knowledge of Matters of Faith, to make De-

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ciſions therein, which ſhould oblige the whole Church. 9. That before the Council of *Nice* and after, he had no inſpection over other Churches, but thoſe which were in the Neighborhood of *Rome*. 10. That he could not excommunicate other Biſhops, any otherwiſe than the other Biſhops could excommunicate him. 11. That a Man might ſeparate himſelf from the Biſhop of *Rome* without being a Schiſmatick, and out of the Church. 12. That the Pope had no Right over other Biſhops. 13. That the Council of *Sardis* is the Fountain of that Right of receiving Appeals, which the Pope claims. 14. That the Rights which the Pope hath at this day, excepting his Primacy, are by human Law; and becauſe he hath aſſumed them to himſelf, or becauſe they have been conceded to him. 15. To which they add, he is not Infallible, nor ſuperior to Councils, nor Maſter of the Temporalities of Kings: Behold the Foundation upon which we at this day exhort you, to make to your ſelves no longer a frightful Phantome of the Authority of the Pope. Surely the *Gallican* Church in all this takes great ſteps in your favour, and you are obliged unto them for it. But yet there remains one, without which all the reſt are abſolutely nothing, and that is to break with the Pope. We are preparing a Work, in which we pretend to make it plain to theſe Gentlemen, that they cannot diſpenſe with themſelves from finiſhing that which they have begun, and that in the Eſtate in which their Divinity concerning it is at this day, they ought to conſider the Pope as the greateſt and the moſt hateful Uſurper.

A Point of Controverſie. A Continuation of the matter of Schiſm. Although the Corruption of the Roman *Church were not extreme, yet it would not be lawful for us to return thither. Objections of the new Converts about it.*

MY Brethren, in the preceding Letter we have made it appear, that although we had been in the wrong in our Separation, and that the Church of *Rome* had not been corrupt, you would not wholly hazard your Salvation by continuing out of it. I am at preſent to make it appear that the Church of *Rome* being corrupt, with far greater reaſon you need fear nothing by not returning thither again. But for the greater illuſtration of this matter, let us ſuppoſe two ſorts of corruption, the one in ſome ſort tolerable, and the other wholly intolerable. Let us argue upon the firſt, and ſuppoſe that Perſons ſeparate themſelves from a Church which hath Errors in Doctrine, which nevertheleſs retains the Fundamentals in their Integrity, which hath Superſtitions, and thoſe very great, in its Worſhip, but which is not formally Idolatrous. Thoſe which ſeparate from ſuch a Church had done better if they had made no Separation. They ought to have attempted all ſorts of methods to have reformed their Church. Thoſe Remedies not ſucceeding but exaſperating the evil, they ought to exerciſe Patience, and to expect a more favourable time for Reformation. But ſuppoſing that whilſt theſe men employ methods of Softneſs, matters inſenſibly grow warm, and fierce by the Contentions of Men, a thing which happens almoſt always, and neceſſarily; ſuppoſing, ſay I, that the fierceneſs and heat of the one and the other Party thruſt on things to an entire Rupture and Schiſm, do you believe that the Party which ſeparates it ſelf from the main Body, and embraces a Religion more pure than that which it left, is obliged to return to the corrupt Party from which it is ſeparated?

Not

Not at all. It may, and ought to ſay, If things had proceeded otherways, 'tis true, we could have born for a while thoſe Corruptions which are in ſome ſort tolerable; but things, by the Providence of God, happening thus, we will ſtay where we are, and keep our ſelves in that Purity which we have choſen, and not return to the corruption which we have forſaken. I do maintain that this ſeparated Church had reaſon, and were not obliged to return. It were not obliged to return for Salvation for having carried Chriſtianity with it, yea having purged it, it would be ſure that a man might be ſaved in its Communion. It will not be obliged for Edification, for 'tis not for Edification, that being in a pure Church we ſhould joyn our ſelves to another Church which we believe impure, and is really ſo. I go farther, and maintain, That ſuch a ſeparate Church were obliged not to return to its corrupt ſtock. For when God hath ſeparated us from corruption, although this corruption be not extreme, we are obliged to keep far from it. 'Tis true that Preſervation of Peace is worth much; but 'tis a good thing which muſt not be purchaſed at the price of Truth. Schiſm which is making, and in action makes a great noiſe, and gives great ſcandal: for which reaſon I have ſaid, that when the corruption of a Church is in ſome ſort tolerable, it were better to ſuffer it than to make a violent Separation: but the continuation of a Separation is not of the ſame ſcandal; Cuſtom reconciles us to every thing: and the ſcandal of ſuch a continuation is not ſo great that we ſhould ſacrifice important Truths for the ſake thereof.

Let us at preſent apply theſe Reflections to the Subject that we are debating, and do the Church of *Rome* that favour, to ſuppoſe, for one moment, as true that which is very falſe, *viz.* that her corruption is in ſome ſort tolerable; that ſhe hath Errors, but doth not ruine Fundamentals; that ſhe is Superſtitious, but not Idolatrous.

Let

Let us ſuppoſe alſo, that for this reaſon our Fathers did not do ill in continuing for ſome time in the *Roman* Church, and exerciſing Patience therein. But let us conſider at the ſame time, that things did not take this courſe there; that the Providence of God did otherwiſe diſpoſe thereof. Our Fathers did their duty in demanding a Reformation: they were obliged thereunto, altho the corruption were in that degree where we ſuppoſe it, *i. e.* tolerable. But whilſt the one demanded Reformation with Zeal, and the other refuſed it with Paſſion, a Separation is made. There came Anathema's from *Rome*, and Thunders from the Temporal Powers, with Fires and Gibbets, *&c.* which took from us the liberty of remaining there. It ſignifies nothing who had right or wrong in the manner of Separation: however it were, behold it done. Now I maintain, my Brethren, the thing being done, neither Edification, Conſcience, Honour, nor your Salvation, can ſuffer you to re-enter into the *Roman* Church, although you ſhould ſuppoſe that her corruption is not extreme, but in ſome ſort tolerable. Firſt of all, your Edification will not permit it. You ſuppoſe that the Worſhip of Images, the Invocation of Saints, the Adoration of the Euchariſt, *&c.* are at leaſt great Superſtitions; how doth the Edification of the Church permit you to partake in all theſe things? The Edification of the Church obliges you to do all that you can to purge it from theſe Superſtitions; and your returning to a Union with the *Roman* Church, is a proper means to confirm all Men in them. Conſcience will not permit it neither; for being convinced that they are Superſtitions, although you believe them in ſome ſort tolerable, you ought to have no more part in them. 'Tis a kind of Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to ſin againſt Conſcience, and the Illuminations which God gives to you; and that which would be a ſmall fault in a ſtate of Ignorance and Error, becomes a great crime,

crime, when 'tis committed againſt knowledge: ſo although the Invocation of Saints were but a little fault in an ignorant and a prejudiced Papiſt, it is certain, that in you 'tis a heinous crime, becauſe you know the evil thereof. Don't ſay that you do not invocate Saints, for you do invocate them in the publick Service, wherein you do partake, and that is enough. I add, that neither will Honour permit this re-union with the *Roman* Church, even on ſuppoſition that her corruption is not extreme; for 'tis a ſhameful cowardize, and unworthy of an honeſt man, to betray his own Sentiments, and to give to a Church which he believes impure, that homage which is due only to a Church that is clean and undefiled. To conclude, I ſay, that your Salvation will not permit you to put a period to your Separation from the *Roman* Church, even ſuppoſing that her corruption is in ſome ſort tolerable: for that corruption which might not deſtroy your Soul when you were there, having been educated, brought up, and inſtructed therein from your Infancy, becomes mortal when you receive it, not having been born, brought up, nor inſtructed therein. The difference is clear, and the reaſon thereof is evident. It is certain that there is a Superſtition, ungrateful to God, which he tolerates in an ignorant Perſon, but he will not ſuffer nor endure it in a Man of Knowledge and Underſtanding; for a Perſon which practiſes a conſiderable Superſtition againſt his Conſcience, makes appear therein an Abyſs of Perverſeneſs, contempt of God, his Laws, and Truth, and ſuch a love of the World, and the intereſts of the Fleſh, which put him abſolutely out of the ſtate of Salvation. Behold already ſomething advanced, to deliver you from thoſe vain horrors which they would thruſt upon you for your

Separation, under the name of Schiſm: for, 1. Although the Schiſm or Separation had been raſh, you would have no reaſon to be afraid of your Salvation. 2. Although the corruption of the *Roman* Church had been in ſome ſort tolerable, and although there had been ſomething of Precipitation in the Separation, nevertheleſs you would have no Obligation to return to the *Roman* Church, but you would be obliged to the contrary.

And here we ſhall find an occaſion to anſwer to the Fallacy which the new Converts (as they call them) put upon themſelves, and which we have mentioned in our Tenth Paſtoral Letter, and which is one of the moſt effectual means by which they lay themſelves to ſleep in that unhappy ſtate where they are. There is in it a Queſtion of Right, and another of Fact. The matter of Fact is to know whether indeed the *Roman* Church be corrupted to that degree that we report it. The Queſtion of Right is, Whether ſuppoſing the *Roman* Church very corrupt, we may ſeparate our ſelves from it, and perſevere in that Separation to this day. We will firſt handle the Queſtion of Right, becauſe 'tis thereby that they enchant you, and thereby that the moſt part of you do quiet and calm your ſelves, 'tis thereby, ſay I, that they do enchant you; for your Converters following the Principles of the Author of the *Legitimate Prejudices* againſt the *Calviniſts*, and Mr. *Ferrand*'s Treatiſe concerning the Church, tell you, * *That although the Church of* Rome *were Idolatrous and Heretical, the* Calviniſts *had no right to ſeparate themſelves from it, and to ſet up other Churches, and another Miniſtry.* 'Tis alſo thereby that thoſe which would be at reſt in the *Roman* Church do lull themſelves aſleep: for this Propoſition, that

* *Book of Prejudices*, p. 147, 148, &c.

that *though the* Roman *Church were Heretical and Idolatrous you ought not to ſeparate from it*, in the Writings of your Converters Mr. *Nicholas* and Mr. *Ferrand*, is nothing but a falſe Suppoſition, to make you ſee the more clearly the neceſſity of Adherence to the Church of *Rome*, and the horror of Schiſm. And if they found themſelves preſſed too hard on this ſpot of ground, they might be able always to retrench themſelves behind, and ſay, *Now it is not true that the Church of* Rome *is Heretical and Idolatrous.* But at this day one part of theſe new Converts, from a falſe Suppoſition draw a very ſolid Concluſion. They receive the Suppoſition as true, That the Church of *Rome* is very corrupt; and maintain this Theſis, That nevertheleſs they ought not to ſeparate from it; and that Men may or ought to return to it. We have heard the Reaſonings of one of theſe Men in our Tenth Letter; we muſt hear it once more; for he ſays all that theſe Men think. Speaking of the Queſtions which perplex the New Converts, *Firſt*, ſays he, *on the poſitive Separation which our Fathers made, we ſay, that we ought to ſuffer many things rather than ſeparate from the Unity of the Church; that the Abuſes introduced by the Governors thereof may not be imputed to the Faithful; that all Scripture which makes mention of Hereſies doth not command Separation for the ſake of them; on the contrary, it commands us to bear them. It ſays, that we may build upon the Foundation, which is Chriſt, Wood, Hay, and Stubble; that Jeſus Chriſt only will make Separation the one from the other; that the good Grain and the Chaff will be ſeparated at the laſt day; but that they muſt grow together till then.* After he adds ſome Reflections on a Conjecture of the Author of the Accompliſhment of Propheſies, which 'tis not neceſſary to report here, becauſe they will have their place

elſewhere. And he concludes this Point with theſe Words, *And although the Pope ſhould be Antichriſt, that would not infallibly hinder Chriſtians from being ſaved in the* Roman *Church.* The Letter contains another Article on the Queſtion, *Whether the* Roman *Church be Idolatrous in worſhiping the Euchariſt, or Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt.* This alſo ſhall have its place elſewhere. Afterwards he adds, *At laſt they conclude two things; the firſt, That all the Fundamental Truths of Chriſtianity being confeſſed by the* Roman *Church, we are obliged to continue united with it, without making a poſitive Separation, which is againſt all the duties of Charity, and which inſtead of bringing back thoſe which err, produces nothing but an eternal Diſtance and Animoſity. In the ſecond place, they do maintain, That we do not neceſſarily partake in the Errors of a Communion in which we are; the common Confeſſion of Faith ought to be eſteemed as an agreement to live under the ſame Miniſtry: but we are not therefore reſponſible for all the Abuſes which may be or can be introduced into the Miniſtry. Provided we adore the ſame God, and profeſs the ſame Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, the reſt cannot be imputed to ſingle Perſons, above all, when there is a neceſſity of joyning our ſelves to this firſt Chriſtian Society, and we cannot find any publick Worſhip more pure and more edifying. The Examples of our Fathers before the Reformation prove clearly, That we may ſecure our Salvation in the* Roman *Communion even in adhering to the publick Worſhip. Whatever Men ſay, it is inconceivable that Men born and brought up in a Religion, who never heard ſpeak of any other Doctrine, and who lived and died without proteſting againſt the Opinion of their Church, ſhould not partake in the Worſhip thereof.* Behold an exact account of all the Illuſions which theſe new re-united Perſons put upon them-

themſelves, and an account which does honour enough to the Spirit and Wit of him that made it. Would to God he would take as exact an account of his own Heart. Our Sheet being full, you ſhall have no Anſwer to theſe Juggles till the following Letters.

March 15. 1687.

The Fifteenth PASTORAL LETTER.

AN

Article of Antiquity. The Birth of the religious Worſhip of Creatures in the Fourth and Fifth Ages. The proofs of the Novelty of this Worſhip. An Article. An Anſwer to the Reaſons of the new Converts on the Subject of Schiſm and Separation.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

SInce we entred into the Fourth Age, we found there three great Innovations, Monnachiſm, General Councils, and the Hierarchy. The fourth important Change, which altered the form of the Church happening in the Fourth and Fifth Ages, is the Worſhip of Creatures, the Adoration of Relicks, and the Invocations of Saints. If there be any thing certain in the World, it is, that this

this Worſhip was wholly unknown in the preceding Ages; and no man can give attention to thoſe few Proofs that heretofore we have made thereof, without being convinced of it: 'tis certain that we have ſeen the Occaſions, and if I may ſo ſay, the Bloſſoms thereof, in that exceſſive reſpect which they had for the Perſons of their Confeſſors, in the regards which they had for their Interceſſions, and in the care that they took to collect their Bones, and to bury their Bodies honourably: and this is it which gave occaſion to the Pagans of accuſing the Chriſtians for worſhiping their Martyrs; as we have ſeen that the Jews of *Smyrna* did accuſe the Chriſtians thereof on the occaſion of the Body of *Polycarpus*, which they hindred from being given unto them. This is that which cauſed the Pagans, under the Perſecution of *Dioclefian*, to dig up the Bodies of thoſe two Martyrs *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius*, and throw them into the Sea, *For fear*, ſaith Euſebius, * *that if they continued in their Tombs they ſhould be adored and taken for Gods, according to the Opinion they had concerning us.* We have ſeen how the Chriſtians of *Smyrna*, and *Euſebius* who tranſcribes their Epiſtle, did refute this calumny. Moreover, *Euſebius* ſaith in this laſt Paſſage, *According to the Opinion that they have concerning us.* This makes it appear, that the Opinion was falſe. They had therefore in the beginning of the Fourth Age a very great reſpect for the Tombs of *Martyrs*; but 'twas a thing unheard of, to open them, take out their Bones, and put them in Cheſts and Boxes, to the end that they might be ſcattered over all the World; yea long before in the fourth Age, St. *Anthony* being about to dye, declared that it was his Will that his Body ſhould be buried, and not kept upon a Bed, after the manner of the *Egypti-*

* Lib. 8. Hiſt. Eccl. cap. 6.

ans, *Becauſe*, ſays he, *'tis an affront, and a Violation of the Laws, not to bury the Bodies of the Dead, how holy ſoever they might be.* Theſe were the laſt Words of dying Truth; for afterwards Men began to ſearch all Places, and to diſinterr the Bodies of Saints. The deceit of Prieſts, the Innocence of the People, and the malice of the Devil, advanced this unhappy Superſtition. Perſons ran about in the ſearch of Relicks, nor would they build any Temple or Church without them; they feigned Viſions and devious Dreams, which revealed unto them where the Bodies of Saints were laid, and they took the pretended Bodies of Apoſtles and Martyrs from their Tombs, three hundred and four hundred Years after their Death. As it was impoſſible that this fooliſh Superſtition ſhould not ſoon degenerate into Idolatry, ſo it did not fail to come to paſs: for theſe Relicks drawn from their Tombs wrought Miracles, theſe Miracles were aſcribed to the Saints whoſe Relicks they were: Men could not fail of invoking thoſe Saints, which they believed did work Miracles in favour of thoſe who did venerate and honour their Relicks. We ſee no ſenſible marks of the Invocation of Saints, till after the year of our Lord 360, and the moſt ancient Authors that ſpeak thereof are St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Baſil*; not that we are not perſuaded, that the People (the Authors of this Superſtition) did not practiſe it a long time before, as in the time of St. *Auſtin*, we obſerve the Worſhip of Images to have taken its birth by the Superſtition of ſome ignorant People; notwithſtanding the generality of the People and Paſtors did not ſuffer themſelves to be carried away to this unhappy Idolatry, till a long time after. In like manner, it may not be doubted, but that from the beginning of the Fourth Age, there were ſome ignorant Perſons among the People,

ple, who ran into excesſ in the reſpect which they gave to the Aſhes of the Martyrs. But the practice did not become univerſal till the Fifth Age, and the Doctors and Teachers began not to be born down thereby, till about the end of the Fourth. And yet there was but little of it, for in all the former part of the Fourth Age, we ſee very few Monuments or Footſteps thereof in the Authors of thoſe times; but in the Fifth Age this Torrent ran with a prodigious ſwiftneſs, in ſuch a manner, that in leſs than Fifty Years this Superſtition became as it were the reigning Religion of the People. Behold then a matter of Fact, which we diſpute not with the Papiſts, 'tis, that about the end of the Fourth Age, ſome Examples of the Invocation of Saints are ſeen, and a great many more in the Fifth; ſo that it is to no purpoſe that they quote to us Paſſages from S. *Auſtin*, S. *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, and *Theodoret*, to prove the Invocation of Saints in that Age; for 'tis a Point we do not diſpute with them. But we do maintain theſe Two things, 1. That the Worſhip of Saints took its original from that of Relicks, and that Men only invoked the Martyrs whoſe Relicks they had. 2. That this Worſhip was new in that Age, and that it was unknown in the Ages preceding: The firſt Point will ſerve in what follows for a proof of the ſecond, which is the important Point we have to prove, *viz.* The novelty of this Worſhip in the Fourth and Fifth Ages.

1. We prove the novelty of this Worſhip by the ſilence of Chriſtian Authors during the ſpace of three Hundred or four Hundred Years. 'Tis a thing impoſſible that ſo many Writers having ſo much occaſion to ſpeak of the Martyrs and Saints, and having ſaid ſo much concerning them, did never find it convenient to ſpeak one word concerning the Worſhip and Honour that was to be given them after

ter their death. The leſſer Doctors among the Papiſts, ſuch is that from whom Mr. *Peliſſon* produces a Latin Fragment, treat this negative Argument with Contempt; but no Man of good Senſe will treat it ſo, and no wiſe Man will ever perſwade himſelf, that for the ſpace of three Hundred and ſixty Years *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Ireneus*, *Cyprian*, *Euſebius*, *Athanaſius*, *Hillary*, and ſo many others, ſhould not ſpeak one word of this religious Worſhip of Creatures, if it had been then in uſe. Beſides this negative Proof, we make uſe of all thoſe poſitive Proofs which we have proved from the Second and Third Age, by which it appears, that the Primitive Chriſtians invoked none but God, and that they did not invoke even Angels. 'Tis that which *Origen* hath plainly told us, and 'tis that which *Ireneus* had ſaid before him *: *That the Church doth nothing by the Invocation of Angels, nor by any other wicked Curioſity, but by Addreſſing purely, plainly, and openly her Prayers to the Lord the maker of all things.*

* *Iren.* lib. 2. cap. 58.

Among theſe poſitive Proofs, we have ſeen ſome of them which formally tell us, that the Church neither worſhips, invokes, nor adores Martyrs, ſuch is the Epiſtle of the Chriſtians of *Smyrna* about the Martyrdom of *Polycarpus*. Is it not therefore an amazing boldneſs in your Converters to mantain to you, that there was no change in the Doctrine and Practice of the Church thereon in the Fourth Age? 'Tis clear that Men did not invoke Saints in the Third Age; it is clear that they began to do it about the end of the Fourth; it is therefore clear, that a Change did happen. But they will ſay, where is the Author of this Change? Where is the Innovator? This Queſtion is abſurd. 'Twas not one ſingle Perſon that introduced this alteration in Worſhip,

ſhip, 'twas the ſuperſtitious People, the great reſpect which the People ſaw Men had for the Tombs of Martyrs carried ſome Dotards to advance, that the Souls of Martyrs were about their Tombs. And 'tis apparently according to the conjecture of *Albeſpinus* that which the Thirty fourth Canon of the Council of *Eliberis* hath reſpect unto *, *That we ought not to light up Torches in the day time in the Coemetaries, leſt we diſturb the Spirits of the Saints.* They imagined that theſe Spirits fluttering about their Tombs, might ſuffer inconvenience by the Smoak of Torches and Candles. Is not this a pleaſant Imagination? S. *Jerome* writing againſt *Vigilantius* doth alſo ſay, *That the Souls of Martyrs love their Aſhes, hover about them, and are always preſent with them.* We know that the Vulgar are naturally inclined to Superſtition, and 'tis eaſie to conceive how the People inſtructed in ſuch an Opinion ſhould conceive an extraordinary reſpect for thoſe places, where were the Bodies and Souls of Martyrs: And conceiving that theſe Souls which converſed about their Tombs, had alſo the liberty of flying back to Heaven, when they thought good; it was very eaſie for ignorant People to fall into a perſwaſion that it was very good to recommend themſelves to their care and interceſſion: There was therefore no need of an Innovator or a new Preacher, nothing more was needful, but to let the People do as they pleaſed. Mark this well, all Hereſies have been introduced by Doctors, for there is need of Wit and Knowledg to innovate in Opinions; but all Superſtitions have been introduced by the People: For nothing more is needful to become ſuperſtitious, than Sottiſhneſs, Simplicity, and Ignorance; therefore the Authors of Innovation in Doctrine may be obſerved, for they are

* *Albaſp. Annot. in Concil. Eliberitan.*

are ordinarily ſingle Perſons; but we cannot obſerve the firſt Innovators in matter of Superſtition, becauſe they are the People. But it will be ſaid, why did not the Doctors oppoſe themſelves to the Superſtition of the People? Firſt, it is not true, that the Doctors did not oppoſe themſelves to Superſtitions at their birth. S. *Auſtin*, and S. *Jerome* himſelf blamed the Superſtitions which began to take place in their Age, and which afterwards overcame all Contradiction. But nevertheleſs 'tis true, that they did not oppoſe them as they ought to have done, yea, that they ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with them as others did, becauſe that theſe Superſtitions were eſtabliſhed by little and little, and that the beginnings which the Doctors did eaſily ſuffer (becauſe 'twas but a ſmall matter) gave place to the toleration of that which was introduced afterwards, which nevertheleſs was altogether intolerable. To conclude, 'tis of little importance to us, how and why the Doctors ſuffered themſelves to be carried into Errors and popular Superſtitions. The matter of Fact is certain, and ought to be indiſputable, by the proof that we have made thereof, and by that which we ſhall make thereof in what follows.

Our Second Proof of the novelty of this Worſhip in the Fifth Age is, that then Men did not invoke all the Saints, as 'tis done at this day; yea, they did not invoke thoſe Saints which are moſt eminent, ſuch were the Apoſtles, excepting S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, whoſe Relicks were believed to be at *Rome*, others had no Churches, Temples, Memorials, nor Perſons devoted to them. S. *Baſil* the moſt ancient of all thoſe which ſpeak of the Invocation of Saints, celebrates the Memory only of the Forty Martyrs, that of *Julitta*, and the Martyr *Mamas*: In his Homily upon *Julitta* the Martyr, there is nothing that teaches

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us they did invoke her: In the Homily upon the Forty Martyrs, he ſays indeed, that Perſons fled to them for refuge, and that *the pious Wife prayed there for her Children, that ſhe there deſired the return of her abſent Husband, and his Health when he was ſick*: Firſt it appears, that this was the Devotion of Women, who are inclined to Superſtition. Secondly, 'tis not very clear, that theſe Prayers were addreſſed to Martyrs; for in the beginning, theſe Prayers are addreſſed to the God of Martyrs, with reſpect to the Merits and Sufferings of Martyrs, to whom God would do Honour by Miracles. 'Tis true, that in the Homily on the Martyr *Mamas*, the Invocation of the Saint appears more expreſs. But obſerve, that this *Julitta*, this *Mamas*, and theſe Forty Martyrs were obſcure Saints, and of little Reputation in compariſon of the Apoſtles, concerning the Invocation of whom, S. *Baſil* ſpeaks not one word. This is a ſtrange thing, and that whereof they know not how to give us a reaſon. Make the ſame obſervation upon the Paſſages of S. *Auſtin*, which they quote unto you for the Invocation of Saints: He there ſpeaks of the Invocation of S. *Protais*, and of S. *Garvais*; Good God! what Saints are theſe in compariſon of S. *Matthew*, and S. *John*. 'Tis true, that this Father ſpeaks of the Invocation of S. *Stephen* the firſt Martyr. But however eminent this great Saint was, he was but a Deacon, and we ought not to make him equal with the Apoſtles. Nevertheleſs there appears no Invocation of the Apoſtles in the Writings of S. *Auſtin*. I call not this a ſimple Proof, 'tis a Demonſtration of the Novelty of this ſuperſtitious Worſhip. If the Worſhip and Invocation of Saints were ancient, if they were from the time of the Apoſtles, why is it we ſee ſo few Saints called upon in the Fourth Age? Why did they not call upon S. *Peter*, S. *Paul*, and all the

the Apoſtles? Is it not clear from thence, that neither the Apoſtles, nor the Apoſtolick Church did inſtitute this Worſhip? Why did they forget all the Saints of the Old Teſtament, and almoſt all thoſe of the firſt and ſecond Ages of the Church? 'tis evident, that it was Mens Superſtition for Relicks which gave birth to this Superſtitious Invocation, and that then they invoked only thoſe whoſe Relicks they believed they had, as I ſhall make appear in what follows.

Behold a third demonſtrative Proof of the Novelty of this religious Invocation of Saints. 'Tis that in the ſame Age in which they invoked Saints, they formally condemned the Invocation of Angels. *Theodoret* is aſſuredly one of thoſe Authors of the fifth Age, where we ſee the moſt expreſs Invocation of Saints †: nevertheleſs the ſame Author condemns the Invocation of Angels in a manner ſo expreſs, that one knows not what to anſwer to it. 'Tis in his Commentary on thoſe Words of the ſecond Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, *Let no man perſuade you through humility to the Worſhip of Angels: Thoſe which were for the Law*, ſays *Theodoret*, *perſuaded Men alſo to the Worſhip of Angels, ſaying that the Law was given by Angels; and this Superſtition continued a long time in* Piſidia *and* Phrygia, *for which reaſon a Synod aſſembled at* Laodicea, *the Metropolis of* Phrygia, *made a Law to hinder the Invocation of Angels.* Behold the moſt ridiculous and fantaſtical Conceit that ever was. It is certain by the Scripture, and the conſent of all Chriſtians, that Angels are adminiſtring Spirits ſent forth for thoſe which ſhall inherit Salvation; they are in our Churches, they aſſiſt at our Aſſemblies, and by conſequence hear and underſtand us; moreover, they give an account to God of their conduct: they know what

† *Lib.* 8. *De curandis Græc. affect.*

what we do; they hear our Prayers; whereas according to the Opinion of the Doctors of the Fourth and Fifth Ages, it was very uncertain whether the dead Saints did hear the Prayers of the Living, and yet more uncertain whether God gave them any Commiſſion or Charge with reſpect to us; nevertheleſs they look'd upon it as an impious folly to adore Angels, but were willing it ſhould be accounted a reaſonable Worſhip to invoke a Saint. What a fantaſtical Imagination is this? And is it not clear that this ſavors of Superſtition in its birth, which hath as yet no Principles, and which guides it ſelf by the practice of the People, and eſtabliſhes it ſelf upon popular Errors? We have yet ſome invincible Proofs of the Novelty of this Worſhip, but we will reſerve them for the following Letter.

An Article of Controverſie. An Anſwer to the Reaſons of the New Converts on the Subject of Schiſm and Separation.

AT the end of the preceding Letter, we heard the Reaſons which the New Converts offer to themſelves, to abide peaceably in the Eſtate where Violence hath placed them. Behold exactly the Diſpoſition of theſe Gentlemens minds: they find ſome difficulty to reſolve to acknowledge that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*; or rather, they find it difficult to confeſs it; for at the bottom, we may believe they are convinced thereof. But this Point being excepted, they do confeſs that there are all ſorts of Corruption in the *Roman* Church; that the Real Preſence, and Tranſubſtantiation, are Errors; that the Sacrifice of the Maſs eſtabliſhed only upon this Tranſubſtantiation is therefore a falſe Sacrifice; that Adoration, which is a conſequence of the real Preſence (as they pretend) is ſuperſtitious; that Maſſes, without Communicants, are contrary to the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt; that the Privation of the Cup is criminal; that Purgatory is a dream; that Service for the Dead, Maſſes, Penances, and Indulgences, are Superſtitions; that the Invocation of Saints, the Worſhip of *Hyperdulia*, which is given to the Bleſſed Virgin, the Service of Images, Veneration for Relicks, are loathſome Additions made to Chriſtianity, and that they pollute and diſhonour it; that the Latin Tongue, to very ill purpoſe, hath been preſerved in the Publick Worſhip, to rob the People of that Edification which

which they might find by underſtanding what was ſaid, that the Government is tyrannical, that the Pope uſurps a Power which appertains not to him, and that it may be he is Antichriſt, that the Church of *Rome* is ſo far from being Infallible, that ſhe hath erred in a Hundred and a Hundred things. Behold, ſay I, exactly, the Idea which theſe Gentlemen form of Popery: Nevertheleſs, they prove by Reaſons which we have heard, that they may continue there. Now upon this ſuppoſition let us hear them ſpeak, and examin their Opinions one after another.

'Tis ſaid, *That we muſt ſuffer, and not ſeparate from the Unity of the Church.* My dear Brethren, who ſeek to deceive your ſelves, hear me: What is this Unity of the Church, according to your Principles, from which we muſt not ſeparate? Do you believe that this Unity of the Church is the Unity of the *Roman* Church? If it be ſo, according to you, there is no Church out of the *Roman* Communion; if there be no Church out of the *Roman* Communion, there is then none among the Chriſtians of the Eaſt which are out of the Communion of the Pope, and the Latin Church. If there be no Church out of the *Roman* Communion, there is no Salvation out of it; and if no Salvation, it follows that you damn all thoſe Men which are in thoſe Chriſtian Communions, ſome whereof are far leſs corrupt than the *Roman* Church. But that is not all; in the Church where you have lived hitherunto, and where your Fathers died, there hath been no Church; for what reaſon? Becauſe theſe Aſſemblies, according to you, were out of the *Unity of the Church.* Nevertheleſs, you do acknowledg, that the Aſſemblies of your Fathers had a Chriſtianity more pure, without Maſs,

Images, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, a barbarous Language in the Worſhip of God, and other Superſtitions, and that the *Roman* Church hath all theſe; ſo that you will put the Church, and Salvation in a Society where Chriſtianity is altogether corrupt, according to you, and you will take it from a Society where, in your own opinion, Chriſtianity is intirely pure. Are not theſe fooliſh Errors, and ſuch whereof you will be aſhamed, my Brethren, as ſoon as you ſhall duly conſider them? It comes from this, that you are willing to reconcile the Form of the Communion in which you are entered, with thoſe ſentiments of Truth which you have preſerved in your Hearts. They inculcate theſe Maxims to your Ears continually. Unity muſt not be broken, you muſt not go out of it. There is but one Church, you ought to keep in it, to ſeparate is to go out of the Unity. Theſe miſerable Juggles have ſome probability, whilſt we ſuppoſe as the *Roman* Church doth, that the Church is included in her Communion, that ſhe is Infallible, that out of her there is no Salvation: But this Language becomes a frightful Gibberiſh in the mouth of Men which are convinced as you are, 1. That the other Communions of Chriſtians which do not adhere to *Rome*, are nevertheleſs as much Chriſtians, or more, than ſhe. 2. That your Fathers doing ill in ſeparating, nevertheleſs did well in purging Chriſtianity, and that their Chriſtianity is intirely pure. 3. That the Communion of our Reformers was not dangerous, and that a Man might be ſaved therein, yea, much more eaſily than in that of the *Roman* Church, becauſe he would not have the trouble of making a Separation in his Mind of true Opinions from falſe ones. 4. That the *Roman* Commu-

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nion is corrupt. 5. That in ſeparating from it, a Man ſeparates from the Corruption without ſeparating from the Chriſtianity, ſeeing that he carries that which is Chriſtian along with him. Behold, ſay I, that which you think, and that which the exact account of your Illuſions ſpeak, being formed by one of your ſelves. Now ſee how this agrees with this Unity, and with ſeparation from that Unity whereof you ſpeak: For if the Church be out of the Communion of *Rome*, I may go out of that Communion without going out of the Church, and by conſequence without ſeparating my ſelf from the Unity; where the Church is, there is the Unity. If the *Roman* Church be corrupt, as you confeſs, by ſeparating from that which is corrupt in her, a Man does not ſeparate from the Unity, ſeeing that Unity is not in Corruption, it is in Chriſtianity. If a Man may be ſaved out of the *Roman* Communion, as you do fully believe, not concluding us damned, we are not out of the Unity; for whoever is out of the Unity, is out of a ſtate of Salvation, becauſe Salvation is not found, but in the Church, which is one, and which alone poſſeſſes Unity. In the Name of God, my Brethren, learn by this Example not to ſpeak without underſtanding what youſay, to pleaſe your Converters, and above all your own Self-Love.

But let us return and retake the ſame Opinion. *'Tis ſaid, that we muſt ſuffer without ſeparating from the Unity of the Church.* I intreat you, my Brethren, how far muſt this Toleration go? Set me the Bounds unto which my Toleration muſt proceed, that I may continue in this pretended Unity. Are you of the opinion of M. *Nicholas*, and of M. *Ferrand*, *That though the* Roman *Church were Heretical and Idolatrous,*

trous, yet we ought not to ſeparate from it by a poſitive Separation; all that we are obliged unto, is not to communicate in its Hereſies and Idolatries; I do very well perceive, that the inclinations of your own Hearts would carry you even thither; and indeed, that is needful to ſet you in full ſecurity. For whilſt you ſay, if the Church of *Rome* be not Idolatrous, although ſhe be very corrupt, we ought nevertheleſs to continue there; you will never have your Hearts at eaſe and liberty, and you will never be without Fears leſt the Invocation of Saints, Worſhip of Images, and the Euchariſt ſhould be Idolatry. The Heart finds it difficult to reſt upon an *it may be*; the *Roman* Church is not *it may be* Idolatrous; ſo that to procure that falſe Peace which you ſeek after, you muſt diſenthral your ſelves, and ſay with your Converters, *That though the* Roman *Church were Heretical and Idolatrous, we ought not to ſeparate from it.* My Brethren, I knock hard at the door of your Conſciences; awake you that ſleep, and behold the horror of this Propoſition. If it be true, we know not reaſonably how to give any bounds to this toleration for the Errors of the Church. If we ought to continue there, though ſhe become Idolatrous and Heretical, we muſt continue there if ſhe embrace the Hereſie of the *Manichees*, who believed two Gods and two Principles; if ſhe embrace the Error of the *Socinians*, who deſtroy the Trinity and Incarnation, who deny both the Reſurrection of the Body and Immortality of the Soul. We muſt continue there though ſhe embrace Mahametiſm, and adore the Sun and Moon, provided ſhe continue to worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, and bear the Name of Chriſtian. Are ye able to ſtand firm againſt theſe frightful Conſequences? Every Church which is not Infallible, but may err and be corrupt,

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may aſcend to the higheſt degree of Corruption: For who is it that ſhall ſtay it in the midſt of its deſcent from a Precipice, or hinder it from tumbling to the bottom? Tell me, do you believe that a Society which becomes indeed Heretical and Idolatrous, can continue at the ſame time the true Church, and the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt? Is there any thing more oppoſite to Chriſtianity than Idolatry? How will you reconcile this? It is true, that God who is rich in means and ways of bringing Men to Salvation, may ſave ſome Perſons in Idolatrous Communions: This is that which we ſhall conſider, and therein we ſhall follow the order of your Ratiocinations: But doth it follow from thence, that therefore we muſt tolerate Idolatry and Hereſie, without ſeparating from it? This is that which we ſhall ſee hereafter.

My Brethren, make a third Reflection upon this unhappy Principle; *We muſt ſuffer the Corruption of the Church, rather than ſeparate from its Unity.* And give me leave to tell you, that in the apprehenſions wherein you now are, there are the looſeſt Diſpoſitions of mind which can happen to Men of Honor, ſuch as you make profeſſion to be; for you are not of opinion, that the Corruption of the Church extends it ſelf only to Manners and Diſcipline; you confeſs that it extends to all things, you do not believe that her Errors and Superſtitions are light and ſmall, and how can your Conſcience be otherwiſe than dead and paſt all feeling, to have Churches full of Images, before which Men offer Prayers, Incenſe, Supplications, Adorations, and Homages to Creatures, to Saints and Sainteſſes; to have withdrawn the Cup, made a falſe Sacrifice, covered a hidden divine Service under a barbarous Language, to amuſe the Peo-

ple with Relicks, Bones, Indulgences, Stations, Jubilees, *&c.* How, ſay I, are you able not to perceive, that this is not an extreme Corruption? But what need have I to ſollicit your Conſcience thereon? Your mouths ſpeak, and your ſelves tell us; *though the Pope be Antichriſt*, we may not ſeparate from him: This is that which I call the looſeſt Opinion that can be imagined; to perceive that a Man is in a Communion ſo corrupt, that it may well be Antichriſtianity, and to ſay that we may not ſeparate our ſelves from it: Tell me, I pray you, is the ſtate of Corruption in which you find the *Roman* Church, is it, ſay I, the natural ſtate of the Church? Is it well in this condition? You will anſwer me, no: If your Anſwer be true and ſincere, is it not true, that 'tis my Duty to do all that I can to recover the Church from this ſtate of Corruption, becauſe it is a ſtate of Violence, and againſt Nature? Now how can we recover the Church from this Corruption, but by ſeparating our ſelves from it? You will ſay, we ought to continue in it, and remonſtrate againſt its Corruption. But you know well that this is impoſſible, you know that they burnt our Fathers, becauſe they made remonſtrance againſt it. By continuing and remonſtrating againſt Idolatry and Superſtition, ſhould we not be immediately ſeized by the Inquiſition, or by the Biſhops and ſecular Judges, where there are no Inquiſitors? Should we not be put in Priſon, hanged, and burnt? Therefore it is neceſſary that we go out, or remain there in ſilence. Now behold, what kind of looſneſs is this, to know that we are in a very corrupt Communion, and which is, it may be, Antichriſtianity, and to keep and continue there without ſaying any thing! If this ſtate of Corruption be violent to the Church, if it be contrary to

the nature of it, certainly the intention of God cannot be to leave her always in it; for the intention of God is, that when things are at a diſtance from their own natural ſtate, they ſhould return unto it as ſoon as may be. Now with what means can God ſerve himſelf for the Reformation of the Church? Certainly he ought to ſerve himſelf of Men; for it is not his ordinary method of proceeding, to ſend Angels to preach upon earth. Now how can theſe Men reform the Church, if they do not repreſent unto her her Corruption, and if they do not break with her in caſe ſhe do not reform? If ſeparation be not granted, Reformation will never happen: For a Church perſwaded that ſhe is pure, and even Infallible, takes no care to renounce thoſe Doctrines and Worſhips, for which ſhe produces to you a poſſeſſion of many Ages, and a Title of Infallibility. Tell me a little, I intreat you, my Brethren, what will you do to reform the *Roman* Church, by continuing in it? If you ſpeak freely, ſaying, that her Worſhip, Innovations, and Adorations of Creatures, are true Idolatries, they will ſend you the Dragoons, and peradventure hang you: If you hold your peace, will your ſecret Sighs and Groanings reform the Church? Will God ſend from Heaven a ſecret and immediate Inſpiration for Reformation, though no body ſpeak one word of it. And this in the favour of whom? Either the ancient Catholicks who are plunged in Superſtition, or in favour of many ancient illuminated Papiſts, and thoſe that are re-united to them, who, both one and the other, are looſe Diſſemblers which retain the Truth of God in unrighteouſneſs? You ought to underſtand at preſent, my Brethren, that we ſhall never attain the end of reforming the *Roman* Church, unleſs we have right to go out of it;

becauſe ſhe will never ſtir for Complaints and Counſels; experience has made it plain enough: And therefore the temper of your Soul ought to be ſuch as this, rather than move our ſelves, and trouble our repoſe, 'tis better that we ſuffer the Church to periſh, and be overwhelmed with Corruption. This, ſay I, is the moſt wicked ſentiment which can enter into the Mind of an honeſt Man, and much more of a Chriſtian.

But let us continue the examination of your Illuſions: *Abuſes introduced by Governours may not be imputed to private Chriſtians*, you tell us. This is it which we will refute in that which follows, at preſent we go on: *All the holy Scripture which makes mention of Hereſies, doth not command Separation.* How dare you ſay this? Do you not read that Paſſage ſo expreſs? *Go out of* Babylon *my People, for fear leſt by partaking in its Sins you partake in its Plagues*: This *Babylon* is a falſe Church, which ſays of her Church, *I am a Queen, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow*: I am the Church which cannot fail. It imports not at preſent where this Church is; but do you not ſee, that God commands thoſe that are there to go out of it? Wherefore doth S. *Paul* ſay to his Diſciples, *A man that is an heretick, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, reject.* How can a Perſon ſhun any one, and ſtand at a diſtance with him without Separation from him? Doth not S. *Paul* ſay to the *Corinthians*, *Put from among you that wicked perſon*; will you reſtrain theſe wicked Perſons to the vicious, and except the Hereticks? See how the ſame Apoſtle deſcribes thoſe Hereticks that denied the Reſurrection? he ſays *, *That as to the faith, they made ſhipwreck thereof, that their words eat*

* 2 Tim. 2.

eat like a gangreen, that they have proceeded even to impiety, and that they are veſſels of diſhonour. Theſe are therefore wicked Wretches, and by conſequence ought to be caſt out. Do you not remember, the ſame Apoſtle ſaith to the *Galathians*, *That if any one preach to you any other Doctrine beſides that which you have received, let him be to you Anathema.* Do you believe that it is allowed you to adhere to thoſe which you ought to have in execration, and to whom you ought to ſay *Anathema?*

The Scripture on the contrary exhorts us to a mutual ſupport of each other. And where is it that you find this? It exhorts you to ſupport the weak, but about what? About the diſtinction of Meats, about the uſe of ſome Ceremonies of little importance. Behold the things about which St. *Paul* commands that we bear with each other. * *Now as to him which is weak in the Faith receive him to you, but not to doubtful diſputations; one believes that he may eat all things, another that is weak eateth herbs.* But where do you find that we muſt tolerate Hereſies, which ruine the Worſhip of the true God, and oppreſs and ſink Chriſtianity under a heap of Superſtitions? But I will confound you with your own Weapons. If it be the Spirit of Chriſtianity, and of the true Church, to tolerate Abuſes and Corruptions, you are not in the true Church, for that Church will allow no Toleration; ſhe burns and condemns to Death. If we are obliged to ſuffer her in her Corruptions, at leaſt ſhe is obliged to bear with us in our Complaints and Admonitions. If we ought to bear with her when ſhe ſpeaks falſe, with much more reaſon ſhe ought to bear with us when we tell her the Truth.

* Rom. 14.

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She hath no Charity, ſhe is cruel, erroneous, and raging in her Error. See if you can have Communion with ſuch men.

The Scripture ſays that we may build upon the foundation, which is Chriſt, Wood, Hay, and Stubble. Do you underſtand, that this Wood, Hay, and Stubble, which we may ſafely build, are Idolatries, Superſtitious Doctrines, Depravations in Morality, monſtrous and enormous Opinions, ſuch as are found in the *Roman* Church? Is that it which you think? But to perſuade our ſelves into the belief of ſo great a Paradox, we muſt have either Authorities or Reaſons. For Reaſons, have you any which can perſuade you, that the Invocation of Saints, by which are given to the Bleſſed Virgin all the Titles, Attributes, Privileges, Powers and Homages which appertain to the Deity: That the Worſhip of Images, by which we proſtrate our ſelves before Wood and Stone againſt an expreſs Prohibition of the Law, by which we adore that which is but Bread: That the ſetting up a new, real, and true Sacrifice, unknown to Jeſus Chriſt and the Apoſtles: That the taking the half of one Sacrament, and the addition of five whole ones: That to cover a ſuperſtitious Worſhip, and bury it in a barbarous Language; do you believe, ſay I, that all this is called Wood, Hay, and Stubble? Doth not ſound Senſe tell you, that Wood, Hay, and Stubble are light and trifling things, but that they are not filthy and wicked, and by conſequence that it doth not repreſent any thing but light and trifling Doctrines, but ſuch as have nothing in them that is filthy or evil; ſuch as are beſides the Word of God, but not againſt it? There is no Man which does not perceive this; and he muſt be blinded by Intereſt not

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to ſee a thing ſo obvious and viſible. You have not therefore any reaſon to put the pernicious Doctrines of Popery amongſt Wood, and Hay, and Stubble: nor have you any Authority for it. I do not know any Text of Scripture which may make you ſuſpect, that God is not jealous of ſeeing you give that Worſhip to Creatures, which is due only to the Creator. He hates Idolatry, and defines it by giving his Honor to another, *As I live, ſaith the Lord, I will not give my glory to another.* Now are not Temples, Sacrifices, Prayers, Vows, Oaths, and Altars, the Honors due to God? and by conſequence, they not of the number of thoſe things of which he ſays, *I will not give my Glory to another?* Nevertheleſs in Popery they are given to the Saints, and above all, to the Bleſſed Virgin. You may fairly pluck out your eyes, you cannot hinder your ſelves from ſeeing it; and in what follows we ſhall have an opportunity to prove it.

Jeſus Chriſt alone, you add, *will make Separation of this Wood and this Gold; the good and the fair Grain ſhall be ſeparated at the laſt day, but we muſt let them grow together till then.* I fear, my Brethren, that if you go on to blind your ſelves, God will abandon you to your darkneſs. You are ſtrange Commentators on the Goſpel Text; you ought firſt to read the Interpretation which the Lord gives of the Parable, before you give your own: Behold it proceeding out of the Mouth of Jeſus Chriſt, *He which ſowed the good ſeed is the Son of Man, the field is the World; the good ſeed are the children of the Kingdom, the Tares are the children of the wicked one. The field is the World*, then 'tis not the Church; 'tis therefore in the World that we ought to tolerate Here-

Hereticks and Idolaters, and not in the Church. But beſides know two things, 1. That Parables are good Proofs when we don't abuſe them; but 'tis very eaſie to abuſe them, when Piety and Religion doth not guide us. I compare you to your Converters, who at this day preſs thoſe Words of the Parable of the Marriage Supper ſo hard, *Conſtrain them to come in.* Behold their Text, *Let them grow together till the Harveſt, and then I will ſeparate them*; behold yours. The one and the other is unhappily wreſted and turned to another ſenſe, becauſe Men will not enter into the Spirit of the Parable, which is the only thing eſſential, and to which we muſt give attention to make a good uſe of Similitudes. It is therefore neceſſary, in the ſecond place, that you learn the deſign and inward meaning of thoſe Words, *Let them grow together till the Harveſt*, &c. 'Tis to ſhew the Patience of God towards the Wicked, and not the Patience that we ought to have towards them. God repreſents himſelf as a Maſter which hath Right to deſtroy the World, and ruine both good and bad; becauſe that the Wicked are infinitely the greater number in the World than the Good. But he will not do it. He ſtays to diſplay his greateſt Judgments upon the World till the laſt day, when he will make a Separation of the Good from the Bad: therefore he has no deſign to teach us, that we muſt peaceably ſuffer Hereſies and Idolatries to grow together with the Truth: and I can prove it by a hundred Reaſons; but I will content my ſelf to ſhew you that theſe Words, *Let them grow together, &c.* cannot ſignifie, Let Hereſies grow together, ſuffer them, and live peaceably in a corrupt Church; ſince the intention of God, on the contrary, is, that with all our

Strength

Strength we pluck up the Tares out of the Field of the Lord; *That he hath appointed us to ſay Anathema to him who ſhall preach any other thing to us than what hath been preached in the Goſpel; that we ſhould avoid an Heretick, that we ſhould caſt the Wicked out from among us; that we ſhould go out from* Babylon, *and that we ſhould not drink of the Cup of her Enchantments.* If the end of the Parable, *Let them grow together till the Harveſt*, were that which you give to it, we ſhould have no right to drive from our Society neither the Vicious, nor the Troublers of the Church, nor any ſort of Criminals. A Magiſtrate might not hang a Murderer, nor burn a Sodomite. It might be always ſaid unto him, *Let them grow together till the Harveſt.* I may add to this, that by the Tares which grew up with the good Grain, we muſt underſtand Hypocrites and falſe Chriſtians. Now 'tis true that we muſt leave this kind of men, and give them up to the judgment of God; for he only perfectly knows them, and hath the only right to puniſh them: We will anſwer to the reſt of your difficulties in the following Letter.

The Uniformity of the Perſecution is the cauſe that we have leſs of Hiſtory to furniſh you withal. 'Tis always and every where the ſame. Perſons are impriſoned, others are ſent to the Gallies, Women are ſhut up in Cloyſters, Bodies are drawn on Hurdles, and thrown to the Dunghil: ſo that it will be always the ſame thing; there will be nothing but differing Names, which may increaſe the horror which you have for the Perſecution, as you ſee the rage of your Perſecutors increaſe: for example, in that kind of Executions which are made upon the Bodies of thoſe which will not communicate in their

laſt

laſt Sickneſs. Was there not ſomething ſingular in the Cruelty which was exerciſed on the Body of a Woman about 60 years of Age, who died at *Soubize* the 16th of *November* in the Year paſt? This Woman was called *La Jarnat*, Widow of one named *Rame*; fell ſick about the end of the Month; during her Sickneſs, the Curate and the Officers of Juſtice employed Exhortations, Threatnings, Kindneſs, and Terrors, to obtain of her to communicate againſt her Conſcience, *i. e.* that ſhe would damn her ſelf with all poſſible care. This poor Woman, fearing God more than Men, reſiſted all their Temptations, and conſtantly refuſed to participate in this falſe Myſtery, which would have deprived her of true Communion with Jeſus Chriſt. After her Death the Juſtice ſeized on her Body, and before Sentence was pronounced againſt her, they plucked out her Eyes, they cut off her Noſe, pulled out her Tongue, they cut off her Fingers and Toes, her Lips and Ears, and committed thoſe kind of Indignities on this poor Body which we dare not name. Good God! What Spirit is this, what kind of fury? And of what Perſons did the Holy Spirit ſpeak, if it be not of theſe men, when it ſaid, *Even the Sea-monſters draw out the breaſt, they give ſuck to their young ones, but the Daughter of my People is in the hands of cruel and barbarous perſons like the Oſtriches in the Wilderneſs.* [So ſome tranſlate the Words.]

We will place here a matter of Fact, which we had determined to have acquainted you with long ſince, but could not find a convenient place for it. An eye-witneſs hath ſent us the Relation of the Martyrdom

dom of one called Monſieur *Charpentier*, of the Village of *Rufac* in *Angoulmois*, who died in the midſt of Torments about the time that the Edict of *Nantes* was revoked. We ſhall paſs by the ordinary Violences committed by the Dragoons on the Goods of this poor Man: Theſe miſchievous Villains fell on his Perſon, they lighted up many Candles, and cauſed him to dance round about them, until he had loſt both Senſe and Breath. They hindred him from ſleeping, which having heated his Blood, put him into a malignant Fever; the Dragoons ſeeing him in this condition, forſook him, and he was carried from his own Houſe to that of one of his Relations. When he was there the Dragoons of *Pinſone* came to *Rufac*; they ſoon learn'd the Houſe where the ſick Man was; thither they went, and at firſt contented themſelves to keep guard about his Bed, offering him a thouſand Outrages, accompanied with Threatning and Blaſphemies. At laſt, ſeeing this did not ſhake him, they cauſed him to drink down twenty great Glaſſes of Water; and his Daughters drank as many more to excuſe their Father. This prevailing nothing as yet, they cauſed melted Greaſe to drop down upon his Eyes for a whole Night together. He loſt his Sight, and his Eyes never

never opened more. He loſt his Life alſo, and died in thoſe Torments without the leaſt appearance of Weakneſs, confeſſing the Truth couragiouſly to his laſt Breath.

April 1. 1687.

The

The Sixteenth

PASTORAL LETTER.

An Article of Antiquity: A Fourth Proof of the Novelty of the Invocation of Saints in the Fifth Age: They did not Invoke the Bleſſed Virgin: An Article of Controverſie: A Continuation of the Anſwer to the Illuſions of the New Converts about Schiſm.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

IN our preceeding Letter, we have confeſſed to your Converters, that the Invocation of Saints began to be practiſed about the end of the Fourth Age, and in the Fifth. But we have offered to you three Proofs, that that Worſhip was New. Behold a Fourth proof, of the Novelty thereof; 'tis, that in the Fourth and Fifth Ages nothing was known concerning the Invocation of the Bleſſed Virgin. We know what difference Popery puts at this day, between the bleſſed Virgin, and other Saints. She is vaſtly preferred before them; her Worſhip is called *Hyperdulia*, and the Worſhip of others ſimple *dulia*. For one Prayer addreſſed to other Saints, there are a hundred to the bleſſed Virgin: where St. *Paul* hath one worſhipper, ſhe hath a hundred. The Titles which are given to the holy Virgin are a thouſand times more pompous and great than thoſe

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which are given to the greateſt Apoſtles. And there is ſome reaſon for it. For ſurely the Mother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ought to have greater Priviledges than his Servants. If then the Invocation of Saints be an Apoſtolick Tradition, we ought to Invocate the holy Virgin Mother of God in the firſt place, and as the Head of our He and She Mediators of the ſecond Order. The Second Age ought to have known this Worſhip, or if any politick reaſon had hindred the Invocation of Saints from manifeſting itſelf in the Third Age; certainly the Invocation of the Virgin ought to have appeared in the front of the Fourth Age amongſt others, like the Sun among the Stars. What folly, what a humour was it then to Invoke St. *Mamas*, St. *Julitta*, and forty Soldiers which ſuffered Martyrdom in the beginning of the Fourth Age, and not to Invoke the Virgin Mother of God.

As to matter of fact, we do maintain, that the bleſſed Virgin was not prayed unto, till near 100 Years after the firſt birth of that Worſhip. And you may, my Brethren, boldly defie your Converters on that ſubject. Whil'ſt there were Churches conſecrated to *St. Stephen*, *St. Mamas*, *St. Julitta*, to the forty Soldiers, to *St. Gervais*, *St. Protais*, and many others which they ſhew unto you, there was not ſo much as a little Chappel for our Lady. Nothing was then ſpoken of but Miracles done by the Martyrs: Mothers deſired of them the recovery of their Husbands, and of their Children, the blind went to them to recover their ſight, and the paralitick to be reſtored to ſtrength and ſoundneſs, they took them for Protectors in their Voyages. And as a mark of the acknowledgment of the miraculous Deliverances they had received from them, they inriched their Churches with precious and invaluable Treaſures. This we learn from *Theodoret*, who writ

writ about the Year 450. And all this while, nothing is ſaid of the Miracles of the Virgin, who nevertheleſs afterwards wrought many more than all the other he and ſhe Saints together, except only that *Zozomen* ſays by the by, that about the time whereof we ſpeak, it was believed at *Conſtantinople*, that the Virgin appeared there, and wrought Miracles in the Church of the Reſurrection, called *Anaſtaſia*. But he does not ſay, that they prayed unto her in that Church. The Martyrs had not only their Churches, but they had alſo their Feaſts in the Third Age, in which mention was made of their grievous ſufferings. The Virgin had then no Feaſts. At this day ſhe has ſeven, but the moſt ancient of them is not above 800 or 900 years old. 'Tis true, that that which at this day is called *Candlemas*, which the *Greeks* call *Hypapante*, is more ancient. But at the beginning it was celebrated in the honour of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and not of the Virgin. 'Twas the Preſentation of Jeſus Chriſt in the Temple, and not the Purification of the Virgin. It was called *Hypapante*, which ſignifies *meeting*, becauſe of the meeting of *Simeon* and *Anna*, the Propheteſs who went before the Child, and both concurred to propheſie concerning the Wonders of this new-born Infant. To conclude, that which is found moſt ancient for the Invocation of the Virgin, is what *Nicephorus Caliſtus* ſaith * concerning it; *viz.* that *Peter Cnapheus*, the falſe Patriarch of *Antioch*, an intruding *Eutychian* Heretick did of his own head mention the Mother of God in all his Prayers, and invoke her Divine Name. This was about the Year 470, or 480. Behold a great reputation for the religious Worſhip of the Virgin to be invented by an Heretick. This unadviſed Zeal for the Virgin began upon occaſion of the *Neſtorian* Hereſie, who affirmed

* Lib. 15. c. 28.

a Humane Perſon in Chriſt Jeſus, as well as a Divine, and for that reaſon did not think fit that the Virgin ſhould be called the Mother of God, becauſe ſhe had not been made uſe of for any thing elſe, but to conceive in her Womb the Humane Nature and Perſon of our Saviour. To oppoſe this, men fell into other exceſſes, they began to give to the Virgin great and magnificent Titles. But Invocation and Worſhip of her came not ſo ſoon. 'Tis true, 'twas the firſt original of her adoration. *Neſtorius* was raſh without doubt, and God forbid that we ſhould ever be of his Opinion, if he did indeed put two perſons in Chriſt Jeſus, as well as two Natures. Neither do we deny, that the Holy Virgin may in a good ſence be called the *Mother of God*, ſeeing ſhe is the Mother of Jeſus Chriſt, who is God. But nevertheleſs, it was an unhappy raſhneſs in the Doctors of the Fifth Age, to innovate in the terms. The Virgin is not called the *Mother of God* any where in the *New Teſtament*, but only the Mother of Jeſus, and we ought to have kept there. This Name, the *Mother of God*, hath ſomething which ſounds ill, and is oppoſite to the *Idea* of God, who can have no Mother. Moreover, God did not pour out his bleſſing upon the falſe Wiſdom of theſe Doctors. On the contrary he hath permitted, that the moſt criminal and exceſſive of all the Idolatries of Antichriſtianiſm ſhould take its original from thence. *Theodorus Lector* tells us of a Temple of the *bleſſed Virgin* *; In which the Patriarch *Timothy* appointed Prayers for the day of preparation. But this was under the Empire of *Anaſtaſius*, at the end of the Fifth Age. If they quote to you Authors of the Fourth Age, and thoſe that did precede it for the Invocation of the bleſſed Virgin, maintain boldly to them, that they are ſuppoſititious Pieces, and we are ready to prove it

* Lib. 2.

it by the Teſtimonies of our Adverſaries themſelves.

Father *Craſſet* hath lately taken a great deal of pains, to find Teſtimonies in the Ancients for the Invocation of the Virgin before the Sixth Age. But altho' all his Book be a declared war againſt good ſence and honeſty, nevertheleſs there is not any ſubject in which he hath bid greater defiance to the one and the other than on this. He quotes to us two Epiſtles of *St. Ignatius* in the Firſt Age, the one to *St. John*, the other to the *Virgin*; two ſottiſh Pieces which are acknowledged ſuppoſititious by the learned of the *Church of Rome*, as well as by thoſe of our own. And yet what is there in thoſe two Epiſtles? No religious Invocation, but only ſome exceſſive Praiſes, and a Prayer to the Virgin, who was yet living, that ſhe would fortifie the New Converts in the Faith. He produces *Dioniſius* the *Areopagite*, another falſe Work, and which ſome Impoſtor did forge under the Name of this Saint, more than 400 Years after his death. And yet there is no Invocation of the Virgin found there, but only exceſſive Elogies and Praiſes. In the Second Age he quotes under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr*, a Book of Queſtions and Anſwers to the Orthodox. He muſt have as little Judgment as this Jeſuit, to quote under the Name of *Juſtin Martyr*, a Work where the Author ſpeaks of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and of *Origen*, who writ almoſt a hundred Years after the death of *Juſtin*. Moreover, they quote nothing from this Book to which we cannot ſubſcribe, for 'tis an explication of the juſt Honour, which is due to the Virgin, exactly according to our apprehenſions and ſentiments. Father *Craſſet* could quote nothing more to his own diſadvantage. This Jeſuit, who heaps together all the Impertinencies of thoſe which went before him, could not forbear to imitate the falſhood

of thoſe who quoted thoſe words of *Ireneus*; *That the Virgin* Mary *was the Advocate of the Virgin* Eve. As if *St. Ireneus* intended to ſay, that *Mary* prays and interceeds at this day in the Heavens for the ſins of *Eve*, the Mother of all men. But theſe Gentlemen have been advertiſed a long time ſince, that the word whereof *Ireneus* ſerves himſelf in the *Greek*, which is loſt, is *Paraclete*, which ſignifies rather a *Comforter* than an *Advocate*; His meaning is, that *Mary* becoming Mother to the Saviour of the World, hath comforted *Eve* concerning the evil which ſhe did by deſtroying Mankind. And Father *Craſſet* is ſo injudicious, that in the ſame place, he quotes from the ſame *Ireneus* another paſſage, which ruins the advantage he would draw from the firſt. 'Tis a paſſage where *St. Ireneus* ſays *, Eve *by her diſobedience, was the cauſe that ſhe herſelf and all mankind have been ſubject to death. But the Virgin* Mary *by her obedience, was the cauſe of her own ſalvation, and that of all mankind.* By her obedience, *i. e.* by the faith which ſhe gave to the words of the Angel, by which faith the Lord was conceived in her Womb. Behold how this Ancient underſtands, that *Mary* was the Comforter and the Advocate of *Eve*. In the Third Age he quotes a paſſage of *Origen*, (*Homily the 1ſt, in Matt.*) which ſays nothing which we don't ſay every day touching the purity of the Virgin. In the ſame Age he quotes under the Name of *Gregory* of *Neoceſarea*, called *Thaumaturgus*, three Sermons on the *Feaſt of the Annunciation*. But this man knows not that the *Feaſt of the Annunciation* was unknown in the Third Age in which *Gregory* of *Neoceſarea* lived; how could he make Sermons on that Feaſt? And how could there be a Feaſt in that Age to the memory of the *Annunciation*, when there was none as yet to the honour of our Lord and Saviour's Birth? *St. Chryſoſtom* learns

* Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

us,

us, that it was in his time, *i. e.* about the end of the Fourth Age, that men began to celebrate this latter Feaſt. That which he reports from *St. Cyprian* and *Dioniſius* of *Alexandria*, is nothing to purpoſe. He reports in this Third Age, a paſſage attributed to *Methodius*, Biſhop of *Tyre*, who ſuffered Martyrdom under *Diocleſian*; but this Sermon belongs not to him, nor to any other contemporary Author. For there are Impertinencies therein which we cannot aſcribe to a wiſe man; as this which he ſays, *that God is debtor to the Virgin, and that God who hath ſaid, Honour thy Father and thy Mother, ought himſelf to obſerve the Commandment which he hath given to others.* In the Fourth Age he quotes *St. Athanaſius*, *St. Ephraim*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Chryſoſtom*, and *St. Auſtin*, Sermons or Works that are none of theirs: and a man needs but indifferent Learning and little Sincerity to be convinced thereof. But Father *Craſſet*, who has neither the one nor the other, neither Skill nor Science, takes and gives all for good. In the Fifth Age he quotes *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who is ſurely one of the firſt which gave occaſion to the Religious Worſhip of the Virgin. For by oppoſing *Neſtorius*, who would not ſuffer *Mary* to be called the Mother of God, he paſſed unto the other extreme, and advanced as far and as high as he could the praiſes of the Virgin *Mary*. Nevertheleſs this might be reduced to Apoſtrophe's, Figures of Oratory, and great Elogies; but there is nothing of Invocation therein. No Author of the Fifth Age ſpeaks more expreſly nor vehemently of the Invocation of Martyrs, and of the Worſhip which is given to the Reliques than *Theodoret*. Nevertheleſs in the paſſage which Father *Craſſet* quotes from him in his Commentary, on the words of *Solomon*'s Song, *My beloved is one*, there is nothing that favours the Worſhip of the Virgin in the leaſt. He applies theſe words, *My Dove, my only one*, to the

Virgin, and that were the place to ſpeak of the honour, which ought to be given to her, if ever there were any. But all that he ſays concerning her is, that ſhe is the *Mother of God, a pure Virgin, that all Nations call her bleſſed, that ſhe is the Dove, and the only one which brought Chriſt Jeſus into the World, that in Charity ſhe ſurpaſſes the Cherubims and Seraphims.* That were the place to have ſaid, that we ought to commend ourſelves to her Charity, and invoke her as our Mediatrix. To conclude, let theſe Gentlemen find us in the Fourth and Fifth Ages, Chappels and Oratories conſecrated to the Virgin, as they find them conſecrated to the Martyrs, unleſs it be about the end of the Fifth Age. Now this being ſuppoſed, I dare ſay, that a man muſt have renounced all honour, all modeſty, all ſincerity, and all judgment, not to confeſs that here is an indubitable evidence, that Invocation of Saints was a Novelty in the Fourth and Fifth Ages. For theſe men had been fools not to have invoked the Virgin in thoſe times when they invoked *St. Protais*, and *St. Gervais*, if they eſtabliſhed Invocation upon the merit, the dignity, and the reputation that theſe Saints might have with God. I would fain know if thoſe two Giants which ſuffered Martyrdom under *Decius*, were in condition to intercede with God with ſo much efficacy as this Virgin-Mother to the Saviour of the World? This falſe Worſhip had its birth from that fooliſh love which men had for Reliques. And as they had no Reliques of the bleſſed Virgin, ſo they conſecrated no Churches or Chappels to her, and in conſequence thereof, they did not call upon her. We ſhall bring you yet in what follows new Proofs of the Novelty of this Worſhip.

An Article of Controverſie: A Continuation of the Anſwer to the Illuſions of the New Converts.

LEt us take up again, at preſent, what follows of the Illuſions, which the New Converts make for themſelves, who endeavour to lay their Conſciences aſleep: *They conclude two things, 1. That all the fundamental Truths of Chriſtianity, being Confeſſed by the Church of* Rome, *they are obliged to remain with her,* ſo you go on. Theſe fundamental Truths which *Popery* hath preſerved, are the Articles of the *Three Creeds,* that of the *Apoſtles,* that of *Niece,* or *Conſtantinople,* and that which is call'd by the name of St. *Athanaſius.*

'Tis true that the *Church of Rome* hath retained theſe; but to conceive how you cheat yourſelves, I intreat you to ſuppoſe Chriſtians which receive theſe three Creeds, and who nevertheleſs Adore the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, and almoſt all the Idols of Paganiſm; you will ſay that theſe things are inconſiſtent. But you deceive yourſelves: for there is nothing more poſſible, than that, that a man ſhould believe God is the Creatour of Heaven and Earth, that Jeſus Chriſt is his eternal Son, and the Creatour of the World, that he was Born, that he Died, that he was Crucified, that he will come to Raiſe and Judge the Living and the Dead; and nevertheleſs, that he ſhould believe that we may Adore the Earth, the Trees, the Sun and Moon, becauſe God does animate and fill them. The Creed ſays not, that we muſt Worſhip none but God, yea, it ſays not that we muſt Worſhip him. So that a Religion may receive the Creed in good earneſt, in the ſence of the Univerſal Church, and Adore every thing but God: Why may not men be capable of Adoring the Stars, becauſe God fills them, ſince they Adore Bread under a ſuppoſition that Jeſus Chriſt is there, after a manner inviſible,

ſible, preciſely as God is in the Stars and Elements? It is therefore, a particular Providence, that Chriſtians, who Adore the Euchariſt, are not fallen ſo far as to Adore the Sun, Moon, and Stars; for I do maintain, that the Papiſts may be carried to Adore a Stone, as naturally as they are carried to Adore the Bread in the Euchariſt, on ſuppoſition that Jeſus Chriſt is included under it. Suppoſe you, that they were come ſo far, would you yet ſay, *Since all the fundamental Truths are Confeſſed by this Communion, which Adore the Sun and Moon, yea, Stones, we are obliged to continue with it?* Learn you therefore, that we may retain the fundamental Truths of Chriſtianity, and build thereon Dung, Poiſon, and all ſorts of Impurities: The ſpirit of Man is capable of reconciling thoſe things that are moſt irreconcileable.

Behold another thing, whereof you ought to be advertiſed, that you ought to diſtinguiſh *fundamental Truths* from *fundamental Errours:* You imagine, that to retain all the *fundamental Truths*, and to have no *fundamental Errours*, is the ſame thing; and becauſe we do confeſs the *Roman Church* retains all the *fundamental Truths*, you think, that we confeſs to you, that ſhe has no *fundamental Errours.* In this you are much miſtaken: a perſon may retain the *fundamental Truths* of Chriſtianity, and add thereunto *fundamental Errours.* I gave you an Example in men who might believe the Creed in good earneſt, in the ſence of the Church, and which might add (under a hundred falſe pretences of Devotion) Pagan Idolatries. I do maintain, that a man may adopt into the Religion of Chriſtians, almoſt all the Abominations of the *Bonzes* of *Japan*, and the *Brachmns* of *India*, without any formal Renunciation of the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Faith. I demand, if whilſt men retain the

the *fundamental Truths*, they do not add *fundamental Errours* by eſpouſing theſe Pagan Worſhip? 'Tis exactly that which the *Church of Rome* has done: upon the Foundations of Chriſtianity, ſhe hath built a thouſand Superſtitions, which are purely Pagan: Popery is Paganiſm renewed, and built upon Chriſtianity; 'tis an Idol Temple raiſed upon the Temple of Jeſus Chriſt. A fundamental Errour is therefore an Errour or Practice which in itſelf is inconſiſtent with the Foundation.

I ſay, in itſelf, and by itſelf; for men find ways of reconciling all things, Impiety and Religion, Piety and Superſtition: But we may not conclude, That all that which men do joyn together, is in itſelf reconcileable, and compatible. The *Roman Church* hath a hundred Errours and Practices of this ſort: her Worſhip of Saints, Images, Reliques, and of the Sacrament, is not by any means reconcileable with the Worſhip of the true God, and with true Faith in Chriſt Jeſus.

There is yet a third Advice which I have to give you, on this ſubject, 'tis that to be able to ſay as you do, That the *Church of Rome* confeſſes all fundamental Truths: 'Tis neceſſary not only that ſhe hold the fundamental Truths of the Chriſtian Religion, but alſo thoſe of Natural Religion. 'Tis a Fundamental of Natural Religion, that we ought to Worſhip God; the *Church of Rome* retains this Fundamental. 'Tis another Fundamental of Natural Religion, that there is but one God, and that we muſt Worſhip none but him; Popery has ruined and rejected this Fundamental, for it Adores a many other things beſide God: So that to ſpeak properly, we cannot ſay, that the *Church of Rome* retains all Fundamentals. We might yet obſerve other Fundamentals, which ſhe receives not. Don't flatter yourſelves therefore, my Brethren,

thren, any more by this wicked Illuſion, *The* Roman *Church confeſſes all fundamental Truths, therefore we may continue there in ſafety:* For that reaſoning is no better than this, *This Wine retains all the ſubſtance, the ſtrength, the taſt, and the ſpirits of Wine, therefore we may drink of it, with ſafety, though it be mingled with Poiſon.* Idolatry, Errours, and Superſtition take away from the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, all that which is ſaving in them.

We are obliged to continue in Union with the Roman *Church, rather than make a poſitive Separation, which is contrary to all the Duties of Charity, and which, inſtead of bringing back thoſe which Err, produces nothing but an eternal Diſtance and Animoſity.* This is that which your Apologiſt ſays, concerning which you ought to know, That Chriſtian Truths are Friends, and do not deſire that we ſhould ſacrifice one for the other: We muſt not ſacrifice Faith and Truth for Charity. 'Tis a falſe Charity which makes thoſe that are re-united to the Church, ſpeak thus; 'tis indeed ſelf-love, and the love of eaſe: If they could find means to caſt off the Popiſh Superſtitions, which are uneaſie to them, from Religion, without prejudice to their own Advantages, it is ſure that they would do it, without having any regard to Charity, and without concerning themſelves about the ſcandal of Separation, and the trouble of their Country-men. For which reaſon, while the King permitted every one to live peaceably, without offering Violence to his Conſcience, Separation did not appear ſcandalous unto them. I intreat you, my Brethren, to know, and examine yourſelves thereon; do not ſuffer the Devil and Self-love to illude you, and diſguiſe himſelf into Charity, and an Angel of Light. Charity demands Toleration; I confeſs it, but it hath its bounds: For it is not expedient that you imagine, that we

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ought to ſuffer all things under pretence of Charity. Popery is Anti-chriſtianity; you can't doubt it, without blinding yourſelves; Popery hath fundamental Errours; to conclude, Popery hath ſpoiled the Efficacy of thoſe fundamental Truths which it hath preſerved, and by conſequence is in no condition to require or expect Toleration. *Inſtead of bringing back thoſe that Err, Schiſm produces nothing but an eternal Diſtance and Animoſity*, ſay you: Do you think that this leud Complaiſance, which you are willing to have for thoſe that Err, is capable of reducing them? Will you not confirm them in their Errours, by living with them, communicating with them, and by partaking in their falſe Myſteries? But let us hear what you have further to ſay to us.

In the ſecond place, you ſay, *we do maintain, That perſons do not neceſſarily partake in the Errours of a Communion in which they are:* This is that you told us in the beginning of this Writing. *Abuſes introduced by Governours, cannot be imputed to the Faithful.* You add, *The common Confeſſion of Faith ought to be eſteemed as an Agreement to live together under the ſame Miniſtery; but we are not therefore accountable for all the Abuſes which may be, or can be introduced into this Miniſtery.* My Brethren, this ſecond thing which you tell yourſelves, and one another, is no better than the former: Where have you found *that Abuſes introduced by Governours, may not be imputed to the Faithful?* Do you not very well know, That there are no Abuſes in the Church, which have not been introduced either by the Malice, or by the Ignorance of Governours? They are the Doctors and Teachers which frame Hereſies: Were not thoſe private perſons ſeduced by *Arrianiſm*, culpable, becauſe that Hereſie was introduced by the Biſhops? Are you obliged to follow your Governours without examination? Have you not a reaſon-

reaſonable Mind as well as we? And ought you not to make a good uſe of it? And if you fail therein, do you think that God will fail to take an account of you for it? If we muſt give no account of the Abuſes introduced by Governours, when the People of *Iſrael* ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by a falſe Paſtor, to commit Idolatry, were they not therefore culpable? Nevertheleſs, you ſee how God, on ſuch occaſions, thunders againſt both People and Governours, *When the blind lead the blind, both ſhall fall into the ditch,* ſaith our Lord. He did very ill to ſpeak ſo, according to your Principles; there was no body but the firſt blind man, that lead the way, who ought to fall into the Ditch. Jeſus Chriſt ſaid to the *Jewiſh* Doctors, *You compaß ſea and land, to make a Proſelite; and when you have gained him, you make him twofold more the child of hell, than yourſelf.* And why ſo? why doth this poor Proſelite become a Child of Hell, ſince he follows his Governours, yea, Governours which had a lawful Call, and were Paſtors of the Church? If Truth be the only way to Heaven, it concerns you much how you go out of it, be it of your own inclination, or by the inſtigation of another, you will always fall ſhort of Heaven: Whether you go to Hell, or whether another leads you thither, what difference will it make, will you not be certainly there? Diſcharge yourſelves therefore, of this pernicious Chimera, That you are not at all accountable for Abuſes introduced by your Guides.

But you ſay, *We do not partake, neceſſarily, in the Errours of a Communion where we are.* How do you underſtand that, whilſt you ſubſcribe theſe Errours, and practiſe theſe Idolatries? There are Errours of Speculation, and Errours of Practice; the means of not partaking in Errours of Speculation, is openly to diſavow them, without Scruple or Heſitation:

tation : The means of not partaking in Errours of Practiſe, which are Superſtitions and Idolatries, is, to abſtain from them, give no conſent to them, not aſſiſt at them, but condemn and call them by their own names: If you can continue in the *Roman* Church, doing thus, I conſent unto it ; ſay, without Scruple and Heſitation, That the corporal and real Preſence is a Dream, Tranſubſtantiation a Monſter, Purgatory a Fable, Humane Merits and Satisfactions Doctrines of Pride, the Maſs a Prophanation of Miſteries, the Worſhip of Bread, the Service of Saints, and the Adoration of Images Idolatries: be never preſent at the Maſs, never Adore the Bread, never be found at thoſe Veſpers and Mattins where they call upon Creatures ; retract the Subſcriptions you have given to Lies, and after that, ſtay, if you can, in the Communion of *Rome.* But you call it no participation in the Errours of the *Roman* Communion, to ſubſcribe them, as you have done without believing them ; to aſſiſt, or be preſent at Maſs, accounting it a vain pomp of Ceremonies ; to proſtrate yourſelves before the Euchariſt, believing, nevertheleſs, that 'tis but Bread ; to communicate under One Kind, retaining an Opinion, in your Heart, that they do you wrong, to take away the Cup ; to aſſiſt at Veſpers and Mattins, at Proceſſions where they bear Images and Relicques in pomp, and where they give Religious Worſhip to Creatures, in the mean while believing theſe are Superſtitions, whereof it were well to diſcharge Religion : Behold, ſay I, that which you call *not to partake in the Errours of a Communion where we are* ; and this is that, which I call, (and all thoſe that are wiſe, with me) to partake in them after the leudeſt manner in the World, and that which is moſt criminal, and capable of ruining you. Be aſſured, that theſe poor Biggots, which

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are perpetually kiſſing their Images, and who know no other God, but their Patron Saint, are in a better eſtate than you; for they partake honeſtly in Errours and Superſtitions, but you partake in them againſt your Conſcience.

TO ſatisfie the Promiſe that we have made, to acquaint you with ſome Circumſtances of the preſent Perſecution, we will tell you, what we certainly know concerning it: At this day the great Theatre, on which the Perſecutors execute their greateſt Rage, is Languedoc, *where nothing is heard ſpoken of, but Puniſhments, Impriſonments, Bodies drawn to the Dung-hill, Perſons condemned to the Gallies, others appointed for* America, *and embarqued to be ſent thither: The particulars there will be very curious, and make a conſiderable part of the Hiſtory of this Perſecution. The fear, which the Prelates aſſembled in the Country of* Niſmes, *and the Dragoons (a People at this day of the ſame Order) have put the minds of men into, has forced the moſt part of the Inhabitants of* Niſmes *and* Cevennes, *to conſent to all that they have demanded of them: but by ſuch a Conſent, as gives horrour and amazement to thoſe that have done it, and to all that hear thereof: For theſe weak and unhappy People have proceeded ſo far, as to make Subſcriptions, in which they beſeech the King, to Chaſtiſe them with the ſevereſt Rods, if they fail to perform all the Duty of good Catholicks. We may judge how ſincere they were therein, by all that hath been ſeen ſince that time: They did not ceaſe to aſſemble on the Feaſtivals of* Chriſtmas *laſt, in great numbers in the Neighbourhood of* Niſmes, *and their hearts not being able to Ratifie the Promiſes, which their mouths and hands had made, they have acquitted themſelves of thoſe Duties of good Catholicks, leſs than ever; ſo that the Rage of their Perſecutors is grown to its height. The Intendant*

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Mr. de Baville, *cauſed five or ſix of thoſe which were impriſoned for being found at their laſt Aſſembly, to be hanged, and ſent to the Gallies: He cauſed theſe ſix to draw Lots, that he might hang but two of them. The happy and glorious Lot fell upon Mr.* Barbutt, *Merchant, who dreſſed the Stuffs of the Country, and upon one named* Miblaſſe, *a Youth of the ſame Profeſſion, neither the one nor the other would redeem their Life, by promiſing to practice the Popiſh Ceremonies and Worſhip. Mr.* Barbutt *exerciſed, to the utmoſt, all the Patience, and all the Art of the Jeſuits, which accompanied him to his Death: He ſpake the moſt Edifying things in the World; and did not teſtifie leſs of Conſtancy and Greatneſs of Mind, than the Illuſtrious Mr.* de Rey *had lately done, who died at* Beaucaire. *When they ſaw they could gain nothing upon theſe two Martyrs, they cauſed a Drum to be beaten at the foot of the Gibbet, that no body might hear the edifying Diſcourſes which proceeded out of their mouths. Since this time, they have made two Martyrs at* Ledignan, *in the ſame Province of* Languedoc: *One of them is named* Meyrien, *and the other* Satindſe; *this laſt never changed his Religion, nor made any Subſcription. After he had been a long time Priſoner in the Tower of* Conſtance, *he eſcaped thence, but being retaken with his Companion, whom they ſurpriſed at an Aſſembly, they were both Martyred about the beginning of the Month of* March, *this preſent Year.*

To overcome the Conſtancy of thoſe who have reſiſted Priſons, Gallies, Dungeons, Hunger, Thirſt, Vermin, and Rottonneſs, they have thought of a new kind of Perſecution, in the Council of Perſecutors, and 'tis to ſend our Faithful Brethren to Canada: *They conduct them in Troops to* Marſeille, *and to* Caſteldy, *where they muſt be embarqued. In one Month's time they have drawn from the Priſons of* Mempellier, *of* Aygues-Mortes, *of* Niſmes, *and of all the parts of* Ceuennes,

a number of Prisoners so great, that we know not how to count them, for fear of speaking it too little, or of not being believed, for reporting it too much: This is certain, that the Letters which have been written, more than six Weeks or two Months since, do say, that there are already 400 Prisoners at the least, which have been embarqued at Marseille, *or are ready for it, to be led into Slavery in those new Countries.*

It is expedient, that you see here some extracts of Letters that came from that Country: One Letter from Arles *says, That a great number of Men hath been seen to pass with their legs tyed under the bellies of Horses, followed by twelve long Carts, covered over, and filled with Men and Women, tied by the wastes to the Carts: These are persons of* Upper Languedoc, *which were carried to* Marseille, *to be sent into* America. *Among these persons there were some very famous: Amongst others, an Advocate of* Nismes, *who is famous by a Confession of eighteen Months, which he passed in a dark Dungeon, nasty and infectious, tired with the Verbal Persecutions of the Bishop of* Mire-poix, *but was never prevailed upon, to make any Subscription. A more glorious Testimany cannot be given to the Courage, Piety, Constancy, and Zeal of a Confessour, than is with one consent given to this man; Behold him at present going to carry the Torch of his Faith into another World: and I hope that it will kindle other Torches there. There are also Mr.* Guirant *and Mr.* Martin, *both of* Nismes, *which are not less Illustrious for their Perseverance and their Piety, having never made any Defection from the Faith. Mr.* Serre, *of* Montpellier, *Mr.* Guy, *of* Bederieux, *a Widdow named Madam* de Bosc, *and her Sister, Mademoiselle* de Cavaille, *with Mr.* Martin *also of* Mompellier, *two Sisters of Mr.* Anauld, *Minister of* Vaunert, *are also of this number. There are also Gentlemen and Persons of Quality, which we will not name unto you, until we are perfectly assured thereof.*

thereof. Behold, a Letter from one of theſe honeſt Men, which will acquaint you with the diſpoſition of Mind in which they are, on the Subject, and in the proſpect of this new kind of Puniſhment.

Feb. 12th, 1687. From *Aigue-Mortes*, from the *Tower of Conſtace.*

I *Have thought (my dear Mother) that before I am removed into another World, as they threaten us, it is my Duty, to inform you of my State, and to acquaint you with the true ſentiments of my Soul: Oh how happy are you, and my dear Siſters, whom* GOD, *by his infinite Mercy, hath preſerved ſo long in your Retirement, and preſerved from the Snares that have been ſo often laid for you, but more eſpecially in that he hath led you in ſo miraculous a manner out of this ſad and unhappy Kingdom, that you may taſte his Divine Conſolations in Holy Aſſemblies, with all the liberty that can be deſired. Be never forgetful of Benefits ſo great, if you do deſire that* GOD *ſhould continue his Bleſſings and Mercies upon you, and yours: Pray continually for the Liberty of* Zion; *for all our poor Brethren that have unhappily fallen; and for the Priſoners of Jeſus Chriſt. You have begun glorioufly, but all that is nothing, if you don't perſevere to the end; therefore give up yourſelves to Divine Providence, and be aſſured that God will give you, all that is neceſſary in this life, and that which is to come, if ſo be you offer unto him that acceptable Sacrifice of your Goods, your Families, and even of your Lives: Never turn your face back again through Trouble, and regret for what you have forſaken; don't do as the Wife of* Lot, *leaſt you partake in the ſame Puniſhment. I do acknowledge, that there is need of extraordinary Endeavours, and very great Grace to ſurmount our Natural Affections; and that Tenderneſs and Natural Compaſſion which does ſo ſtrongly bind*

us to eath other, but when the Glory of God, and our own Salvation is diſcourſed on, we ought not to ſtagger one moment from following our Duty; for he which loves Fathor or Mother, Husband, Wife or Children more than his Saviour, is not worthy to be called his Diſciple: Wherefore, my dear Mother and Siſters, make appear to your laſt breath, the difference you make betwixt Earth and Heaven, betwixt the perfect love which we have for our Divine Redeemer, and that which we have for the things of the World; and let us aſſure ourſelves of his Protection and Favour, if we perſevere to the end. The death of my Father hath extreamly edified and comforted me, his Patience and Perſeverance hath given a joyful and certain Aſſurance of his Happineſs; that 'tis ſo far from afflicting me, that I deſire to be diſſolved, as he is, to be with Chriſt Jeſus, which is much better: I reſerve my Tears for the ſad and deplorable State of the Church, and for the fatal hard-hartedneſs of my poor Brethren, for whom I pray unto God night and day, that he would cauſe them to return from their wandrings, and ſhew them Mercy and Grace: This is that true Affliction which eats up my Soul, and ſadly overwhelms my Spirit; for my own part, I was never more content, and at reſt, than I find myſelf at preſent: So that after having exactly conſidered the World, and all its Vanities, I eſteem (with St. Paul) *that all things duely reckoned, the Sufferings of the preſent World are not worthy to be* compared *with the* Glory that ſhall be Revealed. *So that, my dear Mother, I am fully reſolved to do my Duty, even to my laſt moment: They have already conducted to* Marſeille *a hundred Priſoners; and the ſeventeenth of this Month, we, being Seventy in number, departed from* Montpellier *thither. They have brought from* Sommieres *twenty four Maids, or Wives, and to morrow they bring forty more from thence: 'tis the general Randevouze. I know not what will be the e-*

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event of all this; nevertheleſs, all are perfectly reſolved for this long Voyage. Monſieur de Croſs *is always here, who is ſhortly to be embarqued with his own Daughters, and four of Monſieur* Audemard's, *who never changed their Religion. Whatever be our fate, we ſhall always be under the Eyes of God, and his Protection: Pray for us, as we do for you; and let all our Friends, and all your Churches redouble their Prayers for thoſe poor unhappy Perſons which are carried away, it may be to the Shambles. God be with you, my dear Mother, and dear Siſters; be aſſured, that I ſhall be Faithful to my God, to my laſt breath, in whatſoever place I ſhall remain.*

This laſt kind of Puniſhment has ſtricken men with more horrour than all the preceding; whilſt perſons remain in their Country, they endure the labours of flight, the uneaſineſs of ſojourning in Woods, Famine, Thirſt, Priſon and the Gallies, in ſome hopes of change, and alterations; but to ſee their Entrails torn from their boſoms, the half of ones ſelf, a Wife, a Husband, Children unmercifully forced into another World, expoſed to the rage of the Sea, to the dangers of a long Voiage, and at the end of all, to a cruel Slavery upon barbarous or unknown Shores, where they live without any Communion with thoſe that are their own, without Conſolation in the Rigours of a very calamitous Servitude: This is the new kind of Puniſhment, ſay I, which puts the Patience of the moſt Confirmed to a period. But nothing does more diſcover the temper of the Devil of Perſecution: It does not ſuffice to lay waſte the Kingdom after a hundred manners, to put to flight an infinite number of Men, and to make Wilderneſſes of Countries heretofore well Peopled, they will Depopulate the State, and Tranſport the beſt of its Inhabitants into barbarous Countries. Poor Slaves remember, that God is everywhere, and that the Gates of Heaven are open in all places: Be you perſwaded, that Canada *will rejoyce*

to ſee your Conſtancy, and that the Voice of your Confeſſion will paſs the Seas, and come even to us; but above all, that it will pierce the Heavens, and arrive even at the Throne of God, where you will find favour, and it may be your Enemies will find diſpleaſure, and wrath, for the Voice of your Suffering will ſollicite Divine Vengeance, and haſten their Puniſhment: the Lord have pitty on them, and convert them; they ought to be the Objects of our Compaſſion, rather than thoſe of our Wrath. Whilſt they emptie the Cittadels on one ſide, they fill them on the other. A Letter written about three Months ſince, ſays, That they had conducted from the Country of Caſtres *to* Montpellier, *more than five hundred Priſoners, who, without doubt, muſt travel into the New Found World, as well as others. How ſad ſoever the lot of theſe poor People, that are carried into another World, may ſeem, I reckon it more eaſie than the ſtate of thoſe who are in the Priſons of the Province of* Languedoc, *where they treat them as cruelly as they can do the worſt of Criminals and Parricides, yea, they inſult over them in a more inſolent manner. It hath been written within a few Months, That one of the Priſoners of* Aigrie-mortes, *having had licenſe to go out of his Dungeon, to take the Air for a few moments, and having delayed to return to it a little longer than a Souldier which ſtood Centinel, thought he ought to have done, immediately he diſcharged his Muſquet at him, and killed him upon the place. 'Tis an action like that which, I think, I may have reported elſe-where, concerning one named* Moliere, *a gallant man, and a very good Chriſtian, Priſoner in the ſame Tower of* Conſtance, *who was taken thence to aſſiſt at the drawing of one of his Brethren to the Dung-hill, his heart failing him, he fell down, and a Souldier, that was near him, knockt him on the head, without giving him leiſure to return, or recover from his languor and weakneſs. We have alſo Letters, that*

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of many Priſoners tranſported from Niſmes *to* Aigue-mortes, *three finding themſelves very ill, deſired that they might be viſited by Phyſitians, to the end it might be certainly known, that they were not in a condition to undertake the Journey. They laught at them, and on the evening, when they arrived there, they caſt them into a hideous Priſon, where, not being able to obtain ſo much as a little Water, to moderate the Fire which devoured them, they fell into Delivation, and died the day after. And this is exactly that which they deſire, for they don't tire them, by theſe Tranſportations and hideous Priſons, to any other end, but that they may make them die without noiſe, but after a manner more ſad and lamentable, than a death upon a Gibbet, or the Wheel would be: If they excuſe ſome Women, from the Voiage to* Canada, *'tis to put them into the hands of* Rapine, *the moſt wicked of all the Hang-men, Converter to the Biſhop of* Valence: *The Puniſhment to which he expoſes thoſe Women, is to whip them night and day, till the blood come; none hath eſcaped his hands, except one that died in the Dungeon. To the end that the new Converts, whoſe Conſcience is a kind of Hell, may receive no Conſolation by any Communication with their Brethren, they have eſtabliſhed a new kind of Inquiſition upon Letters: They have not only granted Commiſſion to Perſons at all Poſt-houſes, to open Letters, but on the ſixteenth of* February, *they made a general Inquiſition in all the Houſes of the new Catholicks, to find not only perſons that might be hid there, but alſo the Letters which diſcovered the Commerce which they held with thoſe which were gone out of the Kingdom. By this Search, the City was in the ſtate of a place where they were about to make a Maſſacre; and indeed all the Inhabitants were under the fears thereof, and every one believed himſelf at the point of Death: for all the quarters of the City, and all the corners of the Streets, were filled with Souldiers and*

Guards, and men were forbidden upon great Penalties to go out of their Houſes: Thus the Perſecutors tempt the Weak by fear, and the horrours of Death which they ſet before their eyes: this Tragedy ended in the Impriſonment of a great number of perſons: To conclude, as the Rage of Perſecutors never went farther, ſo the Fear and Terrour that hath ſeized the minds of Men, was never greater.

All the Attempts of our Enemies would be vain, if we had the Spirit of Martyrdom, and Feared God more than Men. This is that (my Brethren) which you muſt endeavour to obtain; and to that end, ſet always before your eyes, the great difference that God propoſes and promiſes to thoſe which ſhall ſuffer Martyrdom; we know not how, ſufficiently to expreſs them: Conſider the glorious Rewards that God promiſes in the two firſt Chapters of the Revelations, *the Crowns, the Thrones, the hidden Manna, the new Name, the Rule over Nations, the Iron Scepter to Subdue them, and the White Garments. 'Tis true, that all true Believers will have part in theſe advantages; but 'tis true, nevertheleſs, that 'tis of Martyrs only that God ſpeaks there: and 'tis certain, that they ſhall poſſeſs theſe advantages in a degree of pre-eminence above others.* The Peace of GOD be with you all.

The 15th of *April*, 1687.

The

The Seventeenth

PASTORAL LETTER.

An Article of Antiquity: Three new Proofs of the Invocation of Saints in the Fifth Age. An Article of Controverſie. A Continuation of the Anſwer to the Illuſions which the New Converts put upon themſelves on the Subject of Schiſm.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

THere is not a Point of Practice in the *Roman* Church, concerning the Antiquity whereof your Converters make ſo much boaſt, as that of the Invocation of Saints, which they find in the Fifth Age. For which reaſons you ought not to think it ſtrange, that we heap Proof upon Proof, to make it evident to you, that this unhappy Superſtition did not deſcend from the Apoſtles, nor their Succeſſors, but that it had its birth about the end of the Fourth Age. Behold yet a new Mark of the Novelty of this Worſhip. 'Tis, that at the beginning men prayed only to the Martyrs, and not to the other Saints. What is the meaning of this? At this day there is no neceſſity of being a Martyr to obtain a Canonization. There are a hundred and a hundred perſons in the *Popiſh Calendar*, which were no Martyrs. We muſt not do that injury to the Church, to believe that ſhe hath had no perſons of

eminent Sanctity, except ſuch as have ſuffered Martyrdom. The Principles upon which the Invocation of Saints is eſtabliſhed, are, That the Faithful ſee God; that in him they can know all our needs and wants, and underſtand and hear our Prayers; and that being near to God, they can intercede for us. Now theſe Principles ought to eſtabliſh an Invocation of other Saints, as well as of the Martyrs. There were without doubt, in the four firſt Ages of the Church, many holy perſons, which were not martyred: but they never prayed to any of them, and we deſire your Converters to ſhew us any inſtance thereof.

'Tis neceſſary that you know, that they did not Invocate even all the Martyrs, they prayed only to thoſe whoſe Reliques they had in poſſeſſion. Examine well all the paſſages which you quote from *St. Baſil*, *St. Gregory*, *St. Auſtin*, *St. Jerrome*, and *Theodoret*, and you will find that they all generally expreſs this; that they went to the Shrines and Memories of the Martyrs, (ſo they called the places where they had put the Reliques) that there they performed their Devotions, that they recommended themſelves to the interceſſion of the Martyr, that they expected from him miraculous deliverances. But not one will tell you, that they invocated the Saints in their Cloſets, or in Churches, where their Reliques were not. Now who does not ſee, that this is an extravagance? If the Invocation of Saints be good, why is it not as good in a Cloſet, as in a Church? Why not in a Church where there are no Bones nor Aſhes of a Martyr, as well as in one where they are? But this practice was founded upon a vulgar opinion, that the Souls of Saints were not found, but near their Tombs, and that they loved their Aſhes, as *St. Jerome* tells us. And behold the reaſon why, 1. They did not invocate Angels whilſt they

they did invocate Martyrs, 'twas becauſe the worſhip of Saints began with that of Reliques, and Angels having left no Reliques here below, their invocation did not make the ſame progreſs. 2. 'Tis for the ſame reaſon that they invocated only Martyrs, and not other Saints, 'twas becauſe they had recollected with care only the bones and aſhes of the Martyrs, and for others they ſuffered them to reſt in their Graves, becauſe their fleſh had not been honoured by the Croſs of Chriſt. 3. 'Tis the reaſon alſo why they did not invocate all Martyrs, but only thoſe of whom they had Reliques. 4. To conclude, 'Tis for the ſame reaſon that they began ſo lately to invocate the Virgin. They had no Reliques of her, they knew not where her Tomb was; and this was it that gave occaſion to the Fable of the Aſſumption of her Body into Heaven. Her other Reliques, her Shifts, her Slippers, her Girdles, her Vails, her Hair, her Milk, all theſe were not invented and produced till a long time after. This is a point upon which you will do well to preſs your Converters. Deſire of them, that they will ſhew you in the fourth or fifth Age, thoſe Reliques of the Virgin which are at this day the object of the Piety of the Devote's. Thoſe believers were very negligent in not ſearching after the Milk of the Virgin, whereof at this day the World is full. And 'tis wonderful, that among the Reliques which gave occaſion to invocate the Martyrs in the fourth and fifth Ages, they did not reckon thoſe old Clothes and Rags which have ſince been put among the precious moveables of the Devote's. There was nothing but Aſhes and Bones which did then paſs for true Reliques, and ſuch as were worthy of veneration.

Gather together I intreat you, my Brethren, all theſe things, and make reflection upon them. About the end of the fourth Age men began to invocate

Saints.

Saints. But 1. They did not invocate all Saints, no not the Apoſtles themſelves. 2. They prayed only to the Martyrs, nor did they invocate all the Martyrs themſelves, and thoſe which they did invocate, they did not invocate in all places, but only where their Reliques were. 3. They did not invocate Angels, who are much more worthy of honour and invocation than the Saints. 4. They did not invocate the Virgin, who is above all Saints and Angels. Is it not plain, that this was an unformed Worſhip, a Worſhip in its birth, a Worſhip which as yet had no Principles to eſtabliſh it upon, and which had for all its foundation, a popular ſuperſtition for the aſhes of thoſe who had ſuffered Martyrdom?

Laſt of all, to convince you, that, indeed, this Superſtition was as yet a Religion in its birth, without Form, and without Principles, give attention to this which follows: 'tis that this Devotion was without form in its Doctrine, as well as in its Worſhip. All Religious Worſhip is founded in ſome Doctrine. The Worſhip of Saints is eſtabliſhed upon the opinion, that they know our Needs, hear our Prayers, and ſee the Face of God, with whom they can intercede. Now in the fourth and fifth Ages, all men were in doubt concerning theſe things. They knew not whether the Saints did hear the Prayers of Men, yea, or no. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his Funeral Oration for his Siſter *Gorgonia*, ſpeaks to her, but knew not whether ſhe heard him: *If thou haſt any regard*, ſays he to her, *to the Honours that we give thee, if holy Souls receive from God the gift of knowing things, kindly accept our Diſcourſe.* *St. Ambroſe*, in the Book concerning the Death of his Brother *Satyrus*, ſays, that God had withdrawn him from the World, to the end that he might not ſee the miſeries of the age, and ſpeaking to him, ſays, *Conſidering the compaſſion which your holy Soul had for thoſe which belonged unto you, if now you know*

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that Italy *is oppreſſed by an enemy, ſo near unto it, how will you ſigh, how much grief will you feel by reaſon of it?*

It ſeems to me, that this ſuppoſes, that the dead know not what is done below. *St. Jerome*, who ſpeaks often of the dead, ſpeaks always of them as not knowing what the living ſuffer. He ſays concerning *Nepotian*, *that he ſaw not what was done here, and that we could not ſpeak unto him.* He ſays to *Demetrius*, to comfort her concerning the death of her Father, *that he is happy in that he did not ſee the deſolation of his Countrey.* We ſee that 'tis Nature that ſpeaks; and *St. Jerome* in theſe paſſages deſerves much more to be believed, than when he tells us, that the Souls of Saints move about their Tombs.

'Tis a thing very obſervable, that *St. Auſtin* was very unquiet and uncertain in this matter, whereby we diſcover alſo the uncertainty of the Divines of his age. This is ſeen chiefly in the Book which he writ *concerning Care for the Dead.* *Paulinus*, Biſhop of *Nola*, had conſulted him about the Devotion of a Woman, who wiſht that her Son had been buried near the Tomb of *St. Felix* the Martyr, formerly Biſhop of *Nola.* This gave him occaſion to handle the Queſtion, how the Dead knew our Neceſſities. He durſt not deny, that the Martyrs did help and aſſiſt us, becauſe of ſo many Miracles that were done, ſays he, near their Remains. But he doubted very much, whether they heard us, and knew our wants. Afterwards he proceeds beyond doubt, and lays down, and proves plainly and ſtrongly, that they do not hear us *. Afterwards he ſays, that Souls may know not all, but part of that which is done here below, either by the report of Angels, or by that of the Dead, or by ſome immediate Revelation †.

* Cap. 13. De cura pro mort.

† Cap. 14.

But at laſt it may be ſeen apparent-

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ly, that he enclines to believe, that Souls have no knowledge of our Prayers, and that they are Angels which do Miracles in the name of Saints; yea, that altho' the Souls of Saints are ſaid to appear, 'tis not they which return, 'tis the Angels which appear, and ſpeak for them. Behold, I pray you, how unformed and floating this Theology is.

But there is more than this, in theſe ſame ages, when they prayed to Martyrs at one time, they prayed for them at another. They prayed, ſay I; for the Martyrs, and for the Apoſtles, yea, for the bleſſed Virgin; and this is a new Proof of the Novelty of this Superſtition. This appears by the Liturgies of that time: In that of *St. Chryſoſtom* we read, *We offer to thee this reaſonable Service, for thoſe which reſt in the Faith of our Anceſtors, our Fathers, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, the Preachers, the Evangeliſts, the Martyrs, the Confeſſors, the Continents, and for all the Spirits which were initiated in the Faith, principally for the moſt holy immaculate, and bleſſed above all Women, our Lady* Mary, *Mother of God, and always a Virgin.* And in that which is attributed to *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*: *O God, have mercy on our Fathers, on our Brethren, which are at reſt, whoſe Souls are acceptable unto thee, give them repoſe; and remember alſo all the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Evangeliſts, and all the Spirits of the Juſt, which are dead in the Faith, and principally the holy and the glorious* Mary, *Mother of God, always a Virgin.*

It would be at this day the greateſt of all abſurdities to pray for a dead man, and pray to him at the ſame time. Indeed if he be in a condition of doing us good, if he ſee God, if he be with him, he hath no need of our Prayers. The inconſiſtency of theſe two Worſhips, which nevertheleſs were both uſed at the ſame time, is a demonſtrative proof, that the Invocations of Saints was a Novelty. Prayers

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for the Martyrs were found in the ancient Liturgies; out of reſpect to Antiquity they were left there, but the torrent of Novelty added unto them Prayers unto the Martyrs, without taking notice, that theſe latter were inconſiſtent with the former. To conclude, I do maintain, that thoſe who will not give attention to theſe Demonſtrations, which prove the Novelty of the Invocation of Saints in the 4th Age have an inſenſible and ſeared Conſcience, and ſo I think it unprofitable to diſpute any more againſt them.

I well underſtand, that the New Converts, who are willing to be content with their change, will yet find two Fortifications for their ſecurity. They will ſay, that this Worſhip of Saints was then new, but that it was not evil, and that therefore the Church might introduce it, as a pious Cuſtom, and proper to incline the minds of men towards Devotion. But let theſe Gentlemen have a little patience: Monſieur *de Meaux*, in that which follows, will give us occaſion to make it plain to you, that this Worſhip, and this Invocation is *Paganiſm* renewed, and that it is in nothing better than the Invocation of Angels, and Hero's which the *Pagans* practiſed in their Devotions: we will make them ſee that 'tis a true Idolatry. The other Fortification is the Antiquity of this Worſhip: However it be, ſay they, you do confeſs, that the Invocation of Saints hath more than one thouſand two hundred Years on its head. Does this put you to no troubles? Have you no reſpect for ſo goodly a piece of Antiquity? and how can you believe that God hath left his Church under Idolatry, for ſo many Ages? We anſwer, That we cannot have reſpect for Antiquity without Truth; and in this we are of the Religion of St. *Cyprian*. We add, That we are not aſtoniſht to ſee an Idolatry ſo aged in the Church, becauſe it hath been

been expreſly predicted to us: The Prophet St. *John* calls Idolatrous Chriſtians Pagans; and the Spirit ſaith to him, * I have given up the outward Court of the Church to the Pagans, that they may tread it under foot for forty two Months: Theſe are the thouſand two hundred and ſixty Days in which the Woman, *i. e.* the Church ought to be hidden, as in a Wilderneſs, for the ſpace of theſe thouſand two hundred and ſixty Days. And the two Prophets which propheſied in Sack-cloth, *i. e.* the Truth publiſhed by a ſmall number of Witneſſes, and thoſe under the Croſs ought to continue under the oppreſſion of Idolatry, the ſame number of Days, *i. e.* a thouſand two hundred and ſixty: Now theſe thouſand two hundred and ſixty Days, are ſo many Years, according to the ſtile of the Prophets, who denominate Years by Days. We ſhall have, it may be, in what follows, an opportunity to prove it to you. It muſt be therefore, that Idolatry Rule in the Chriſtian Church one thouſand two hundred and ſixty Years. It hath done ſo almoſt for that ſpace of time; it is therefore near its end. But we ought not to be amazed that it hath continued ſo long.

* Revel. 11. *cap.* 12.

An Article of Controverſie: A Continuation of the Anſwer to the Illuſions that the New Converts put upon themſelves.

WE take up again the Continuation of the Controverſie, at the place where we left the Illuſions of the New Converts: *The common Faith*, ſay you, *is a kind of Agreement to live under the ſame Miniſtery, without being accountable for all the Abuſes that have ſlipt into the Church.* By this fine reaſoning, we may live in ſafety among the *Turks*, we

we believe, as they do, that there is one GOD, one Paradiſe, one Hell, and that Jeſus Chriſt is the greateſt Prophet which ever came into the World. *This common Confeſſion of Faith will be an Agreement to live together ſafely under the ſame Miniſtery:* And we will leave to the *Turks* their prophane Abuſes, and their abſurd and impious Doctrines. Believe me, ſuch an Agreement reſembles that of *Pilate* and *Herod*, who agreed to deſpiſe and put to death Chriſt Jeſus. When the Miniſtery introduces ſmall Corruptions, this may be granted; but when Corruption goes to the heart of Religion, the Agreement ſignifies nothing, and lays no obligation; all is deadly, either by itſelf, or by its neighbourhood or contagion: *Provided that we Adore the ſame God, and Profeß the ſame Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, all the reſt is not imputable to private perſons: Above all then, when there is a neceſſity of joyning ourſelves to this firſt Chriſtian Society, and when we cannot find any publick Worſhip more pure and edifying.*

This is the Continuation of your Apology: There are two words therein, *Provided* and *above all*, which deſtroy you: Provided that we profeſs the ſame Fundamentals. I have made it appear already, that this *provided* is inſufficient. You muſt add, Provided that fundamental Errours be not added to the Foundations. Now Popery hath added to the Foundations of Chriſtianity, Tyranny, Superſtition, and in one word, Antichriſtianiſm: So, behold yourſelves thrown out of your Fortification, *Provided that.* The *Above all* is no better: *Above all, when there is a neceſſity of joyning ourſelves*; There is no neceſſity of joyning ourſelves to a Communion which we acknowledge corrupt, and defiled in its moſt noble Parts. Do you believe, that thoſe Illuſtrious Confeſſours, which fill the

Priſons and the Gallies, and whom you yourſelves admire, do you believe, I ſay, according to them, there is a neceſſity of joyning yourſelves to Popery? They have found ways of diſpenſing with this neceſſity: But your *neceſſity of joyning yourſelves unto it, comes from the love and adherence that you have for your Eſtates, your Eaſe, and your Lives.* An unhappy Neceſſity, which has not its original in Charity, but in Covetuouſneſs; in the Name of God take heed of it.

But, you ſay, *we cannot find any publick Worſhip more pure and more holy.* I anſwer, It is not always neceſſary to adhere to publick Worſhip, whatever it be: The Martyrs and Confeſſours of Jeſus Chriſt, ſerved him after a more grateful manner, although their Worſhip were not only private but hidden, but covered in the darkneſs of a deep Priſon; although you cannot aſſemble yourſelves to pray unto God with your Brethren, you have your Cloſets, of which you may make Churches, and your Hearts, of which you may make Sanctuaries and Altars. This neceſſity of Adherence to publick Worſhip, is another Illuſion made by your love of the World: 'Tis better, ſaith one, that hath written to us, to adhere to a corrupt Worſhip, than to live without Religion: What lewd Morality it this! Thoſe ſeven thouſand men which were ſo hidden, that *Elijah* knew nothing of them, had they therefore no Religion, becauſe they did not adhere to the publick Worſhip of *Baal*, which was intermixed with that of the true God? To refuſe to participate in an Idolatrous Worſhip, is to be truely Religious; to adhere to a Worſhip which is known to be full of Superſtition and Impurities, is to have no Religion at all.

In concluſion, you come to the example of our Fathers:

Fathers: *The example of our Fathers,* ſay you, *before the Reformation, proves clearly, that we may ſecure our Salvation in the* Roman *Communion, though we adhere even to the publick Worſhip: Whatever men ſay, 'tis inconceivable that men born and bred up in a Religion, and which never heard any thing ſaid of any other Doctrine, and who lived and died without proteſting againſt the Doctrines of their Church, ſhould never partake in the Worſhip thereof.* Would to God you would ſtay yourſelves on the examples of your Fathers, and Grand-fathers, without aſcending ſo high as your Anceſtours: When you have done all that you can, you will not ſave them all; you will find among them, by aſcending, a great number which worſhipped Devils, and the Idols of the Pagans, you muſt neceſſarily leave them to the ſad Judgments of God. This example of your Fathers, which were ſaved in the *Church of Rome,* is a ſubject which comes to us often, and from all parts; 'tis the univerſal Illuſion; 'tis the Pillow on which you all lay yourſelves to ſleep: Many of your Ancient Paſtors have endeavoured to diſpute this unhappy Illuſion; this would be a large Chapter, if we ſhould ſay all that may be ſaid concerning it, but I do not think it neceſſary, therefore I will ſay but two or three important things about it.

Firſt, The firſt is, That we do willingly confeſs, That before the Reformation, there were perſons ſaved in the *Roman* Communion: About two hundred Years agone, there were no Communions in the World which were not corrupt, at leaſt no conſiderable Communions or Societies. It muſt needs be, that God had his Elect there, for he never leaves the World without them: Do not fear leaſt we ſhould ſend you to find theſe Elect among the *Waldenſes, Abbigenſes, Wickleſiſts,* and *Huſſites*;

theſe were Fore-runners, and like Mornings which went before the Sun of Reformation: but theſe Societies did not continue, nor did they make a Figure great enough in the World, to include all the Elect there.

Secondly, But on the ſubject of thoſe men which were ſaved in corrupt Communions, before our Reformation, know firſt, That we muſt not (almoſt at all) ſeek them among the Adult: Of a thouſand Children that are born, there is not the tenth part of them that attain to the Age of Reaſon; now all Children born in the Popiſh Communion, are ſaved, dying before the Age of Reaſon, becauſe they have part in the advantage of the general Covenant of Chriſtianity, which is preſerved in Popery, and they have no part in the Corruptions which have been added thereto; for perſons have no part in the Errours which corrupt the Covenant, but when they know, receive or tollerate them: Behold, therefore, nine hundred of a thouſand which were ſaved in the moſt corrupt times. Now, when God has nine hundred Elect among a thouſand men, we cannot ſay he has left the World without Elect perſons, and that Chriſtianity remained uprofitable: there were therefore always a great number of Elect perſons in the *Roman* Communion.

Thirdly, But after all, it muſt be known, That among the Adult, the number of thoſe, of whoſe Salvation we might well preſume, in the times preceeding our Reformation, is ſo ſmall, that we may well be amazed to think of it: for Hiſtories do repreſent the Corruption not only of Worſhip, but alſo of Manners ſo horrible and univerſal, that a man knows not where to fix his eyes, to find a perſon that might be ſaved: The Clergy were overflown with Debauchery; the Monks were Aſ-

ſemblies of profligate Perſons and Hypocrites; the Houſes of Nuns were filthy Bawdy-houſes: The People ſuffered themſelves to be born away by the torrent and examples of their Guides; the devout People ſcarcely knew the difference between the Creator and the Creature, and their Piety ſpent itſelf in Superſtitions, which are even a horrour to the wiſer Doctors of the *Roman* Church at this day.

Fourthly, Nevertheleſs, let us ſuppoſe, that among all theſe, there were ſome Elect, and ſome ſaved, I do maintain, that it was abſolutely by Miracle; I ſay, by Miracle, in the litteral ſence of the word, and without figure: As a man which lives in a hideous Mire, ſunk over head and ears, lives there by a Miracle. For the *Roman* Communion is damnable; that is a certain point: Men are ſaved there; 'tis becauſe the Promiſe of God cannot be in vain, and he cannot be without Children; but the time of Miracles doth not continue always; and we do not find ourſelves obliged to explicate unto you the manner of Miracles; for we do not know, by that alone, that theſe are Miracles. And 'tis to you, my Brethren, a prodigious raſhneſs to re-plung yourſelves in a Communion, where your Fathers did not live, but by Miracle, in hopes that naturally you ſhall live there: 'Tis juſt as if the *Jews*, at this day, ſhould run head-long into the Red-ſea, in hopes to paſs well through it, becauſe their Anceſtours did heretofore go through it without danger. God hath ways of withdrawing thoſe that are his, from a Spirit of Lyes and Superſtition, whilſt they live, or at leaſt at their death, which we do not exactly underſtand. Nevertheleſs, what your Apologiſt hath advanced, is very raſh, and very criminal; for he ſuppoſeth, with Monſieur *Nicolas*, Monſieur *de Meaux*, and your

other Convertors, That all thoſe that live in the *Romans* Church, and which were ſaved there, did partake in all her Superſtitions. This is falſe: and we are perſwaded, that an infinite number received Chriſtianity there, without taking part in Antichriſtianity, or that they repented of it before their death: Becauſe they do not comprehend how this may be done, was it not therefore done? This is to put bounds to the Divine Power: God hath his ways which are known to none but himſelf.

Fifthly, But I have almoſt no need of all this, that I have ſaid in the preſent Affair; for I declare to you, that although all your Anceſtours ſhould be ſaved in the *Roman* Church, whilſt they pertook in her Worſhips, although all the honeſt Papiſts at this day ſhould be ſaved, nevertheleſs you would not be in the way of Salvation, in the way in which now you are; and I will convince you thereof, in two words: the firſt is, That your own Apologiſt condemns you, *Your Fathers*, ſaith he, *were born and bred up in a Religion, and never heard any other Doctrines diſcourſed on.* How dare you compare your ſtate to that? Although he ſhould have mercy for ſuch perſons, would he have it for ſuch who have been brought up in the Boſom of Truth, who have not forſaken the Faith, but only the Profeſſion of it, who have ſubſcribed to Errours againſt their Conſcience, who adhere to Worſhips whereof the ſtrong and the weak do know the Filthineſs and Impurities? I have already ſaid unto you, and I do ſay it over again, *To act contrary to Conſcience*, hath ſomething ſo aggravating in an evil action, that it makes a moderate Superſtition become a kind of Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. You do well perceive this, when you go to Maſs with ſuch terrible regret and reluctancy:

it

it is your Conſcience that accuſes and condemns you. The other circumſtance, which puts you abſolutely out of all condition to compare with your Anceſtours, is, That by your weakneſs, you have ruined the greateſt Works of the Grace and Providence of God, which hath appeared ſince the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, that is to ſay, the Work of Reformation. 'Tis a thing paſt doubt, that ſince the death of the Apoſtles, there hath nothing happened ſo great as this magnificent Work, whereby God at one ſhock did overthrow almoſt half the Antichriſtian Empire, and very much weakned the other half.

God is jealous of his Works, and he cannot but look with a Soveraign Indignation upon the lapſe of thoſe, who by their fall runied the late glorious Reformation, and who proceeded ſo far as to blame it, and ſay as you ſay to us, *We muſt not Separate, we muſt tolerate Abuſes, we muſt expect the Separation that Jeſus Chriſt will make at the Day of Judgment.* Oh criminal Imagination! We muſt live in the Dirt and Slime; we muſt not reſtore to the Church her primitive Beauty; we muſt not diſengage the Truth from a hideous Maſs of Lyes, that do oppreſs it; we muſt not reſtore to God that Worſhip that hath been raviſhed from him; we muſt not remove from before his eyes ſo many Idols of Jealouſie; Have you never no holy Compunction for entertaining ſuch thoughts? Do not you perceive that your weakneſs in ſuffering yourſelves to be led to Maſs, will ruine the Reformation, if God don't bring a ſpeedy Remedy thereunto? The Proteſtants of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, will have the ſame Complaiſance for their King, that you have for yours. Popery re-united, will confede-

rate againſt all Proteſtant States; and then behold them ſpeedily tumbling into Superſtition by your Principles, and by your Conduct: So that by following you, we ſhall ſoon ſee the fruit of much Blood, ſo many Martyrs, and ſo many glorious Confeſſions periſh and come to nothing. If you give attention to this, you will no more compare yourſelves to thoſe poor miſerable Ignorants, which went whither they were led, who being placed in a night of deep Superſtition, ſaw not a beam of better Light, which way ſoever they turned their eyes; on one hand they ſaw behind them a multitude of Ages corrupt as their own, a Corruption which came by ſo long a deſcent to them, that it appeared a natural ſtate; on the other hand, they ſaw before them an Authority which ſwallowed them up; a Clergy Magnificent, Powerful, Tyrannical, Numerous, rich, and abounding in Spiritual and Temporal Thunders; all this amazed them in ſuch a manner, that they could not diſtinguiſh the ſtate in which they were: We do not think them ſavable in this ſtate, but we think you far leſs ſo in the eſtate in which you are. God by a blow from Heaven (the moſt miraculous that ever was ſeen) hath broken this diſmal Charm, he hath thundred, he hath lightned from Heaven, and diſperſed this Darkneſs. See whether you who have been Partakers of this Heavenly Light, be in an eſtate to flatter yourſelves with a Tolleration which God might have for your Anceſtours; ſo then if you gain any thing by your reaſonings, it will not be for you, but for your Children: for 'tis of them concerning whom we may ſay, it ſeems, they were born in that Religion, they were educated therein, 'tis probable God will ſave them, although they do communicate in a Worſhip Impure, and full of Superſtitions.

But,

But, in truth, you gain nothing either for your Children or yourſelves. The paſt time will return no more: the times of Darkneſs and Ignorance may indeed return, but the times of Tolleration and Sufferance will never return again. That which is done, can never be undone. The Light of the Reformation hath caſt abroad a very great Luſtre, and although at this day men endeavour to ſtifle it, the memory thereof will never be extinguiſhed, and the Truth which we have ſet in ſo great a light, can never be aboliſhed: For which reaſon, both we and our Poſterity, in all following Ages, are obliged to ſee, follow, and entertain this Light: If we do otherwiſe, there will be neither Excuſe nor Illuſion which will be able to ſave us out of the hands of the Judge of the World.

IN the preceding Letter, we ſent you ſome News from Languedoc: *Behold a Letter that will tell you more, we will give it you without any change or mutation.*

You have heard of the Death of Monſieur de Croſs, *Monſieur* Brouſſon *had bailed him, ſeeing him ſick in the Veſſel which was to carry him, with others, into* America. *He was an Example without Equal. The Biſhop of* Marſeilles, *told him,* Monſieur, If your Religion be true, I muſt confeſs that you are a Saint. *Let him die in his Religion, and be buried in a Dormitory of the* Turks. *He had not the grief to underſtand the death of his youngeſt Daughter, who had been carried ſome little time ſince from the Caſtle of* Saumiere *to* Valence, *with another of her Siſters, and four Daughters of Monſieur* Audemane's, *and Mademoiſelle* de la Farelle: *All theſe perſons are a thouſand times worſe treated, than if they were among Barba-*

Barbarians. At their arrival in the Hoſpital, he which hath the Government thereof, cauſed them to be ſhaven; afterwards he cauſed them to be ſtripped of their Shifts, to give them others of Hair, which made Sores and Ulcers on them to their fingers ends. They give them little Food, and a great many Blows: Mademoiſelle de la Farelle *received a blow with a Cudgel over her Face, which beat out all her fore-teeth. They ſeize on perſons every day of the Reformed Religion, on the Borders of* Lyons *and* Geneva. *Some days ſince they killed Monſieur* Quiſta, *who was conveying his Wife and Child out of the Kingdom. Meeting ſome Country-men, and finding himſelf well horſed, he made oppoſition to them; but one of them gave him a knock with a Flint, which overturned and killed him. His Wife and Child are now Priſoners. On this Accident the Wife of* M. Bonigoll *eſcaped, and is now at* Geneva.

April the 5th, 1687.

HE *which commits theſe Cruelties, of which this Letter ſpeaks, is the famous* Rapin, *of whom we have already told you ſomething. The Cruelties which he exerciſes in the Priſons of* Valence, *deſerve a particular Hiſtory; which we will give you as ſoon as we can.*

I hope that Marſeilles, *which has ſeen the laſt hours of the Martyrdom of Mr.* Du Croſſe, *will become more famous by the number of Martyrs, than by its Antiquities, and other Singularities. We have been informed that two good old men of* Vaſſi *in* Champagne, *have there received their Crowns. One of them is called Monſieur* Chantguyon, *of ſeventy four years of age, of which he employed thirty four in the ſervice of that Church, in quality of an Elder, with great care and fidelity. This good old man was arreſted on the Frontiers of* Champagne, *endeavouring to go out of the Kingdom; he was condemned to the Gallies; he appeals to the Parliament of*

Mets,

Mets, *whither he was tranſmitted; his Sentence was confirmed, and there he received that glorious Chain under which he breathed his laſt: he was ſo oppreſſed with Age and Infirmities, that he was ſo far from being able to bear a Chain, that he was not able to bear himſelf. His Judges were touched and afflicted with it; but they ſaid, they muſt make Examples. He went from* Mets *about the end of* September, *with his Brother-in-Law Mr.* Chemet, *who was Sixty nine years of age, and alſo in Chains, and much more infirm than he, having both a Rupture and an Aſthma. They were both full of joy, and gloried that they were found worthy to ſuffer for the Name and Truth of God. In all the places, through which they paſſed upon the Road, they found perſons which have given Teſtimony to their Conſtancy and Courage. Theſe two Martyrs bore their Chain to* Marſeilles; *but the end of their Journey was the end of their Race, and the time of their Coronation. They both died within a few days of each other, giving glory to God, and confeſſing his Truth, having never had any inclination to deny it, to deliver themſelves out of this ſad condition. Mr.* Chantguyon *is of the Bloud of the Martyrs; for he had for Grandfather* Peter Chantguyon, *who was one of thoſe that ſuffered death in the Maſſacre of* Vaſſi, *which was the Signal to the Civil War of the paſt Age.*

How ſad ſoever the ſtate of theſe Confeſſors, which ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt, may ſeem to be; 'tis nevertheleſs infinitely leſs calamitous than that of thoſe who are lapſed and fallen, whoſe Conſcience makes them feel thoſe torments, which cannot eaſily be expreſſed. We have thought our ſelves obliged to communicate to you on this ſubject, the Letter of a Perſon of great Quality, Wife to one of our moſt famous Confeſſors. She had imitated the courage of her Illuſtrious Husband for the ſpace of above a whole year: but the Tempter aſſailed her at an ill ſeaſon, and cauſed her to loſe her Crown. Behold how bitter the Tears are, which dropped from this unfortunate Gentlewoman!

Alas,

Alas, my dear Mr. ———, blame me not, if I have not acquainted you with the unhappy State in which I am; ſo great is my Confuſion, by reaſon of my Fall, that I have not the boldneß to publiſh it my ſelf. It is impoſſible to expreß unto you my Grief; 'tis ſuch, that I am not able to bear up againſt it; I am oppreſſed by the weight thereof; I am neither able to live, nor die; no body can conceive how lamentable my State is. I was ſo content with my Tryal, and ſo reſigned to the Will of God, that I could willingly have ſuffered death, if he had called me thereunto. I was acceptable, and in good reputation among all perſons, and enjoyed a wonderful reſt, and repoſe of mind. 'Tis true, it was a little diſturbed by the coming of my Son, who tormented me extreamly; but all was to no purpoſe. God beſtowed thoſe Mercies on me, that I did not deſerve, nor did I make any ſuitable returns for them. I preſumed too much on my ſelf, yet I was not altogether without ſuſpicion. Alas, how do I find true in experience, that the Spirit is ready, but the Fleſh is weak; and that it's a fearful thing to fall into the hands of an offended God! How great are my ſins, ſince the caſtigation of them is ſo terrible! Whilſt I write, I pour out tears, I do aſſure you; and they flow from me night and day. I repent, O my God, help my weakneß. I forgive you, that upon the firſt hearing of this thing, you cried out to all againſt me, and did judge that it was the World, Eſtate, and Eaſe, and to conclude, whatſoever you pleaſe, that was the cauſe thereof. I do not juſtifie my ſelf at all, nor do I plead any thing for my excuſe. I was weak and feeble, my Faith failed me in a time of need, and God did not inable me to ſuffer for his Name. In my unhappy ſtate, I have nevertheleß this perfect confidence in the mercy of my great God, that he will raiſe me up, and I ſhall glorifie him, whether it be in life or death, and that my Chriſt will be always gain to me, whether I live or die. He deſires not the death of a ſinner,

ner, but his converſion and life. My God, draw me, and I will run after thee, and do thou lead me to the Haven of Happineſs. Thou ſeeſt my heart, O my God, 'tis intirely thine, as well as my mouth: I will confeſs thee every-where. For the ſpace of four hours I was tormented by fifteen perſons; I cried with all my ſtrength, begging the Gallows and Death. I was nigh unto death; and how happy had I been, if I had died. I had not one moment of reſt, I knew not where I was, by reaſon of the great noiſe that was made: They made uſe of this great trouble and confuſion, and well perceiving that if they ſuffered me to return to my ſelf, they would gain nothing; therefore they repeated their Aſſaults with the greater force, and reduced me to the moſt pittiable condition in the world. I do not hide my anguiſh from any one; and I ſpeak with greater courage than ever, by the grace of my God I am prepared to ſuffer all the evil which can betide me in the world. The good God will be my defence, and my ſupport. I entreat you to pray to God for me, and don't think that I am faſtned to this World, I am more eſtranged from the love of it than ever. It ſeems to me that my Houſe is a Tomb: I will never more ſee any perſon; every thing that I ſee, reproaches me; my own Soul ſmites me ſo ſharply, that 'tis deplorable. Suffer with me in my grief, I pray you, I am worthy of pity: and oh that the great God would pardon and deliver us quickly from the Torments which we feel.

From ——— 15 *Jan.* 1687.

THis Letter, which hath made known what Conſcience can do, in the matter of Subſcriptions, obliges me to bring to your minds a matter of fact which happened lately. In the month paſt, forty perſons embarked themſelves on the Borders of Normandy, *in a Veſſel of ſeven Tuns, that is, to ſpeak properly, in a Challop, and this without any Proviſions for the ſupport of Life: They abandoned*

bandoned themſelves to death, and it may be ſaid, to a death apparently inevitable. For in ſuch a Veſſel, if the Wind and Sea had been contrary to them, they might have continued there long enough to have died of Famine. But as it pleaſed God, they were not above four days e're they gained the Coaſt of England, *and they paſſed them without eating. Behold what the force of Conſcience can do, and 'tis a good proof, that thoſe who are newly reunited to the* Roman Church, *are in great diſtreſs and perplexity. Amongſt theſe perſons there was Monſieur the Count of* Marancay, *aged about ſeventy years, of the Province of* Normandy; *and Madam his Wife, Siſter to Monſieur the Marqueſs of* Rochegiſar. *This new Story brings to my mind another of an elder date, which makes it farther appear what horrible Violence theſe forced Subſcriptions do to the Conſciences of men. 'Tis the example of a Woman named* Jane Baille, *Wife of a Chirurgeon named* Iſaiah Viridit, *of a little Village in the County of* Charollois, *named* Parayle Moyneau. *This poor woman being preſſed to the uttermoſt by her Perſecutions, took Pen from the hands of a Jeſuit named Father* Langeroon, *but at the ſame inſtant ſhe fell down as one dead, without any other ſign of life, than a convulſive motion in her right arm: The Jeſuit returned again another time accompanied with the Major, the Delegate of the Intendant, and many other Papiſts. This poor woman, for fear of loſing her Children, took the Pen a ſecond time in her hand to make her Subſcription; but in the very moment that ſhe made the letter* J, *which is the firſt letter of her name, ſhe fell into the ſame condition, and continued in it more than ſix hours. Every body was affected with it; the Major proteſted that he would have given a great deal of Money not to have been there on that occaſion, and it was more than five days e're he did recover from the diſorder that this Accident did occaſion to him. The Delegate himſelf was alſo moved at it, and promiſed to endeavour to get her a Paſport. There was*

no

no body but the Jeſuit, which was not moved at it; who ſaid, Let her burſt, ſhe is but an Hypocrite. *The Delegate, inſtead of a Paſſport for this poor woman, received Order to carry her to a Convent: to execute his Order, he cauſed her to be ſeized on by four Serjeants, in whoſe arms ſhe fell into the ſame ſtate in which ſhe was in the two preceding times. But nevertheleſs, they laid her on a Horſe, like a Pack without motion, and without life, and carried her to the Convent of the Religious of* St. Mary.

On occaſion of theſe Events thus happening, (which diſcover the cruel Oppreſſions and Troubles of Mind in which thoſe are which have ſigned their Abjurations) I cannot forbear to ſpeak to thoſe that have been ſo unhappy, and have yet no ſenſe of it, nor ſorrow for it. And here I will ſpeak not only to thoſe who are yet in that unhappy ſtate, but alſo to thoſe who have found opportunity of getting out of the Kingdom, and are riſen from their falls. We have ſeen ſome that have been touched and affected with it; but in truth the inſenſibility of the moſt part, makes me fear: And I tremble for ſome perſons, whoſe Piety was very eminent, who nevertheleſs count as nothing the fault which they have committed, in withdrawing themſelves through cowardize from the honour whereto God called them, by ſuffering for his Name. I will make but one Reflection thereupon, to make you perceive how much their heart deceives them. Let us ſuppoſe that all the Reformed of France *had imitated them, and that all preſerving the Truth in their hearts, had abandoned themſelves to this unhappy complaiſance for their Perſecutors, and ſigned their Abjuration; I ſay, if all had done ſo, there had not been at this day in* France *one Confeſſor, one Martyr, one man that had ſpoken for God, and maintained his Truth in Priſons, and in the midſt of Torments. Now this would have been the moſt dreadful of all God's Judgments, the greateſt mark of Reprobation for the Church, and the moſt frightful Curſe of Heaven.*

Heaven. For this would have been a Caſtigation of God, ſingular in its kind; for ſince there was a Church and Perſecutors, there was never any ſuch thing ſeen: there have been always Martyrs, always Confeſſors, always Believers that have perſevered in Priſons, and in the midſt of Puniſhments. 'Tis the Honour of the Church, 'tis her Triumph, 'tis the Glory of God, and the Crown of Men: Yea, in humane Affairs, in Intereſts purely ſecular, in cauſes where men ſuffer only for Truth and humane Right, there are no Examples where all forſook it, and no body remained ſtedfaſt thereto. So that if the Reformed Church of France *had remained without Confeſſors and Martyrs, ſhe would have been charged with an eternal Reproach, which the Bloud of all mankind would never have waſht off. Now 'tis not owing to theſe weak perſons, who have ſubſcribed to ſave their Lives, and ſecure their Eaſe and Repoſe, that the Church of* France *is not branded with this horrible Reproach. For if all had imitated them, that had been exactly our caſe. I eaſily forgive this weakneſs to thoſe whoſe Zeal and Piety was not eminent; but I do acknowledge, that without difficulty I cannot forgive thoſe, who after they had obtained the Reputation of very Pious and Devout perſons, have denied and refuſed to Jeſus Chriſt the Sacrifice of their Sufferings. Good God? what diſcouragement is this, to thoſe who perſevere in the Confeſſion of the Truth, the moſt part of whom never appeared ſo zealous as ſome of thoſe who are fallen, and flatter themſelves becauſe God has given them the opportunity of going out of the Kingdom, and recovering themſelves in a Country of Liberty and Freedom. I do not call this Perſeverance. I commend the prudence of thoſe which ſecure themſelves, but to account it their honour and reputation, I cannot. They ſacrifice their Country, their Wives, their Children, their Goods, and their Eaſe. I confeſs it, and 'tis true that is much.* But what will not a man give for his life? Every one will give skin for skin, and all that he has,

has, for his life: but put forth thine hand and touch his bone and his fleſh, and he will curſe thee to thy face. *He who hath not ſuffered thus far, hath not as yet given ſufficient proof of his love for the Truth. What ſhame and abatement of glory do theſe weak ones bring to our glorious Confeſſors, who reckon their lapſe and fall, for a thing of naught. According to them, our Martyrs are fools and obſtinate perſons, who ſuffer for a trifle, for a ſignature and ſubſcription which is required of them; which when they have given, they may ſave themſelves by going out of the Kingdom. Alas, if this fault be ſo ſmall a thing, why do the holy Champions of God ſuffer ſo many Evils to avoid it? Is it the Spirit of God which inſpires them with this Courage? If it be God that is the cauſe of this Holy Perſeverance, to what Spirit may we attribute this cowardize of refuſing to Jeſus Chriſt our Bodies to glorifie his Name, and do honour to his Truth? All that theſe poor Wretches ſay to us, is this: If you had been in our place, it may be you would have done no better than we have done. This may be true, but is it a lawful Excuſe? Is the Crime the leſs, becauſe we are all capable of committing it?*

I complain therefore, but do not rigorouſly condemn thoſe who have been ſo weak as to yield by Perſecution, provided they ſigh and lament in the ſecret of their own Souls, acknowledging and confeſſing their fault and their ſin. But I confeſs, I am not able to bear thoſe, who after they have received much, have returned ſo little, and who being perſons of great underſtanding, have had ſo little ſtability and courage, and cannot yet confeſs the fault they have committed, is very great and hainous.

The firſt of *May*, 1687.

The Eighteenth

PASTORAL LETTER.

A. M. D. J.

Upon occaſion of an Act falſely aſcribed to the Synod of Montpazier *in* Perigort; *by which they would prove, that in the year* 1659. *the Reformed of* Lower Guyenne *did Treat with the* Engliſh *about their entring into* France, *and delivering ſeveral Places in the Kingdom into their hands.*

Monſieur,

YOU have thought that the Accuſation, which *Soulier* the Prieſt hath renewed againſt the *Proteſtants* of *France*, does deſerve, that we interrupt the courſe of our *Paſtoral Letters*, to give the Publick a ſmall Apology concerning it. And indeed ſeeing we do employ our ſelves in refuting errors in matters of Right, for the juſtification of our holy Religion, we may, and ought to confute errours in matters of Fact, for the juſtification of perſons who make profeſſion of this Religion. So that I yield to your Reaſons, and at this time ſhall make an Apology for our ſelves againſt this barbarous and inhumane Accuſation. And firſt I advertiſe the Publick, that they give attention to the buſineſs

ſineſs about which we are now to treat, for they will ſee one of the moſt famous Impoſtures, that the eyes of him who ſeeth all things, ever did behold; they will ſee what is the Spirit of the Religion which for ſo long time we have oppoſed: they will know what our Perſecutors are capable of.

I know not what cheating Prieſts, and Apoſtate Miniſters, did forge ſome years ſince an Act in the Name of the Synod of *Lower Guyenne* which was held at *Montpazier* in the year 1659. on the firſt of *July*, and ſome days following, that they might perſwade, that the Reformed of that Province did at that time treat with the Engliſh about giving them entrance into the Kingdom, and delivering into their Hands all thoſe places of which they could make themſelves Maſters. This piece of Forgery appeared at that time, when they laboured with an incredible Heat, to thruſt the Reformed of *France* with all the ſpeed they could to their utmoſt Ruine. 'Twas at this time, that all the World (to pleaſe the Court) thought it a Duty to endeavour by all ſorts of Accuſations, to render them Odious. All places were full of Books, and Libels againſt *Calviniſm*, endeavouring to ſhew the Impurities of its Birth, the Horrors of its Life, the Furies of its Conduct, the Civil Wars that it did occaſion, the Spirit of Rebellion wherewithal it is animated, the Dangers in which it engaged the Crown, the Precipices, to the very borders whereof, it carried the Realm, its divers attempts againſt the Perſons of our Kings, and the State. All then was well received which promoted the principal end of the Clergy, and Court of *France*. And 'twas to animate the King to a ſpeedy execution of his Deſign, that this piece was forged. This Conſpiracy of the Synod of *Monpazier*, which was ſufficiently new, was the moſt proper means in the World to ſwell, and inlarge the Libels, which

were made againſt the Reformed. Nevertheleſs no Writer would own, or aſſert this Villainous Piece, becauſe 'twas viſible to be bad Mettal; Mr. *Maimbourg* was not a perſon ſcrupulous in the value, and worth of his Teſtimonies, when he endeavoured to ſupport what he had advanced; and this pretended Conſpiracy of *Montpazier* was a Teſtimony ſufficiently good, it ſeems to me to prove the Theſis which he had endeavoured to defend in his Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, 'tis that the Spirit of Violence, Fury, and Rebellion is the Soul of our Religion. Nevertheleſs neither he, nor Mr. *Arnald* in his Apology for the Catholicks, nor Mr. *Feure* who came ſince, did ever dare to hazard their Reputation on a Calumny ſo evident, and an Accuſation ſo ill proved and eſtabliſhed. I intreat you judge, whether it be true as they pretend, that the Court had the Act, and the Proof of this Conſpiracy in their hands, that the reſolution of *Montpazier* in its Original had been put into the hands of the King, by Mr. *Joly* Biſhop of *Agen*, and by the Cardinal *Bouillon*, and that the Court had judged the piece true. Conſider, ſay I, whether Mr. *Maimbourgh* who writ by the Order of the Court, and on purpoſe to make *Calviniſm* Odious, would have had no knowledge, or cognizance of it? And in caſe he had known, or underſtood it, is it not plain, and clear, that he would have made uſe of it, if he had thought it good, and valuable?

But at laſt a Perſon is found fit to ſerve as a Godfather to this Reprobate, and Baſtard-Child, 'tis *Soulier* the Prieſt, a man the moſt given up to the Spirit of Calumny, that ever was in the World, the moſt deſperate, and frontleſs Lyer that Popery ever bred up, and to make his Elogy in one word, *Bipedum nequiſſimus*, the *greateſt of Knaves*. This man publiſhes in the year 1682. a furious Libel againſt the Reformed, under the Title of, *The Hiſtory of the Edicts*

dicts of Pacification, in which amongſt other Proofs of our lewd, and Criminal Conduct proſecuted, and carried on to the end, he makes uſe of this Act, drawn up ſays he, by the Synod of *Montpazier*, in the form, and words, in which it is here ſeen.

The Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of Lower Guyenne, *Aſſembled in the Synod at* Montpazier *the firſt of* July 1659, *and ſome days following.*

"UPON the report made by Mr. "*Ricottier*, of the Care that he "hath taken with Mr. *Vignier* now abſent, at the deſire of ſome of the Society, to obtain that our Brethren of *England* "ſhould concern themſelves in the preſervation of "our Liberties, which they endeavour every day "to deſtroy, wherein they think he hath laboured "happily by the interpoſition, and aſſiſtance of Mr. "*Daret*. And having learnt from the Mouth of Mr. "*Daret*, and ſeen by Letters which have been written to him, and whereof he had given a Copy to "the ſaid Mr. *Ricottier* that to maintain us in our "Priviledges, and prevent the diſſipation of our "Flocks, they offer not only to interceed for us, "*but alſo in caſe of refuſal to bear Arms* "*into this Province, if we promiſe them,* "*and give them aſſurance to put into* "*their hands all the Cities, and places whereof* "*we can diſpoſe.* The Society approving the Care "of the ſaid Meſſieurs *Ricottier*, and *Vignier*, *after ha-* "*ving all promiſed by Oath made to God not to reveal* "*a Secret of this importance, return Thanks to the ſaid* "*Mr.* Daret *for what he had already done to make it* "*ſucceſsful, and do intreat him to go aſſoon as he can,*

The firſt was the Miniſter of Clairac, *the other of* Nerac.

Cromwell *was yet alive.*

" *and know what assurances they desire, and promise on* " *our part that we shall give all those that are possible,* and " as a Pledge thereof, they have drawn up the present " Act which shall be dispatcht to him to this end, " and purpose, and the Original put into the hands " of the said *Vignier*, to be secretly, and faithfully " kept there, until the business can be executed to " the Glory of God, and the Comfort of our poor " Afflicted Flocks, *&c.*

The Original is Signed by the President, the Assistants and the Register of the Synod.

This Imposture caused all those that saw it to tremble, and the Reformed stirred all that they could to justifie themselves from this Calumny; but this was no time to succeed in an Enterprise of Justification, for Persons whom they had resolved to destroy after the most cruel manner in the World, and whom by consequence they would look upon as Criminals. Nevertheless the Synod of the Province of *Guyenne* did what they could, and took the Resolution expressed in the Act of the last Synod held in the Province, and I think the last Synod that was held in *France*. Behold the Act faithfully printed according to the Copy, Signed by the Secretary himself.

An Extract from the Legier Book of the Acts of the Synod of the Reformed Churches of Lower Guyenne, *held in the City of the upper* Thonneins, *by the Permiſſion of the King, the ninth of* December, *and ſome days following, in the year* 1683.

ARTICLE the Sixth.

THE Deputies of the Church of *Burdeaux* having repreſented to the Society, that in a Book made by Mr. *Soulier* the Prieſt, printed at *Paris*, 1682, Intituled, A Hiſtory of the *Edicts of Pacification*; the ſaid *Soulier* in the 393 page of that Book, and in that which follows, it hath reported an Act, which he pretends to be made by the Synod of *Monpazier*, to give thanks to Mr. *Ricottier*, and *Vignier*, both Miniſters for the Care they had taken to engage the *Engliſh* in the Intereſts of the Reformed Churches of this Kingdom, with theſe two Circumſtances noted in the Margin of that Book, the one that the ſaid Mr. *Ricottier* was Miniſter of *Clairac*, the other that *Cromwel* was yet alive then, and at the time of the ſaid Act, adding that the Original thereof had been put into the hands of the ſaid *Vignier*, and taken in his Cloſet after his Death by Mr. *Monier* Miniſter of *Nerac*, that this Act was put into the hands of Monſieur the late Biſhop of *Agen*, and whereas this Act is a ſuppoſititious piece, and injurious to the Honour of the Synod, and to the Memory of the ſaid *Ricottier*, who was then Miniſter of the Church of *Burdeaux*, they account themſelves particularly concerned to make the Calumny of this Act appear, and al-

ſo their inviolable Fidelity to the Service of the King; therefore they repreſented the ſaid Book, and likewiſe the ſaid Legier Book of the Synod held at *Montpazier*, the firſt of *July* 1659, deſiring the Commiſſioners to view the ſaid Book in the page marked, and quoted, and likewiſe the Legier Book of the Synod of *Montpazier*; but the Gentlemen, the Commiſſaries ſaid, it was no part of their Commiſſion to examine Books, or Papers of preceeding Synods, that it appertained to the Society to look to their juſtification, where, and as they ſhould think good, that for their parts they pretended not to take any cognizance thereof. Whereupon the Society after they had reflected upon the Importance, and meaning of the ſaid Act, and having examined it together with the Legier Book of the Synod held at *Montpazier*, the firſt of *July*, 1659, it appeared by comparing theſe two pieces, that the aforeſaid Act printed in the Book of *Soulier* is not in the ſaid Papers of the Synod; and moreover that the falſeneſs of this pretended Act is clearly proved by two Circumſtances in matter of Fact, one whereof is that by the Table of the ſaid Legier Book of the Synod of *Montpazier*, it appears that the late Mr. *Ricottier* was not Miniſter of the Church of *Clairac*; the other Circumſtance is this, that 'tis certain that *Oliver Cromwel* died the thirteenth of *September*, 1658, and ſo it was impoſſible that the Churches of this Province could have any Correſpondence with him in the year 1659. After which the Society reſolved that humble Remonſtrances ſhould be made to his Majeſty, to aſſure him of the inviolable Fidelity that the ſaid Churches had preſerved, and ſhould always preſerve for his Service, and to deſire that he would be pleaſed to appoint that the ſaid *Soulier* ſhould be Condemned to make them ſuch ſatisfaction, as he ſhould judge fit, with prohibition both

to

to him, and all others, that for the time to come they injure them no more by Calumnies of that nature.

The preſent Extract is taken from the Papers of the Act of the Synod held at the City of the Upper Thonniens, *the ninth of* September, *and ſome days following in the Year* 1683, *by me* Francis Senilh, *heretofore Miniſter of* Lavardac, *in* Guyenne, *and choſen to Collect the Acts of the ſaid Synod, who have the ſaid Papers in my poſſeſſion. Given at* Amſterdam *the five and twentieth of* April, 1687.

F. Senilh, Secretary of the ſaid Synod.

The Prieſt *Soulier* hath made his Reflections upon this Motion and Act of the Synod of *Thonniens,* after his manner; we will examine them by and by. The Court of *France* being under no diſpoſition to hear the Juſtifications, which they could produce on this ſubject, they were obliged to juſtifie themſelves to the Publick. And becauſe *France* was no place, nor had been for a long time, in which it was permitted to defend the cauſe of God, and the Innocent, they were forced to Print what they had to ſay thereon in a ſtrange Country. The Author of a Book intitled, *The Spirit of Monſieur* Arnold, inſerts in his Work, the Arguments by which this pretended Act might be proved falſe: and he finds no leſs than Nine which he calls invincible, and which indeed are ſo, and will always be ſo, in the opinion of every equal and diſintereſted Judge. At the ſaid time he there makes a little Hiſtory of the divers Gradations, by which the Prieſt *Soulier* hath paſſed to become an Author, ſince he was either a Taylor or a Shooemaker,

maker, at *Paris*, to ſhew what credit ought to be given to the Reports of ſuch a man, who owes his Advancement to his Miſſionary Spirit, *i. e.* to a Spirit of Violence, Paſſion, and Falſhood againſt the Reformed. For behold exactly the Spirit of Mercers, Shooe-makers, and Cutlers who have left their Trades and Shops to aſcend the Bench, and to run about *France* with the Memoirs of *Veron*. The Prieſt *Soulier*, who had been very well recompenſed for his Hiſtory of the Edicts of Pacification, by a Penſion which the Clergy had aſſigned unto him, being allured by the Bait, judged it convenient, to make a great Book exactly on the ſame ſubject, upon which he had made a little one. 'Tis no longer the *Hiſtory of the Edicts of Pacification*, 'tis at this day, *The Hiſtory of* Calviniſm, *containing its Birth, its Progreſs, its Decay and End in* France. But don't miſtake yourſelves, 'tis the ſame thing, the firſt was in little, this is in great; 'tis, nevertheleſs, the ſame Countenance, the ſame Picture, as well as the ſame Author, and the whole Dedicated *to the King*, that is to ſay, Monſieur *Soulier* is willing to raiſe himſelf Succeſſour to Monſieur *Maimburgh*. He had put his Calumnies againſt the Reformation of *France*, into an Abridgment in his firſt Work, this got him only a moderate Penſion; his knowledge and his parts are very mean and limited; to turn to ſome other ſubject, and make a new Book againſt the *Calviniſts*, to gain a new Penſion; this was not very eaſie, therefore he judged it more convenient to make again the ſame Book under a new form, much larger than the former, hoping that this would procure for him a much more ample Reward: Nor was he miſtaken, for as a Recompence of this laſt Work, they have procured for him an Abbacy in *Xaintonge*; ſo that from hence forth 'twill be

no longer *Soulier the Priſt*; 'tis *Monſieur the Abbot*: and I hope for his next work it will be, *My Lord the Biſhop*. And then we ſhall ſee the Proverb exactly turned, it will not be from a *Biſhop* to a *Miller*, but from a *Miller* to a *Biſhop*.

In the Preface of this new Book, which we expect, and which muſt promote Monſieur *Soulier* to a Biſhoprick; he will ſay no more as he hath in the Preface of this, *I content myſelf to anſwer theſe paſſionate Writers, that my Conſcience doth not reproach me, about any of theſe matters of Fact, and that I have ſo little laboured for temporal Conſiderations, that I aſſure myſelf the Miniſter* Jurien, *how able ſoever he ſeems in his Searches and Inquiries, will not find my name in the diſtribution of Rewards, nor of that of Benefices.* The Miniſters without being very able in Searches and Inquiries, will then eaſily find the name of Monſieur *Soulier* among the Diſtributions of Rewards and Benefices, and they hope that this lucky Hiſtorian will ſuddenly have a new degree of Honour, when he ſhall have put the Hiſtory of *Calviniſm* under a third form. In expectation of this new Dignity, and without regarding what he has at preſent, we ſhall not take notice of this honeſt man, under any other appellation but that of *Soulier* the Prieſt, as hath been cuſtomary unto him. So then Monſieur *Soulier* the Prieſt hath thought good to give *Calviniſm* a hundred Blows after its Death, and to cover it with Infamy by a great Book of ſeven hundred Pages, in Quarto: He muſt be an Enemy to his own Repoſe, and ſearch out buſineſs out of briskneſs of Humour, that will trouble himſelf to Anſwer the Accuſations and Falſities wherewith this great Volumne is filled: for excepting a few matters of Fact, there is nothing in it but what Monſieur *Arnold* and Monſieur *Maimburgh*, and others have ſaid,

ſaid, to which it is believed that the *Calviniſts* of *Holland*, as Monſieur *Soulier* calls them, have anſwered very well, and very much at large. But we cannot, nor ought not to neglect this buſineſs of the Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, becauſe 'tis a new thing, and becauſe *Soulier*, in purſuit of a Commiſſion granted him by the King, hath made a furious expence of Wit to defend the Truth of what he had affirmed: As he hath repeated in his Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, all which was in his Hiſtory of Edicts, but dreſſed up after a more magnificent and ample manner, he hath likewiſe repeated the Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, with all the circumſtances and reaſons which may ſupport the truth of it. We have ſeen the firſt Act without Form, and without Subſcriptions; we muſt ſee it, ſuch as it is, at preſent, in this new Hiſtory, corrected and augmented by the Author: corrected in the name *Daret*, which is changed into *Durel*; augmented by four Subſcriptions which are here below. But after all, maimed of three Marginal Annotatiods, which do a great deal of Honour to the Piece, and him that produced it. Behold it therefore according to its new Edition.

The Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of Lower Guyenne, *Aſſembled in a Synod at* Montpazier, *the firſt of* July, 1659, *and ſome days following.*

The Conſpiracy of the Synod of Montpazier.

"ON the Report made by Mon-
"ſieur *Ricottier*, of the care
"that he took with Monſieur *Vignier*,
"now abſent, at the deſire of ſome of the Socie-
"ty, to obtain, that ſome of our Brethren of *Eng-*
"*land* ſhould concern themſelves in the Preſerva-
"tion

"tion of our Liberties, which they endeavour e-
"very day to deſtroy: wherein they think he hath
"laboured happily, by the interpoſition and aſſi-
"ſtance of Monſieur *Durel.* And having learnt
"from the Mouth of the ſaid *Durel,* and ſeen by
"Letters, which were written to him, and where-
"of he had given a Copy to the ſaid Monſieur
"*Ricottier,* that to maintain us in our Priviledges,
"and prevent the Diſſipation of our Flocks, they
"offer not only to Interceed for us, *but alſo in caſe of*
"*Refuſal, to bear Arms into this Province, if we pro-*
"*miſe them, and give them aſſurance to put into their*
"*hands all the Cities and places whereof we can di-*
"*ſpoſe.* The Society approving the care of the
"ſaid Meſſieurs *Ricottier* and *Vignier*, *After having*
"*all promiſed by Oath, made to* GOD, *not to reveal*
"*a Secret of this importance, return Thanks to the ſaid*
"*Monſieur* Durel, *for what he had already done, to*
"*make it ſucceſsful, and do intreat him to go as ſoon*
"*as he can, and know what Aſſurances they deſire,*
"*and promiſe on our part, that we ſhall give all thoſe*
"*that are poſſible*; and as a Pledge thereof, they
"have drawn up the preſent Act, which ſhall be
"diſpatcht to him to this end and purpoſe, and
"the Original put into the hands of the ſaid *Vig-*
"*nier*, to be ſecretly and faithfully kept there, un-
"til the buſineſs can be executed to the Glory of
"GOD, and the Comfort of our poor afflicted
"Congregations, *&c.*

Signed, *Ricottier,* Moderator.
E. Durel, Aſſiſtant.
J. Aſimont, Choſen to Collect the Acts.
J. Meyſonnet, Secretary.

There

There are no attempts imaginable which the Prieſt *Soulier* doth not make, to defend this falſe Piece: But we ſee that God doth ſtrike theſe Impoſtors with a Spirit of Blindneſs, ſo that they ſtumble in places where it were eaſie for them to be upon their guard. The Work hath appeared in publick a long time ſince, and we were adverti-ſed from *France*, that this part thereof was envenomed, leud, and worthy that we ſhould make the Injury and Reproach thereof fall upon its Author. But the *Calviniſts* of *Holland*, of whom Monſieur *Soulier* ſpeaks with ſo much contempt, have ſo little eſteem for his Works, that they did not put themſelves to the trouble of obtaining this. And the Printers of *Holland*, who print all things that are ſaleable, did not think that the Sale of the *Hiſtory of* Calviniſm would pay the charge of the Preſs. The reaſon therefore why we Anſwer to it ſo late is, becauſe we could not recover any Copy thereof, at laſt we reſolved to obtain it by an Expreſs, otherwiſe it had never paſſed our Frontiers. We have therefore ſeen and read it, and have judged that the Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, did indeed deſerve that we ſhould reply to it. But before we defend our Arguments for the Falſhood thereof, and produce new ones, 'tis neceſſary once more that you know who the Prieſt *Soulier* is, that you may alſo know of what weight his Authority is: but I chooſe rather that you know it from the mouth of one of his Brethren, than from ours; for which reaſon we ſhall here produce a Letter which Monſieur *Le Feure*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, did write to one of his Friends concerning this Gentleman, and this ſince the *Hiſtory of the Birth, Progreſs, Decay, and Ruine of* Calviniſm appeared in the World.

A Letter of Monſieur Le Ferre, *Doctor of the* Sorbonne, *to Monſieur* de M. *concerning Monſieur* Soulier *the Prieſt.*

I Muſt confeſs faithfully, *Monſieur*, that I have always believed, that a politick Diſſimulation of thoſe Reſentments, which a man cannot diſcover without prejudice to his intereſt, was not the Vice of our Nation, and that it ought to be the horrour of men of the Character which we bear; I ſpeak of Reſentments which are believed juſt, and whoſe end is the Defence of Truth, and not a Chimera of Reputation, or falſe worldly Honour: I have been hitherto, and am yet perſwaded that 'tis to be an Enemy to Truth, to ſuffer it to be oppreſſed then, when there is reaſon to fear that a man ſhall draw upon himſelf the Perſecution of thoſe which oppoſe it; for I have made to myſelf a Rule of that ancient Maxim of the Fathers of the Church, *Let us be Baniſhed ſo the Truth be Preached.* Behold, *Monſieur*, the only reaſon why I have had ſo few Conteſts with perſons of eminent Merit, ſo that the Prieſt *Soulier* had paſſed in ſilence, if he had not obſerved a quite oppoſite conduct. Judge thereof, *Monſieur*, by the following Hiſtory, in the Year 1681, the learned Jeſuit, Father *Meſnier*, being choſen by the Clergy for their Agent-General, and Counſel to the Syndicks of the Dioceſs of this Kingdom, proſecuting the Deſtruction of the Temples of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, built contrary to the Edicts, publiſhed a Collection about thoſe matters, printed at *Paris* by Monſieur *Leonard*, Bookſeller to the Clergy: In the time of this Impreſſion, Monſieur *Soulier* publiſhed a little Work, where, by way of Eſſay, he accuſes

cuſes the Syndecks of Ignorance, as having ſuffered the Preſervation of many Churches which ought to have been deſtroyed. The Father *Meſnier*, ſeeing that this blow would fall directly upon him, thought himſelf obliged to refute this Dream of Monſieur *Soulier*: he therefore employs about twenty of the laſt Pages of his Book, to convince this *Monſieur* of Ignorance. He concludes them by accuſing him *of Falſhood, of Calumnie, and of being a perſon that at moſt knew no more than to Read and Write, and ſending him to the exerciſe of his firſt Trade and Employment.*

Monſieur *Soulier* ſaw and diſſembled the thing from 1681, until the end of this Year 1686, that is to ſay near ſix Years. Why did he keep ſilence ſo long? and why ſpeaks he now, after he had been ſo long dumb? Think of it what you pleaſe, *Monſieur*, but behold that which I think moſt reaſonable concerning it: The Father *Meſnier* was alive, and is now dead. *Soulier* owed to him what he knew in the matter of Edicts, againſt thoſe of the Reformed Proteſtant Religion, which he hath dreſſed over again to give a taſt of them to the World. The Father *Meſnier* made uſe of him to be a Servant and a Scribe, and he is not the firſt, who from the Servant of an Author, is become an Author himſelf. The Servants of Phyſitians do every day ſteal the Secrets of their Maſters.

The Father *Meſnier* is therefore dead, and Monſieur *Soulier* hath filled up his place in a very ſhort ſpace of time. The Revocation of the Edict of *Nants* followed, by the Deſtruction of the Churches of thoſe of the Reformed Proteſtant Religion, having rendered his pretended Employment much more unprofitable, than the Work which he reproaches me for ſending into the World a little

too

too late; nevertheleſs, being puffed up with his new Place and Preferment, he was not able to endure any longer to be accuſed of Ignorance.

But why does he fall upon me? 'Tis becauſe I being neceſſarily engaged to take part in the buſineſs conteſted by Father *Meſnier*, and him, I put myſelf on the ſide of the Maſter againſt the Servant, and to ſave myſelf the labour of confuting *Soulier*, I ſaid that it had been done by Father *Meſnier*. Yea, I had the Charity not to name *Soulier*, when I ſaid, as a ſimple Hiſtorian, in the 208th Page, of the ſecond Part of my Collection, That this Father, knowing what had been his firſt Employment, counſelled him to explain that *Greek* of *Ariſtophanes*, ἑρδέτω τὸς ἔργος ἐιδέη τέχνην, which is expreſſed by another Proverb, *Let not the Shooemaker go beyond his Laſt.* Nevertheleſs Monſieur *Soulier* fears not to advance, by the blackeſt Calumnie which can be imagined, in the 678th Page of his Book, *That I have exceeded (in that which is moſt groſs) what all the Proteſtant Writers have publiſhed againſt him.* Where is Faith, where is Conſcience! The Father *Meſnier* (which I have tranſcribed, in the Chapter concerning Monſieur *Soulier*) doing him the ſame favour in a multitude of heads wherein he is accuſed by this Father; Is he a Proteſtant? I could ſooner have pardoned him, if he had only diſſembled that the Father *Meſnier* is the Author of the Evil which I have done him: Dogs bite the Staff wherewithal we ſtrike them. But that he makes me the Eccho of the Proteſtants, in the contempt which they put upon him, when I plaid the good Husband in what concerned his Reputation, by treating him leſs ill, than thoſe of our Religion which know him better than I; this is that which cannot be endured.

I do nevertheleſs affirm, *Monſieur*, that I find my ſelf all at once diſarmed, when I think that there is nothing of Merit or Honour to be gotten by ſuch an Adverſary. He boaſts at this day, that he hath ſtudied the buſineſs of Edicts thirty Years, and in his Work of 1681, he confeſſes (as Father *Meſnier* reproaches to him) that he had never ſeen thoſe that *Henry* the Fourth had granted to the Cities of the League, whereof, nevertheleſs he was willing to make uſe againſt the Syndicks, and the Cenſors of the Dioceſs of the Kingdom.

Who will not deſpiſe an Adverſary which proves that I have not the leaſt knowledge of the Affairs of thoſe of the Proteſtant Reformed Religion, becauſe I have quoted a National Synod held at *Loudun*. And to maintain this falſe Accuſation, he ſays, Page the 681 of his Book, That *if I had only read the firſt leaf of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, I ſhould have found in the Table of the National Synods, of thoſe of that Religion, that there was never any held at* Loudun. For if there were never any held at *Loudun*, why did he write in the 63 Page of his *New Bernard*, this which follows in expreſs terms: *The twelfth Article of the National Synod held at* Loudun, *the* 5th *of* April, 1596, *&c?* This was pitty, but there is more in the caſe. This Doctor, in point of Tables of Books, this man converſant in the matter of Edicts, for theſe thirty Years, knows not, that in the Year 1659, there was a National Synod of thoſe of the Reformed Proteſtant Religion held at *Loudun*, by the permiſſion of his Majeſty: A man is therefore Ignorant, according to this unlearned Author, becauſe he knows that which is, and is not ignorant of it; or becauſe he doth not fain himſelf ignorant thereof, as he doth.

After

After this, is he to be believed, when he ſays, I have tranſcribed, or copied him? My Work contains 800 Pages, and he accuſes me to have Abridged the biggeſt, and the moſt conſiderable of his Books, in the fifteen firſt. Never was falſhood publiſhed with ſo little colour: I make the Publick Judge thereof; and if I have any thing wherewith to reproach myſelf, it will be that I was not willing to ſee the faults of his Works, that I might not be obliged to reprove them. I have ſaid for example, in the twelfth Page of my Work, that *Peter Mengin* was burnt at *Meaux*, with thirteen of his Companions, by a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*; he ſays, in the ninth Page of his *Hiſtory of Edicts of Pacification*, that he was burnt with fourteen of his Companions, which is contrary to the Decree, which takes notice of no more but thirteen, and thoſe mentioned by their Names, and Sirnames. I could produce a hundred faults of like nature, but to what good purpoſe would it be? An Author like him, who fears not to give the Lie to the Clergy of *France*, and to ſome of its illuſtrious Members, bears ſo viſible a Character of Malice, in the opinion of all honeſt men, that if they would pray for him, it is that the Clergy might double his Penſion to put him to ſilence.

Behold the proof of what I affirm, Authors of the Reformed Proteſtant Religion, having maintained in their Works, that the Edict of *Nantes* was granted to their Fathers, as an acknowledgment of the Service they had done for the State, Monſieur *Soulier*, in his *Hiſtory of* Calviniſm, ſays, That it was the ſtrangeſt Paradox that ever was publiſhed, *it being not true that they had obtained this Edict by their Services.* Nevertheleſs, the General Aſſembly of *France*, held at *Paris* in the Years

1655, and 1656, in a Seſſion where Cardinal *Mazarine* ſat Preſident, did acknowledge, that King *Henry* the Fourth, coming out of the boſom of Hereſie, * *and being willing to acknowledge the Services which had been done him by thoſe of that Party, granted them the Edict of* Nantes. And the late Monſieur *de Perefixe*, † Archbiſhop of *Paris*, ſpeaks of him in theſe words: Henry *the Fourth, with all his Prudence, had ſcarce enough to govern himſelf in ſuch manner, that the Catholicks, and the Pope might be content with his Conduct, and that the* Hugenots *might have no cauſe of Fear, or Diviſion; his Duty and Conſcience inclined him to the aſſiſtance of the former, but Reaſon of State, and the great Obligations he had to the latter, would not permit him to make them deſperate. Therefore to keep a neceſſary temperament, he granted them an Edict larger than thoſe which went before, which is called the Edict of* Nantes.

* *Page* 152, of the Verbal Proceſs of this Aſſembly.

† Hiſtory of *Henry* the Great, *p.* 223. of the *Paris* Edition in 1662.

After this, *Monſieur*, will you not think me diſpenſed withal, for anſwering more at large to the Dreams and Dotages of Monſieur *Soulier*.

'Twas ſix Years ſince that Father *Meſnier* reproacht to him, That he underſtood not *Latine*, and that he had ſcarce wit enough to Write and Read: He ought at leaſt to have applied himſelf thereto ſince that time, but he hath neglected to do it, and labours himſelf to revive the old *French* Proverb, *'Tis a brave thing for a Prieſt to know how to Read and Write.* Behold ſome proofs thereof: He writes in Page the 632, of his laſt Book, *Je plaidè ces affaires*; it ought to have been written, *Je plaidai*: at the 678, *J'y âjoutè, j'en donnè*, inſtead of ſaying, *J'y ajoutai, j'en donnai*; in the ſame place he hath written *Plagieres* inſtead of *Plagiaires*; you will find a hundred of this kind.

But

But behold enough to juſtifie me againſt ſo feeble an Enemy. Let him write till Dooms-day about theſe matters, I ſhall not looſe my time to recover him from his Wandrings, becauſe the Publick never loves Repetitions; and beſides, when a perſon hath once written things, like a man of Honour and Conſcience, he muſt leave God to do the reſt, and ought to be aſſured, that time will always acknowledge and confeſs true Merit. 'Tis a long time ſince it was ſaid concerning the Books of *Homer*, That they would become more valuable every day: *Poſteritate ſuum creſcere ſentit opus.* I am very much miſtaken, if the contrary be not verified concerning the Works of *Soulier*. But to what purpoſe is it to offer violence to Nature; he was never born to make choice Works: Nevertheleſs he is willing that men ſhould range him amongſt illuſtrious Perſons. He may pretend to it with as much reaſon as he has to maintain what he had advanced in his *Hiſtory of Edicts*, that *Cromwell* dying in the Month of *September*, 1658, was yet alive in the Month of *July* 1659, becauſe his Son, which Poſterity will never know under the name of *Cromwell*, lived then; I conſent, that Poſterity acknowledge *Soulier* for an Author, when it ſhall acknowledge *Cromwell* the Son, under the ſimple name of *Cromwell.*

From Paris *the 7th of* September, 1686.

It ſeems to me, that theſe two Authors, Father *Meſnier* the Jeſuit, and Monſieur *le Ferre*, are worthy of credit in the preſent Affair: We have therefore affirmed nothing againſt *Soulier* the Prieſt, which is not certain: he is of baſe Extraction, he came from the Dung-hill; he underſtands neither *Greek* nor *Latine*; he was a Mechanick; he ſtole ſome Learning from Father *Meſnier*, and of a Servant is become a Maſter. We have reported this after others, without any intent of making an Accuſation, or Crime thereof: On the contrary, it would be much to his Reputation and Praiſe, if he had advanced himſelf by honeſt ways and methods: If it could be ſaid, he was nothing, but has made himſelf ſomething by his Induſtry, and by the Learning he hath obtained; he ought to be commended inſtead of being blamed for it. But we conclude quite otherwiſe from thence, 'tis that taking his Original from the Dung-hill, and receiving a mean Education, he retains the inclinations thereof, and is become eminent by ſurpaſſing his Maſters in Cheats, in Iniquities, Falſhoods, and Lies, *&c.* On this laſt point we call his *Maſter, Meſnier*, Witneſs againſt him, who inſtructed him in the Profeſſion of bidding Defiance to Honeſty, and Conſcience, in favour of the Catholick Church.

He concludes, ſays Monſieur *le Ferre, by accuſing him of Falſhood, and Calumnie, and as being a perſon who at moſt knew no more than to write and read, and by ſending him to the exerciſe of his firſt Trade and Employment.* Monſieur *le Ferre* is not content to prove the Falſhood of the Prieſt *Soulier*, by the Authority of Father *Meſnier*, he makes it evident by Inſtances, and Examples which he gives thereof, which doth demonſtrate, that this man is capable

of

of denying the moſt notorious matters of Fact, as is this, that the Edict of *Nantes* was granted by *Henry* the Fourth, to our Fathers, as an Acknowledgment of the Services which he had received from them. Such is that which he affirms everywhere, that we have always been the Aggreſſors in all the Civil Wars; ſuch is that which he ſays, That upon all occaſions, by ſecret Practiſes, or open Rebellions, we have conſpired the Ruine of the Monarchy, and the Regal Authority: To conclude, ſuch is that which he maintains, That the Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew* was not a contrived buſineſs, but the Reſolution was taken upon the ſpot, and that it was rather an event of Chance, or Hazzard, than an effect of Deliberation. A man may find a hundred paſſages in this Hiſtory, much more loud and heinous than theſe, which make it appear how much this man is conſecrated to Lying, and devoted to the Prince of Darkneſs: Therefore nothing hath been affirmed in the Hiſtory given of his Life, but what is true, and thoſe two ſmall circumſtances, concerning the Falſhood whereof, he makes ſuch Out-cries, *viz.* his Reſidence in the Street *Geures*, and his *Curacie* in one of the Lordſhips of Monſieur *de Marillac*, are not ſufficiently important, to make thereof an Accuſation of Falſhood, eſpecially when we had been miſinformed therein: Seeing theſe are the only things to which he hath thought fit to reply, in the Abridgment of his Hiſtory, 'tis a proof he hath nothing to ſay, about all the reſt which is much more important; but this is enough to make known our Accuſor; let us come now to the Accuſations.

We will follow our Author ſtep by ſtep, nevertheleſs without ſtaying ourſelves upon the Impertinencies which he mingles among things, which

may ſeem to be of ſome weight. After he hath reported the pretended Act of the Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, he gives the reaſon why he produced it in his firſt Hiſtory without Form, and without Subſcriptions.

As I had no deſign to do wrong to particular perſons, ſays he, *but only to ſhew what was the Spirit of* Calviniſm, *and what it is capable of*; *I ſuppreſſed the names of thoſe who Signed this Confederation, in my Hiſtory of Edicts.* So that 'tis out of Charity, that *Soulier* the Prieſt did ſuppreſs the Names of thoſe that Signed this Act; This is admirable, good Prieſt! Who is there that does not admire his Charity? Are not all his Writings full of the Characters of this excellent Vertue? 'Tis out of Charity that he blew the fire to kindle the Perſecution, and that he made odious Libels, full of Lies, againſt perſons that never did him any wrong. Obſerve that the Charity of this good Prieſt doth not conſider, that to ſpare ſome ſingle perſons, it neglects what it owed to the King: for a man is always obliged to diſcover Conſpirators, without having regard to ſingle perſons. He will not fail to anſwer to this, the King knew the buſineſs: for he tells us, that this Act was given to Monſieur the Cardinal of *Bouillion*, by Monſieur *Foly* the Biſhop of *Agen*, and that Monſieur the Cardinal of *Bouillion*, gave it to the King. This is very well, but this is the very thing that makes us ſuſpect his Charity. For ſince the King knew the Names of the Conſpirators, a man could not do them wrong, nor expoſe them more to the Diſpleaſure of the King: his Majeſty having not judged it fit to chaſtiſe them, they had nothing farther to fear by the publication of their Names. So that till the Prieſt *Soulier* hath given us more valuable proofs of his Charity, we will ſay, that the true reaſon

reaſon why he gave us this Act without Subſcriptions, was becauſe he very well foreſaw that the Subſcriptions would diſcover the Myſtery, and the Cheat.

It may be that his Monſieur *Daret*, who was not in the World, nor never had been, and of whom he had never heard any thing ſpoken, did appear to him, a perſon very improper to fill the place of an Aſſiſtant-Moderator, in which he ought to do and ſay much, and by conſequence could not be ſupplied by a Phantome. Beſides Monſieur *Aſimont*, who was the Secretary then living, ſpeaking, and reſiding in *France*, would have been able, although he were a Miniſter, and a perſecuted Miniſter, and had his mouth ſtoped, to have returned upon him the injury of this Falſhood: for 'tis known that ſingle perſons take theſe ſort of matters more warmly, than whole Bodies and Societies of men, becauſe the danger is more urgent and preſſing upon them.

'Tis true, that the Synod of *Thonnins*, in the Month of *December*, in the Year 1683, drew up the Act which we have ſeen above. But the Prieſt *Soulier* ſays thereon, *Nevertheleſs theſe Gentlemen, who had never taken this Reſolution, but the better to hide their Game, ſtaid there.* And ſome Pages after, *Did they proceed any farther in purſuit of this Reſolution?* That is to ſay, to carry their Complaints to the King, and proſecute *Soulier* as a Calumniator: *All theſe threatnings*, ſays he, *are vaniſhed into ſmoke, and it was well ſeen, that all this noiſe was nothing elſe but a pure effect of their Policy.* This is very wicked in the mouth of a man who knows, as all the World doth, that from the Synod of *Thonnins*, unto the firſt Miſſion of the Dragoons, there paſſed not above fifteen or ſixteen Months, that the ruine of the Reformed was ſworn, and determined to a

ſtated

ſtated time, that for the ſpace of four Years no Paper of Remonſtrance, Complaint, Juſtification, Requeſt, or thing of like nature would be received from them; that the perſon of the King was inacceſſible for them; that all the Tribunals of the Kingdom had in like manner been ſhut upon them: *Soulier* tells us, that the Province of *Guyenne* had Monſieur *Janicon* for Deputy-General at *Paris*; but he might very well have known alſo, ſeeing he knows ſo many things, that it was in the Synod of *Thonnins*, in 1683, that Monſieur *Janicon* diſcharged himſelf of this Office, becauſe he knew that from thenceforth it would be to no advantage, and that they would hear no man who had any thing to ſay for Juſtification of the Reformed. 'Tis true that the Synod named Monſieur *Charron* an Advocate, and another Deputy to go and carry this Complaint to the King; But who then dared to appear at the Court? He muſt have a deſire to ſee the *Baſtile*, and to underſtand what Bread men eat there. This Villain knows all this, and inſults over poor oppreſſed perſons, becauſe of their ſilence in a time when it was for them a Crime no leſs than Treaſon, to dare to complain of any kind of Injuſtice whatever it was. The Deputies of the Synod of *Lower Guyenne*, would have been well received, had they gone to complain of *Soulier*, a man that the Clergy had purpoſely ſet up to Defame, Injure, and Deſtroy them; in a time when the Court had already diſpatched, if I may ſo ſay, Commiſſions to the Dragoons to treat the Reformed as Rebels, and open declared Enemies.

The firſt Argument of Falſhood, and the Juſtifications thereof.

I paſs the Reflections which *Soulier* makes uſe of to deſtroy the Arguments and Mediums which

which we have made uſe of, to prove this Act of *Montpazier* to be a falſe Impoſture. Firſt we have ſaid, That there never was a Synod more known, and underſtood by our Enemies: Beſides an infinite number of Papiſts, Monks, and paltry Prieſts, the Biſhop of *Cahors* was there, and eſpecially Monſieur *Soulier*, as he himſelf informs us. This Circumſtance may be of uſe to us, to make very probable Conjectures concerning the Original of this Act. Beſides all this, the King had a Commiſſary there. From all which we conclude, that there was no likelihood that theſe Miniſters ſhould be ſuch Fools, to treat of an Affair of this nature in a place where there were ſo many perſons their Enemies. *Soulier* ſays thereon, That the Catholicks were not admitted to their Aſſembly; that we know well, but we alſo know that the Clergy are at expence for Spies, and that they never fail to know all that they pleaſe. 'Tis known that this Aſſembly was made up of about one hundred Paſtors, and well near as many Elders: that among theſe men there were thoſe which had no true Piety, nor any Zeal for their Religion, as it appears by their Revolt and Apoſtacy. Theſe men are indiſcreet, intereſted, eaſie to be gained, and the Agents of the Clergy know them very well.

Concerning the Commiſſary, *Soulier* ſays things which the Providence of God hath permitted, to confound theſe Impoſtures. Firſt, he ſays, That Monſieur of St. *Blancard* was the King's Man in this Synod, and we ſhall ſee by and by, from the Depoſition of four Witneſſes, which were there preſent, that it was Monſieur *de Villefranche* of *Vivans*, who was Commiſſary. This is, ſay I, an effect of the Vengeance of God for the Confuſion of theſe Impoſtures. For there was nothing ſo eaſie as to know

who

who was the King's Agent there; the Acts of all the Synods were ſent to the Court, the Commiſſaries were always named there, and they even ſubſcribed, and made a particular mark on the Copy which they ſent to the King. And theſe Copies are kept in the Office of Monſieur *Chaſtean-neuf*. This makes it ſuſpicious, that this Impoſture was not formed at *Paris*, but in the Province, in ſome place where not having ſufficient Memorials, they depended too much upon the treacherous Memory of the Contrivers. Yea, it appears that *Soulier* is a Lyer, when he ſpeaks as an abſolute Diſpoſer of all that was in the Office of Monſieur *Chaſtean-neuf*. For if he had been admitted thither, he would have rectified the Error that himſelf, or other Authors of this Forgery had made. And that *Soulier* may not deceive the Publick, by ſaying, that Monſieur St. *Blancard*, and Monſieur *de Villefranche de Vivans* are two names, but not two perſons: it muſt be known that Monſieur *Blancard* was a Gentleman of *Agenois*, Uncle of the *Chevalier Montand*, heretofore Captain in a Regiment of *Dragoons*, and this Monſieur *de* St. *Blancard* hath been dead theſe ſix or ſeven years: And Monſieur *de Villefranche de Vivans* was a Gentleman of *Perigort*, Uncle to Monſieur the Count of *Vivans*, Lieutenant-General in the Army of the King. He died not above three or four years ſince.

The ſecond thing which he ſays is, That Monſieur St. *Blancard* was of the Reformed Religion, that he might be of Intelligence with the Synod in this Conſpiracy, and that ſo 'tis not to be admired, that he did not reveal it. What a Prodigy is this! That a Commiſſary of the King in our Synods, ſhould betray his Maſter, and his Prince in a point of Conſpiracie againſt the State, without giving him any notice of it: Although theſe Commiſſaries had been capable of ſhutting their eyes on ſome ſmall thing,

thing, hath there been any example in theſe laſt times of a man commiſſioned by the King, in our Aſſemblies, who hath ſuffered, or diſſembled ſuch undertakings? Would not the Juſtice of the King have proſecuted a perſon guilty of ſuch a Crime, with the utmoſt ſeverities of puniſhment? The King knew, ſaw, and was informed of all this Conſpiracy, and the Court kept ſilent, both with reſpect to St. *Blancard*, the pretended Commiſſary, and with reſpect to the Synod. Be it St. *Blancard*, or *de Vivans*, the one and the other were yet in the Land of the Living, in the Year 1677, when this forged Piece was put into the hands of the King, and yet they were never proſecuted. We ſee this man hath loſt all judgment and underſtanding.

The third thing which *Soulier* ſays is, That although the Commiſſary were faithful to the King, they might act in this Affair without his knowledge, or participation, becauſe in Affairs of this nature, the ſecret is not committed but to ſome principal perſons, and the other Members of the Aſſembly have no part therein: Behold another Conjecture well worthy the contrivance of *Soulier* the Prieſt: that is to ſay, that there are four perſons which made this great Conſpiracy, and without communicating it to the Paſtors, or the Elders, they treat about introducing an Enemy, and a foreign Nation into *France*: And how could four Miniſters give Aſſurances in an Affair which depends upon ſo many, without communicating it to them? Four Miniſters attempt to manage a whole great Province! We know the Jealouſie which reigns among all men of what Character ſoever they be: Is it imaginable, that a hundred Miniſters, and ſo many Elders, ſhould think themſelves obliged to follow the Inſpirations, and diſcharge

charge the Obligations of four Miniſters, in an Affair wherein they were not truſted, and in which there is no leſs than their Life, and being broken alive upon the Wheel, at ſtake? In truth a man would think that a clap of Thunder had aſtoniſhed this miſerable Calumniator.

The ſecond Argument of Falſhood, and the Juſtification thereof.

The ſecond Argument that we employed, to prove the Falſhood of this Impoſtour, was, That there was no likelihood that the Reformed of *Guyenne* ſhould attempt a thing which might have ſuch miſchievous Conſequences, in a time when they had no reaſon to complain of the Court, becauſe they enjoyed their Liberties peaceably enough. To this *Soulier* ſays two things, Firſt, *That in our Conduct there are many examples of Unfaithfulneſs, in the very times that we peaceably enjoyed the Favours that had been granted to us; and therefore we have been very ſilly in* deſiring to juſtifie ourſelves from this Treaſon, becauſe we had no occaſion that ſhould prompt us to commit it. Thereupon he reckons up the proofs of this Accuſation: *For Example,* ſaith he, *they enjoyed peaceably all the Priviledges which had been granted them by the Edict of* January, *in the Year* 1561: *they had the publick Exerciſe of their Religion, in the Subburbs of* Paris, *&c. this did not hinder but that they treated three Months after with the* Engliſh, *and delivered unto them* Haure de Grace. Another Example: *Theſe Gentlemen enjoyed peaceably the Edict of Peace, which was granted them before* Orleans, *in the Year* 1563, *nevertheleſs, to the prejudice of this Peace, and the Edict which the* Calviniſts *did very peaceably enjoy, they took Arms again in cold Blood.* He adds many other Examples to prove his Accuſation; but in truth my patience is ſpent, and for the eaſe

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and quiet of my mind, I cannot reſolve to follow this Calumniator to the end: Who can endure, without Indignation, that which he hath the boldneſs to affirm, That it was the *Hugenot* Party which began the War, after the Edict of *January*. All the World knows that it was the Princes of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who cauſed the Maſſacre at *Vaſſy*, in the midſt of that *Peace* which *we did ſo quietly enjoy*. He who anſwered *Maimburgh*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, hath made it appear, by the cleareſt light, that the firſt Civil War which came after the Edict of *January*, was no War of Religion, that it had its ſource in the implacable Hatreds which were between the Houſes of *Guiſe* and *Montmorrency*; that it was cauſed in part by an infinite number of Diſcontents, which the Tyrants of the Court had made in the Kingdom; and in part by an infinite number of caſhiered Souldiers, and disbanded Troops which had been accuſtomed to live in diſorder; that the principal ſpring thereof, was the Reſentment of *Lewis* of *Burbon* Prince of *Condy*, who had received the utmoſt Outrages from the *Guiſes*, ſeeing they had cauſed him to be condemned to death, and had procured his Execution, had it not been prevented by the death of *Francis* the Second: To conclude, it was the enormous Ambition, and deteſtable Policy of *Catherine de Medices*, who united and knit together this Party, and ſet all the great Men of the Kingdom together by the ears, that ſhe might Reign in the midſt of theſe Diſſentions, and Ruine the one by the other. All this hath been made good by Witneſſes that cannot be reproached; it hath been made evident, that Religion was only the pretence, which the great men made uſe of to mutinie the people: It hath

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hath been proved, that during this pretended *Peace*, which the Calviniſts *did quietly enjoy*, under the ſhadow of the Edict of *January*, ſaith *Soulier*, there were above three thouſand perſons which periſhed by Maſſacres, or by Courts of Juſtice; that the Duke of *Guiſe* came to *Paris* with twelve hundred Horſe, that he ſeized of the King, and the Regent, which were at *Fountainblean*, and that 'twas properly there, that the Declaration of War was made. And this villanous Calumniator hath the boldneſs to tell us, that we were the Aggreſſours in this firſt War, and Aggreſſours in full Peace. It muſt be obſerved here, that this man follows none of the Rules of an Hiſtorian, he generally diſſembles, and paſſes over all thoſe matters of Fact which give light to a Hiſtory, and ſhew the original of an Evil; he inſiſts only on thoſe things by which he may be able to give a very ill aſpect to the Actions of the Proteſtant Party. *Maimburgh*, and other Popiſh Writers have not carried their Unfaithfulneſs ſo far.

The Unfaithfulneſs of *Soulier*, is not greater on occaſion of the ſecond War, which broke the Peace of *Orleans*; We were, ſaith he, in full Peace when we made that hideous Attempt which is called the Conſpiracy of *Meaux*. Lying coſts this man nothing. All the Authors of that time, who have any thing of Honour or Conſcience, do agree, that never was there War more miſchievous than this pretended Peace of *Orleans*. They oppreſſed the Proteſtants every-where by the utmoſt Violences; no Juſtice was to be had for them; they Maſſacred them with Impunity; they conſpired their Ruine, they treated about it with the Duke of *Alva*, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Pope; they killed a great number of their Nobility; they Maſſacred

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ſacred more than three thouſand of them; they reſolved to ſeize the Prince of *Condy*, and the Admiral, to cut off the Head of this, and commit the other to perpetual Impriſonment: To conclude, they did not re-take their Arms, but to repel thoſe which were taken againſt them, and to give way to the greateſt neceſſity that ever was of defending themſelves. By theſe two Examples we may judge the Fidelity of *Soulier* in the reſt.

The ſecond thing which this Prieſt ſays upon occaſion of that which we had ſaid, That in the Year 1659, we were not treated ſo ill, as to incline us to a Conſpiracy with the *Engliſh*, 'twas that even then the Court deſigned our Ruine, that we knew it well, and that it already appeared by many Declarations which had been publiſhed to our diſadvantage, which he quotes. To this we anſwer, That the deſign of the Clergy, was to deſtroy us, we do not doubt, and that it may be the Court might have the ſame intents and purpoſes; that 'tis true ſome Declarations had been already publiſhed againſt us. But we ſay, That the fear of a future and uncertain Evil, or ſome little preſent Evils, did never engage us to make uſe of actual Conſpiracies for our Preſervation: The Declarations and Decrees which the Clergy obtained againſt us, were as yet nothing, and then did us no Evil. The King himſelf granted us a National Synod at *Laudun*, in the Year 1659; a Favour which had not been conceded to us ſince the Year 1641; an evident proof that the Court was not then under thoſe wicked Inclinations, in which it hath been ſince engaged, or at leaſt, if it had already conceived the deſign of deſtroying us, it was not poſſible for us to gueſs at it, ſeeing their actions ſpake the contrary.

The third Argument of Falſhood drawn from the State of England *and* France.

But to the ſence of this ſecond Argument drawn from the Condition of the Affairs of the Proteſtants in *France*, we will add a third, drawn from the State of Affairs in *France* and *England* at that time, which will ſhew both the Ignorance and Bruitiſhneſs of *Soulier* himſelf, and the other Authors of this Impoſture: They are pleaſed to affirm, That in the Month of *July*, in the Year 1659, we did treat with the *Engliſh* about their entring *France*. We muſt enquire whether it be not a thing againſt all Sence, at that time, to attribute to the *Engliſh* a deſign of entring into *France*, with Weapons in their hands, through *Guyenne*: Firſt we muſt know, that then the *Engliſh* were in the moſt ſtrict Alliance with *France*, which could be betwixt two States: The *Engliſh* had cauſed their Troops to paſs into *Flanders*, to joyn thoſe of the King: *Dunkirk* was joyntly Beſieged by both Nations; it was taken from the *Spaniards*, put into the hands of the *Engliſh*, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*, and the ſcandal of all true *French-men*; yea, there were ſome that had the boldneſs to complain thereof by their Writings. This may be ſeen in a Writing made by Monſieur *Sillon*, to juſtifie the Conduct of Cardinal *Mazarine*, his Maſter; and in ſome of the printed Letters of Monſieur *Coſter*, Arch-Deacon of *Mans*. This Union of *England* and *France*, was yet ſo great in 1660, that an *Engliſh* Garriſon was received at *Amiens*, to whom the publick Exerciſe of their Religion was allowed in the City: This obliged the General Aſſembly of the Clergy, to make complaint thereof to the King, and to content them, a Promiſe was made, to give to the *Engliſh* a Farmhouſe in the Suburbs, there to exerciſe their Religion

gion out of the City. Behold the *Engliſh* and *French* at Peace and perfect Correſpondence, and their Armies united againſt the *Spaniard*, and *France* in ſo great a confidence of them, that it delivers to them the important place *Dunkirk*, and receives their Garriſons into their proper Cities. When men make Fictions, if they are not directly brutiſh, they chooſe proper ſeaſons for them: he ſhould have aſſigned to this Conſpiracy of the Proteſtants of *Guyenne*, ſome time in which *France* had been in War with *England*; but in truth 'tis to have a diſtempered mind, to take a time of the moſt perfect correſpondence, that ever was between the two States.

But this is not all, 'tis needful to ſee in the ſecond place the Condition of the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in themſelves, to know whether there be any probability, that they then had a deſign of entring *France*: It muſt therefore be remembred, that *Cromwell* died in the Month of *September*, 1658, and that from that time, till the return of *Charles* the Second, *England* was always in a dreadful Confuſion, as may be ſeen by the Hiſtory of that time, and by the News Books publiſhed one after another. *Richard* was proclaimed Protector immediately after the death of his Father; and he who hath collected the News of that time, tells us, That *Richard did not think he could do better, than preſerve himſelf in the Friendſhip of thoſe whoſe Alliance his Father had ſought after, and to continue War againſt thoſe againſt whom his Father had declared it.* He continued therefore in a ſtrict Alliance with *France*, and at War with *Spain*. Behold the man which they make to Treat with the Proteſtants of *Guyenne*, to

See the Collection of News, Ordinary and Extraordinary. Relations and Reports of things happening in this Kingdom, and elſewhere, in the Year 1659. Printed at *Paris* 1660, with Priviledge.

carry his Arms into *France*, againſt the only Support that he could have to maintain himſelf in the place which he poſſeſſed, who was otherwiſe uncapable thereof. If *Richard* were not a mad man, I don't underſtand how he could engage in this Affair: This new Protector calls a Parliament, in the beginning of the Year 1659, which is exactly the Year of the Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*: the Extraordinary of the ſixth of *March* ſpeaks of the opening of this Parliament, and ſays, That from the fifteenth of *February*, to the twentieth, it was employed in examining the Title and Rights of my Lord Protector. In the following Seſſions, they endeavoured to Regulate the Power of this new Protector, and to retrench the Exceſſes which he enjoyed to the prejudice of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation. From that time, behold *Richard* attacqued, and yet he enterprizes new Work abroad, which alone required a man, and a whole Kingdom beſides. From the thirteenth of *March* there were great Conteſts in the Parliament, touching the manner how it ought to be compoſed, whether they ſhould there permit two Houſes, the Upper and the Lower; what perſons ought to be received into the Upper Houſe, in caſe they ſuffered it to ſubſiſt. Theſe Differences continued all the Month of *April*, with the utmoſt heat, and with great violence and rage: Behold theſe people in a good condition to carry Arms into *France*. In the Extraordinary of the fifth of *May*, is ſeen a large Remonſtrance preſented to the Protector *Richard*, by the Officers of the Army, in which they complain, 1. That they were not paid. 2. That they blaſted their Reputation, by blaming all which they had done under *Cromwell*, as faulty and againſt the Laws. 3. That the Officers which had ſerved the King, had their Cabals and Aſſemblies in di-

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vers places of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from whence it may be judged, ſay they, that the publick Safety of the State, is in ſuch ill condition, that 'tis in danger of being deſtroyed. Was not the Militia in very good ſtate to be tranſported to make an Irruption into a foreign Kingdom beyond the Sea? At the ſame time *Richard* being diſpleaſed with this Parliament, who would have reduced his Authority, to a very little thing, diſſolved them in the beginning of the Month of *May*; and three days after, on the fifth of the ſame Month, he publiſhed a Proclamation, by which he appointed all ſuſpicious perſons to go out of *London*, in three days, and to come no nearer to it, than within twenty Miles. Immediately after the Parliament, which the Protector had aſſembled on the Month of *February*, was diſſolved, on the ſecond of *May*, the old long Parliament aſſembled, and began to ſit on the ſeventeenth of the ſame Month: This old Parliament pulled down *Richard*, and appointed, that Monarchical Government ſhould be aboliſhed, together with the Houſe of Lords. It cauſed alſo the Effigies of *Cromwell*, which was at *Weſtminſter*, to be taken away, Fearing, ſay they, leaſt it ſhould give occaſion to ſome popular Commotion in this Conjuncture, and change of Affairs. This is plainly the time when the Proteſtants of *Guyenne*, promiſed to introduce the *Engliſh* into the Realm: for the circumſtance of Affairs was altogether favourable to them: as they had nothing to do among themſelves, ſo they might ſuccour their good Friends every-where elſe. On the twenty ſecond of *May*, old Stile, the Officers of the Army agreed with the old Parliament, to aboliſh all Title of King, and Protector, and to eſtabliſh the three Nations in a Government intirely Free. On the

twenty fourth the Parliament appointed, That no other Seal ſhould be farther made uſe of, but that on the two ſides whereof were engraven the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*; and cauſed the Seal which *Oliver Cromwell* made uſe of, to be broken: They named, for the ſpace of many days, thirty one perſons to make up a new Council of State: 'Twas at this very time, *i. e.* upon the beginning of the Month of *June*, in the Year 1659, that they forced the Protector, *Richard*, to remove from *Whitehall*. Behold then the three Kingdoms in a perfect Anarchy. Without doubt it was in this happy and tranquil Eſtate, that the *Engliſh* made offer to the Proteſtants of *Guyenne*, to ſuccour them, provided they would deliver to them all the places whereof they could diſpoſe: To ſpeak ſeriouſly, 'tis unavoidable, that the Forgers of this Piece were the moſt ignorant Bruits that were in the World, or that their Brains were diſordered to that degree, that there was never any thing like it. Let not Monſieur *Soulier* be diſpleaſed at all this: He hath neither Science nor Knowledge of the matters of the World, nor common Senſe; for if he had one grain of Underſtanding, or good Knowledge, he would never have engaged in ſo durty a Buſineſs.

Let us go on, for this is not all: After we have conſidered the State of Affairs in *England*, let us conſider thoſe of *France*: This Kingdom was in an Eſtate of Proſperity, with reſpect to Affairs abroad, which would have taken away all thoughts from troubleſome perſons, of making any Commotions at home, although there ſhould be ſuch which had it in deſign and purpoſe: 'Tis the very Year of the Peace of the *Pyreneans*, and of the Marriage of the King. In the beginning of the Summer, in the Year 1659, a Suſpenſion of War, by

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Sea and Land, was ſigned: that nothing might croſs the Negotiations of Peace, which were already advanced very far, Marſhal *Turenne* was gone to execute the Orders of the King, on the ſubject of this Suſpenſion. Cardinal *Mazarine*, at the ſame time that this pretended Conſpiracy was made in *Guyenne*, paſſed through the Province, to go to the place where the Peace was to be concluded. He arrived the twelfth of *July* at *Libourne*, on the nineteenth at *Cadillac*, and at the ſame time their Majeſties parted from *Fountainbleau*, to begin their Journey towards the Frontiers of *Spain*. Muſt it not be confeſſed, that the Miniſters and Elders of *Guyenne*, are very cunning at Confederations, and Conſpiracies; that they know admirably well how to take their time, and that no circumſtances could be choſen more favourable to Embroil a Kingdom within, than a time of general Peace, which leaves the King in a condition to fall with all his power upon the Conſpirators? To conclude, Hath *Soulier* no Shame, and will he never cover himſelf with a wholſome and ſalutary Confuſion? If you don't think him ſufficiently ſunk, and overwhelmed, take the pains to follow me a little farther.

The fourth Argument of Falſhood: Soulier *convinced of Jugling in his Anſwers.*

We brought for a fourth Argument, the evident Falſhood that is in the name and in the perſon of *Daret*: This is the man, ſays the Act of *Soulier*, which negotiated this Affair, and treated with the *Engliſh* to engage them to enter into *France*. This *Daret* is a man unknown, a phantaſm; and, if without ſaying any thing elſe, we had obliged *Soulier* to find out his Monſieur *Daret*, we had reduced him to the utmoſt difficulties: but, happily for this Hiſtorian-Prieſt, a Conjecture was made, which was

thought ſure, that the Impoſtors having heard ſay, that there was in the Province, a Miniſter born a Subject of the *Engliſh*, named Monſieur *Durel*, they might very well chooſe this perſon, to make of him a Negotiator with thoſe of his own Nation. *Soulier*, raviſhed to find this paſſage open, to go out of this dirty place, hath ſtooped thereto: Yes, ſays he, 'tis *Durel*, the Copy which was taken from the Original, was ill tranſcribed, they took an *a* for an *u*, and a *t* for an *l*, and whereas *Daret* in the firſt Act was nothing elſe but a Negotiator between the Miniſters and Elders of *Guyenne*, and the *Engliſh*, in the ſecond Edition, he becomes Aſſiſtant-Moderator, and is ſubſcribed *E. Durel*. Here is a heap of Juggles and Lies, ſo preſſed upon each other, that 'tis a difficulty to rang them into order; firſt 'tis certain by the Table of the Synod of *Montpazier*, the Acts whereof ought to be in the Office of Monſieur *Chaſtean-neuf*, that Monſieur *Durel* was not Aſſiſtant-Moderator at this Synod, 'twas one named Monſieur *Dorde*, Miniſter of *Montpazier* itſelf. And we do intreat the honeſt men of *Paris*, that they may be aſſured hereof, to go and conſult the Original hereof, in the Office, if they will not believe four living and ſpeaking Witneſſes, which were at the ſaid Synod, whoſe Depoſitions we ſhall ſuddenly ſee in good form and method: I hope that in the third Edition, of the Act of *Montpazier*, Monſieur *Soulier* the Prieſt, will tell us, they took the *o* in *Dorde* for an *u*, that they tranſpoſed the *d*, and ſet it at the end, and made thereof an *l*; ſo we ſhall find *Dorde* in *Duret*, and *Durel*, as good Etymologiſts in *plat* do find *chopine*. A new Falſhood, Monſieur *Durel* had no name which began with *E*, 'twere expedient that it were *Etienne*, or *Elijah*, or *Eſay*: but, by misfortune for Monſieur *Soulier* his name was *John*; at leaſt

leaſt 'tis the name which he gave himſelf in the Theſis which he maintained at *Saumur*; 'tis the name that he hath ſet in the front of a Book called, *Vindiciæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, i. e. *A Vindication of the Church of England*. To conclude, 'tis the name that the Approbator of the Tranſlation, which he made of the Liturgie of the Church of *England* into *French*, hath given him. *I have read the French Verſion of the Engliſh Liturgie of Mr.* John Durel, *and I have found it in all things agreeable to the original Engliſh. Signed*, George Stradling *S. T. P. Chaplain to* Gilbert *Biſhop of* London, *from the* Savoy, April *the ſixth*, 1663. Therefore I know not what we ſhall do with this capital E. in this Act of *Soulier* the Prieſt, unleſs we make an F. of it to find Frier *John* there. But by misfortune Mr. *Durel* was never a Monk.

Another misfortune for *Soulier*, much greater than the former, is, That *Mr. Durel* was never Paſtor in the Province of *Guyenne*, nor Deputy in any Synod, he was only Miniſter to *Monſieur* the Duke *de la Force*; he preached indeed at *la Force* when the Duke was there, but he was properly affixed to his perſon and his Family: for which reaſon he followed him every-where, and did not belong to the Synod of any of the Provinces. 'Twas one named *Mr. Barte*, who was then Miniſter of the Church *de la Force*, a Member of the Province, and lawful Deputy to the Synod. 'Tis true, that *Mr. Durel* appeared at the Synod of *Montpazier*, and was there in favour of one named *Mr. Heſperien*, who was his Friend, and had buſineſs there. And *Mr. Betoule*, Miniſter of *Duras*, who was Plaintiff againſt *Mr. Heſperien*, ſeeing *Mr. Durel* in the Aſſembly, ſaid to him, *What do you here? you are no Paſtor of the* Lower Guyenne, *nor Deputy to the Synod.* To whom *Mr. Durel* anſwered in theſe very words, *I am no fixed Miniſter*

niſter in any Province; but in all Provinces where the Duke is, I have the honour to aſſiſt at the Synods which are held during the time of his reſidence there. The Synod took this Remonſtrance into conſideration, and granted to *Mr. Durel* no deciſive Voice, but only Seſſion among them, and a deliberative Voice. The ſaid *Mr. Durel* was never ſeen in any of the Synods of *Guyenne*, but only at this time, and never was ſeen there afterwards. Behold a ſubject well choſen, to make him Aſſiſtant-moderator of a Synod, and the Negociator in a great affair; of a Synod, ſay I, of which he was no Member, where he was no Deputy, where he had no deciſive Voice, and where he had never appeared before. Behold therefore a new *Errata* of the third Edition of the Act of *Montpazier*. It may not be doubted that the Art of *Soulier*, which hath made him find *Durel* in *Daret*, will alſo make him find *Dorde* in *Durel*. But we do advertiſe him, that this new Correction will be of no ſervice to him; for when *Durel* ſhall be taken away, and *Dorde* put in the place thereof, all his Engine will be overturned: we ſhall have no *Engliſhman* proper to negociate with the *Engliſh*, no man unfixed from any Church, and by conſequence fit to employ his time in Negotiations; no man which was oftentimes in *Paris*, and in *Normandy*, places proper to entertain Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*. All this was found in *Mr. Durel*, for which reaſon they judged it fit to make him the Negociator, and afterwards Aſſiſtant-moderator. But poor *Mr. Dorde* was a Miniſter of the Province, ſerving in a little Town or Village of *Perigort*, very far from the Sea, without Commerce, without all advantage to entertain Correſpondencies, not ſtirring from his place, affixed to a Congregation made up of perſons very unfit to furniſh means of Negociating Treaties. In good earneſt, behold a heap of croſs Accidents for

Mr.

Mr. Soulier. Is not a man very unhappy, when he would edifie the Church by a pious Deceit, to find ſo many ſtumbling-blocks in his way?

To ſtrengthen this Argument, we added a matter of fact, notorious to all thoſe who had never ſo little knowledge of *Mr. Durel*, viz. that there was not a man amongſt the *Engliſh*, who had a greater hatred for the Parliament than he. So that it was to loſe all ſenſe, to chuſe this perſon to treat with them of a Conſpiracy againſt *France*. This matter of Fact is notorious, and 'tis known by all the *Engliſh* Church, that the King of *England* lookt upon him at his return as one that had ſuffered exile for his ſake, and recompenſed him not only with the Deanary of *Windſor*, but with many other Benefices which he had given him before that. To this the Prieſt *Soulier* anſwers, A very fine thing 'tis that *Cromwel* was then dead; and that though *Durel* were an Enemy to *Cromwel*, it doth not follow that he was an Enemy to his Son, and to thoſe that then ruled among the *Engliſh*. That is to ſay, that *Mr. Durel*, who had a general indignation againſt the Enemies of his King, reconciled himſelf to them, as ſoon as they had loſt their Head, and joyned another party to them to betray another King, into whoſe Country he was fled for refuge. This is very well contrived. He adds to this a Letter from *Mr. de Vane* a Gentleman belonging to the Queen Dowager of *England*, who ſays, *That the Deanary of* Windſor *was not given to Mr.* Durel *to recompenſe his fidelity, but to diſcharge a Debt of* 2000 l. *Sterling, which was owing to him by my Lord of* Mancheſter. As we have not the honour to know *Mr. de Vane*, ſo we ſhall leave his Teſtimony to ſignifie according to its worth. We ſhall only ſay, that the Deanary of *Windſor* is at the Nomination and Diſpoſal of the King, and not in the Diſpoſal of the Counts of *Mancheſter*; and that 'tis not probable

bable that the King, at the ſollicitation of the Lord *Mancheſter*, ſhould give a Benefice of that importance to a man who was not known to be a zealous Friend to the Royal Family. Seeing we are now ſhewing the Falſhoods of this Act, and the ignorance of thoſe who framed it, we muſt not forget that theſe men make *Ricottier* the Miniſter of *Clairac*. By conſulting the Table of the names of thoſe who appeared at this Synod of *Montpazier*, it may be ſeen that *Ricottier* being Miniſter of *Bourdeaux*, and not of *Clairac*, he could have no other Title, ſeeing he appeared at the Synod on the behalf of the Church which he then ſerved. It muſt be confeſſed, that never were there ſo many Falſhoods heaped together.

A fifth Argument of Falſhood: Soulier's *Impertinencies thereon.*

For a Fifth Argument, we produced the Marginal Note of Mr. *Soulier*; Cromwel *was yet alive*. Now he had been dead almoſt a year. To this he anſwers, that he might ſay that *Cromwel* was yet alive, *For that could not be referred to any one but his Son, which ſucceeded him in the Government*. For this I remit him to the Letter of Mr. *Le Feure*, which we have ſeen above. This is curious, and will give very fair advantage to the Learned to reſolve the difficulties of Hiſtory. *Such a one was yet alive*, 'tis true; he was dead ſome ten years ſince, but that ſignifies nothing, his Son was alive, and reigned in his ſtead: 'Tis the ſame thing. At the moſt, ſays Mr. *Soulier*, this can be no more than a miſtake of the Hiſtorian, which cannot prejudice the truth of the Act, which ſpeaks not of *Cromwel*, or his Son, but of the *Engliſh* in general. By your favour, Mr. *Soulier*, 'tis a great prejudice to the Act: For if it had been made whilſt *Cromwel* lived, it would have been much more probable, becauſe 'tis known that *Cromwel* did very much concern

tern himſelf, or appeared ſo to do in the preſervation of the Reformed Churches of *France*. Beſides, his Throne was ſo well eſtabliſhed at home, that he could attempt any thing abroad. 'Tis alſo known that *France* never feared any man ſo much as He. So that whilſt he lived, the *Engliſh* were in condition to attempt, and it may be to execute the Project which they charge upon them; but after his death it was no longer ſo, the Scene changed from white to black. If the Prieſt *Soulier* did put *Cromwel* in the Margin, under this apprehenſion, as it's very probable he did, this makes it appear, that he was not altogether a Beaſt. He thought it was much more reaſonable to make the Miniſters of *Guyenne* treat with *Cromwel*, than with that Chaos of Government that came after him; there was only this little difficulty in the way, that *Cromwel* was dead. But this is a ſmall matter with theſe Gentlemen, who have done in our days that which we thought impoſſible.

A ſixth Argument of Falſhood: the leud Anſwer of Soulier.

Among the Arguments, we ſaid, that it was to invent without judgement, to ſuppoſe that an affair of this nature could be treated of in a Synod, where there was a hundred and fifty Deputies, that it was to put a Rope about all their necks, and deliver their lives into the firſt Fool or Traytor. To this he anſwers, what he had already anſwered elſewhere, *'Tis that there is nothing more eaſie than to cauſe an Act to be ſigned by thoſe who preſide in theſe Aſſemblies, without paſſing it by a plurality of Voices; and above all, then when the Moderator is in the Conſpiracy, as he was upon this occaſion, where* Ricottier *was one of the principal Inſtruments thereof.* But this is called reaſoning like *Soulier* the Prieſt, and like Doctor *Shoemaker*. We are not diſputing about ſigning an Act, or cauſing it to be ſigned. We know very well

well, that nothing is more eaſie, than to get Acts ſigned by the Preſidents in a Chimney-corner: That which is diſputed, is about the execution of an Act, and of putting it into a condition to be executed. For this 'tis neceſſary not only that it paſs all the Voices of the Synod, but alſo that it be debated and conſidered in all the Conſiſtories; otherwiſe the Signatures of *Ricottier*, and three others, would ſerve as little to give aſſurance to the *Engliſh* for the pretended delivering up of places, as the word of the poor men of the Hoſpital of *Quinzevint* in *Paris*. Now we demand once more, whether in ſuch a time as this, there were men fooliſh enough to make ſuch a deliberation paſs before a thouſand or twelve hundred perſons? for there were not leſs in all the Conſiſtories of *Guyenne*. Surely this were to expoſe their lives at a very cheap price.

A ſeventh Argument of Falſhood; and the Fooleries that Soulier *ſpeaks thereon.*

For a new Argument, we had ſaid, that theſe men of *Montpazier* had loſt their ſenſe, to engage to deliver places to the *Engliſh* in the year 1659. when for almoſt forty years they had had no places or Town which they could deliver to Strangers. *Soulier* the Prieſt makes very judicious Reflections thereon. Firſt he ſaith, that they make this Act ſpeak what they pleaſe, to render it ridiculous; *But the men of the Synod did not engage preciſely by this Act to deliver places to the* Engliſh. We know not whether this man dotes, or hath a deſign to make himſelf ridiculous. The men of the Synod did not promiſe to deliver places; what then do thoſe words ſignifie? *The* Engliſh *require that we give them aſſurance to put into their poſſeſſion all the Cities and Towns whereof we can diſpoſe.* What did the Synod thereupon? *It gave command to Mr.* Durel *to know what aſſurances they deſired*; and of what? of the

the delivery of places? for there was nothing elſe under diſpute. At the ſame time they give order, *To promiſe on our part all the aſſurances that were poſſible.* I underſtand not the Language of the Synod of *Montpazier*, if this be not in formal words to promiſe the delivering up of places: ſo then in deſpite to the exceptions of Mr. *Soulier*, behold four or five Miniſters, and it may be ſo many Elders, promiſe to the *Engliſh* to deliver them *Bourdeaux*, *Blage*, &c. and other places of *Guyenne*. In truth, this is ſo abſurd, that the Prieſt *Soulier* cannot hinder himſelf from ſeeing the abſurdity thereof; and for that reaſon he gives a ridiculous gloſs to this Act. The ſecond thing which *Soulier* anſwers, is, that we need not be amazed that this Act took no effect: the Act, ſays he, was in the month of *July*, in the year 1659. Now immediately after two things happened, which hindered the execution; the one was the Peace of the *Pyreneans*, the other, that the Miniſter *Durel* arriving in *England*, found many differing Factions there. But Mr. *Soulier* ought to remember, that the two things, which according to him hindered the execution, ought to have hindered the project, and the deliberation: for they happened not after, but before. We have made it appear that theſe Factions happened in *England* immediately after the death of *Cromwel*; and for the Peace of the *Pyreneans*, it's true, it was concluded after; but the Negotiation thereof was begun, and the ſucceſs certain, many months before the Synod of *Montpazier*. The third Anſwer of *Soulier*, is taken from a Book intituled, *The laſt Efforts of afflicted Innocency:* Where to that which the Author objects, that the Hugenot party was in no condition to make themſelves feared, he anſwers, *Remember what the Poet ſaid*, Furor arma miniſtrat; *Fury finds Arms, and when they have no Cities, they will take them.* There is ſome probability

that

that Mr. *Soulier* knows how to read Latin, for he hath tranſcribed three words thereof, and this makes much to his honour againſt the Accuſation of his Maſter *Meſnier*, and Mr. *Le Feure*. We anſwer to Mr. *Soulier*, that we cannot warrant all the thoughts of other men; but though it ſhould be true that there were yet ſome reaſon to fear the Reformed, as much abaſed, and ſubjected as they are, becauſe Fury furniſhes Arms, yet there was no reaſon to fear them in the time of the Synod of *Montpazier*, becauſe then there was nothing which might move their Rage. Lambs become Lions, when they are run againſt the Walls. The deſpair into which they thruſt the Reformed, might indeed have furniſhed them with Arms, if God had not prevented thoſe unhappy Commotions. But it was impoſſible that the condition in which they were in 1659. ſhould put them into that deſpair, which puts them upon any thing, and makes them ſometimes ſucceſsful therein.

An eighth Argument of Falſhood; and its Defence againſt the Wrangles of Soulier.

We drew an invincible Argument of Falſhood, againſt this wicked Piece, from the Silence of the Court: The King knew many Years ſince, by the means of *Joly* Biſhop of *Agen*, and the Cardinal of *Bouillion*, That they had formed a horrid Conſpiracy in *Guyenne*, againſt his State; he knew the Authors thereof, they were yet alive, but he ſaid nothing of it, he did not chaſtiſe thoſe who had made this bold Attempt: He complained not of it any where; and from whence comes this Spirit of Patience? Have they forgiven the leaſt fault to the Reformed, for the ſpace of twenty Years? Have they not laid to their charge, a thouſand falſe Crimes? Have they not had an open Ear for all their Accuſors?

cuſors? Have they not puniſhed them ſeverely for Faults falſely imputed, and ill proved? And would they neglect the puniſhment of Treaſon, in him that was Principal therein; who will believe it, and whom can *Soulier* perſwade of the truth of it? Beſides, at what time was this? Obſerve, it was at a time in which they had ſworn the Ruine of the Proteſtants; in which they earneſtly wiſhed to find them culpable; in which they did even all that can be imagined, to make them ſo: Was there any thing ſo much deſired by the Clergy, and the Court, as to have a ſmall occaſion to ſay, *Seeing that our ſaid Subjects have always perſevered in a Spirit of Faction and Rebellion, even in the times when they intirely enjoyed our Favour, under the benefits of our Edicts, as appears by the Conſpiracy of* Montpazier. This would have been conveniently inſerted in the Edict which revokes that of *Nantes*: but there is nothing like it ſeen there; they give no other reaſon there, But *that the greateſt, and the beſt part of our Subjects, of the ſaid Reformed Proteſtant Religion, had embraced the Catholick, ſo that the Edict of* Nantes, *and all that had been granted in favour of the ſaid Reformed Proteſtant Religion, continues to no purpoſe.* It is very much worthy of Obſervation, that only two Years before, in the time when the utter Deſtruction of the Reformed was reſolved, the King gives a publick Teſtimony to their Fidelity; 'tis in the Act of Oblivion, granted to the pretended Rebels of *Dauphine*: that is to ſay, to thoſe poor Men who were willing to pray to GOD upon the Ruine of their Churches, without doing injury to any one, but alſo without deſires of being troubled there. The King, ſay I, in the Oblivion which he granted to theſe men, ſays, *The immoveable Fidelity of all our other Subjects of the ſaid Religion, hath inclined us rather to*

entertain thoughts of Clemency, than of Rigour towards the Guilty. How could it be, that the Court ſhould have ſuch apprehenſions of the Fidelity of the Proteſtants of the Kingdom, if it had in its hand an Act capable of convincing them of deſiring to expoſe the Kingdom as a prey to Strangers? And if it had them not, but knew well the Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, and gave credit to it, what could oblige it to inſert a Clauſe ſo falſe in this Act of Oblivion? I know very well, that Kings in theſe ſort of Acts pretend themſelves ſatisfied oftentimes with perſons which they do commend, at that very ſeaſon when they are leaſt ſatisfied with them. But it is when there is ſomething to fear: 'tis when they would oblige men to lay down their Arms, who are in a condition to make themſelves feared, and when actually, and indeed they are afraid of them. But, I intreat you, what is it that the King, with 200000 Men in Arms, without any foreign Wars, hath to fear of a thouſand or twelve hundred Peaſants of *Dauphine*, *Vivarets*, and *Cevennes*, of whom they had already maſſacred more than two thirds? If *Soulier* can reconcile this with a pretended perſwaſion, that the Court hath of the truth of the Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, he will do us a kindneſs to do it: But, ſaith he, *the concluſion which they draw from the ſilence of the Court, is no proof, that it doubts the truth of this Act: the liberty which the King hath given me of defending my ſelf, and maintaining it, is an indiſputable proof, that his Majeſty doth not doubt thereof.* A very fine proof! The King hath permitted *Soulier* to defend this Piece, therefore it is true, and he believes 'tis ſo. Firſt, the King it may be knows not who this *Soulier* is, and 'tis known that theſe kind of Permiſſions paſs by the means of a Father Confeſſour, or ſome other Eccleſiaſtick, who ſays concerning it, what

what he pleaſes, being much aſſured, that he ſhall never be reprehended for it. Beſides, behold a great Wonder, that they ſuffer ſuch a man as *Soulier* is to hazard his Reputation: If he ſucceed to perſwade this pretended Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, with good luck, the Court will always gain thereby; and 'twill be a reaſon and pretence to juſtifie its Conduct. If he does not ſucceed therein, the ſhame will remain upon him alone; no name or perſon of Quality appears therein, the hurt will not be great. 'Tis thus that men reaſon naturally in the World: So that the Permiſſion which the Court gives him, to defend the truth of this Conſpiracy, is ſo far from being a mark of the value they have for him, that 'tis a proof they look on him as a Wretch which they abandon, and leave as forlorn. Let him ſhew us any man of Reputation, which joyns with him in this Cauſe. There is nothing more pleaſant, than to ſee the Value and Reputation which this Prieſt *Soulier* puts upon himſelf: *He demanded leave from the Court*, ſays he, *to defend himſelf, and the King was pleaſed to permit it.* And ſpeaking of an Author which goes for a perſon a little more able than he, *If this Writer expects I ſhould do him the Honour of Anſwering him.* This makes a man ſmile; and he can hardly forbear to remember the Leſſon which his Maſter, Father *Meſnier*, gave him, Let every one meddle with his own Trade: *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*; *Let not the Cobler go beyond his Laſt.* I never knew thoſe Authors, which took it for an Honour to have ſuch an Antagoniſt: Firſt, a Lacque; ſecondly, a ſorry Mechanick; thirdly, a ſmall Miſſionary, though in the laſt place, he be Monſieur the Abbot, for men aſcend by a criminal Ability more eaſily, than by a true Merit. But let us go on, ſince

we have begun, and ſee what he ſays to prove the truth of his Act.

If thoſe, ſaith he, *which are accuſed to have Signed this Act, find themſelves as Innocent, as this Author would perſwade us, how comes it to paſs, that they have not attempted it, ſince the time that my Book appeared in the World?* We have already anſwered to this: How, and before whom could they provide for the maintenance of their Innocencie, ſeeing there was no Judge to receive their Complaints, nor Notary who dared to receive their Proteſtations, nor even a Bailiff that dare ſignifie the leaſt thing on their behalf? *Soulier* the Prieſt knows this, the thing is of publick Notoriety, and he hath the boldneſs to draw advantage from a Silence forced, and which was impoſſible to be broken. Therefore theſe Gentlemen ſpeak when they can ſpeak; and I pray take the pains to hear them in the following Act:

" UPon this day, being the 24th of *April*, 1687, the " Gentlemen, *Joſeph Aſimont*, *James Brun*, " *Iſaac Goyon*, and *James Philipot*, all Miniſters, fled " to this City, were perſonally preſent before me " *Henry Ram*, publick Notary, admitted thereto by " the Noble Court of *Holland*, reſiding in the City " of *Amſterdam*, and in the preſence of the Witneſſes " under-named, who at the deſire of him to whom " it appertains, have ſaid, and do declare to be true " and certain, under Oath offered to them, and " made by them; And firſt, Monſieur *Aſimont* alone " ſaith, That yeſterday he received a Letter, by " which he is Summon'd and Adjur'd to ſpeak the " Truth, on the ſubject of a pretended Act of the " Synod held at *Montpazier*, in *Perigort*, in the Year " 1659,

" 1659, which Monſieur *Soulier* has produced in his " Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, at *p.*552, of the *Paris* Editi- " on, containing in ſubſtance, That the Miniſters " and Elders of *Lower Guyenne*, aſſembled in Synod " at the ſaid *Montpazier*, had made an Act to call " the *Engliſh* to their Help, and ſollicite them to " Arms for the Defence of their perſecuted Church- " es: Upon which Monſieur *Joſeph Aſimont*, after he " had read, and conſidered exactly the Tenour of " the ſaid Act, did ſay, That indeed he remembers " that he was choſen to draw up the Acts of the " Synod of *Montpazier*, but at the ſame time doth " Proteſt, and that with an Oath before GOD, who " ſearches the Hearts, and as if he actually ſtood " before the Tribunal of JESUS CHRIST, who " muſt Judge the Living and the Dead, That he, " the firſt Deponent, never drew up, nor ſigned the " ſaid Act; and that he never heard any thing " ſpoken of it, till ſince the ſaid *Soulier* inſerted it " in his Writings; and that therefore it is a Piece " forged by a Spirit of Lies; and he calls the GOD " of Truth to be both Witneſs and Judge of this " Impoſture, which bears in its own Chara- " cters, the marks of its Falſhood; foraſmuch as " the ſaid Act is ſaid to be Signed by *Durel*, Aſſi- " ſtant, which is notoriouſly falſe, as may be ſeen " by the Papers of the Acts of the Synod, which " were put into the hands of Monſieur *de Villefran-* " *che de Vivans*, who aſſiſted there on the behalf of " the King, and which Monſieur *de Villefranche* ſent " to the King's Council, according to the Cuſtom. " And afterwards the other Witneſſes, upon the " ſame Summons, did declare, That they remem- " bered that they aſſiſted in the Synod of *Montpa-* " *zier*, in the Year 1659, from the beginning to " the end; that Monſieur *de Villefranche* was there

" ſole Commiſſary of the King; and that Monſieur
" *Durel*, Miniſter to the Duke *de la Force*, was not As-
" ſiſtant to the Moderator there, but Monſieur *Dorde*,
" Miniſter of the ſaid *Montpazier*. In this manner
" they did proteſt, by Oath which they made to God,
" That they heard nothing there, of the Act alledg-
" ed by *Soulier* in the ſaid Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, in
" the 552 Page; and that ſince that time, they ne-
" ver heard any Miniſter or Elder ſpeak of it, nor
" any private perſon of the Reformed Religion,
" but on the report which Monſieur *Soulier* hath
" made thereof; alledging, for reaſons of their
" knowledge, That they aſſiſted at the Synod held
" at *Montpazier*, from the beginning to the end,
" and conſequently what is above-ſaid, muſt be well
" known unto them. This thus paſſed, and done
" faithfully, in the City of *Amſterdam*, in the
" preſence of *John Hoekeback*, and *Marcus Bauc-*
" *laer*, called as Witneſſes thereunto; which I Te-
" ſtifie,

Henry Ram.

We

WE Burgomaſters and Governours of the City of Amſterdam, *do make known, and certifie for Truth, by theſe Preſents, That the Gentlemen,* Joſeph Aſimont, James Brun, Iſaac Goyon, *and* James Philipot, *all Miniſters, fled for Protection to this City, did appear before us, who, at the deſire of him to whom it appertains, by ſolemn Oath have ſaid, declared, affirmed, and depoſed the Contents of the Atteſtation, and Affirmation aboveſaid; for all, and every one of them did declare and affirm it to be true and certain, after the reading of it unto them by the Secretary under-written: So help them GOD. In Teſtimony whereof, we have Sealed theſe Preſents by the Common Seal of this City, the 25th of* April, 1687.

The place of the Seal.

Pelters.

As to the Form, nothing can be found to object againſt this Proteſtation: It was received not only by Notaries, but by the chief Magiſtrate of the moſt conſiderable City of the Country, and is ſealed with the Common Seal thereof. As to the Sincerity of thoſe who proteſt, and atteſt it, he muſt have renounced all Modeſty, who ſhall call it in doubt: They are perſons that are in a place of ſecurity, who have almoſt nothing more

to hope, or fear from *France* : it cannot be conceived, that men would damn themſelves by ſuch an Oath as this, for the maintenance of a Falſhood. If the Accuſation were true, why do they not permit *Soulier*, and his Book, to paſs without ſaying any thing to it? What great good can come to them hence forward, when they ſhall have obliterated in the minds of the Publick, the opinion that there was a true Conſpiracy at *Montpazier*? If the Affairs of the Reformed were in ſound and good condition in *France*, they might ſay, That by this falſe Oath, they have been deſirous to prevent the Evils that ſuch a thing, if it were believed, might draw upon the whole Body, and alſo every ſingle Member of it: but at preſent, when the buſineſs of our Ruine is conſummate, muſt he not have the Soul of a Devil, and be willing to damn himſelf out of humour, by engaging the name of God, and thoſe which bear his Image upon Earth, to maintain a Lye which he knows to be a Lye, and a Lye from which very little good can come, in compariſon of the evil? The pleaſure of making *Soulier* paſs for an Impoſtor, is not (I think) great enough to be willing to purchaſe it by Perjury. When *Soulier*, and his Companions Forged this Act, they were ſupported in their Crime by the conſideration of the great advantage which was to come (according to them) to the Catholick Church, by haſtning the Ruine of the Hereticks in *France*. But behold men who commit a crime by an horrible Perjury, without being ſuported by the conſideration of any profit or intereſt: Can this enter into the mind of any man of ſound ſenſe and underſtanding? Behold then four irreprovable Teſtimonies, who aſſiſted at the Synod of *Montpazier*, who atteſt the Falſhood of the Hiſtory in all its parts; who ſay that *Durel* or *Daret* were no Aſſiſtants

ſtants in this Synod; that *Saint Blancard* was not Commiſſary, but *Villefranche* of *Vivans*; that nothing of like nature did paſs in the Synod againſt the Service of the King: But behold in particular, this Monſieur *Aſimont*, who was Secretary to the Synod, he who by conſequence muſt be privy to the buſineſs, who muſt have digeſted the pieces that were drawn up, and who did really Sign the Act, as the Prieſt *Soulier* pretends: 'tis this *Aſimont* to whom *Soulier* addreſſes himſelf in particular: *As to what reſpects the Signatures, and the Subſcriptions of the Miniſter* Aſimont, *and the Secretary* Meyzonet, ſaith he, *I know them ſo well, and they are ſo conformable to other Acts which they have ſigned, that I aſſure myſelf they will not dare to diſavow it: However, it will be very eaſie for me to convince them by other Acts which they have ſigned; the Miniſter* Aſimont *may remember the Conference that we had in the City of* Eymet, *in the Dioceſs of* Sorlat, *in the Year* 1657, *and that the Original, ſigned by him, at the foot of all his anſwers, is remaining in my hands.* If any honeſt men have a deſire to compare the Signature of the Act of *Montpazier*, with the true Signatures and Subſcriptions of Monſieur *Aſimont*, they will ſee them very true, and very well atteſted; and till then, ſeeing the Prieſt *Soulier* appeals to the Conſcience of the Miniſter *Aſimont*, and to the Conference of *Eymet*, I am of opinion we ought to hear Monſieur *Aſimont* himſelf in particular.

The

The Letter of Monſieur *Aſimont.*

I Never was of the humour to detain the Truth in Unrighteouſneſs; on the contrary, I have always taken a great freedom to declare it, as far as Charity *doth permit it; and I have had great joy in ſeeing it triumph over Lyes and Falſhood: As you labour vigorouſly to make it victorious, and triumphant over its Enemies, I received with reſpect the Adjuration you have given me in your Letter, to bear Teſtimony to that Truth, which Monſieur* Soulier *doth engage, and combate in his Hiſtory of* Calviniſm. *I have ſhewn your Letter to the Gentlemen, the Paſtors of the Province of* Guyenne, *who can give Teſtimony concerning it with myſelf, and I have ſent you their, and my Declaration upon the ſubject of the Act of the Synod of* Montpazier, *with the Affirmation upon Oath, which we made before our* Lords *the Soveraign Magiſtrates of this City: My Brethren have thought that we ought to note the name of the Aſſiſtant to the Moderator of the Synod, to prevent the Impoſtures of this Wrangler; for my part I have not expreſſed it in my Depoſition, for fear leaſt it ſhould make a new wrangle about the names of* Dorde, *and* Durel, *and leaſt he ſhould ſay, that the Tranſcriber, by this alluſion of names, putting* Dur *for* Dor, *and* al *for* de, *in imitation of the great Etymologiſt who derived the* Latine *word* panis *from the* Greek *word* ἄρτος; *And how ſo? Why, by changing, ſaith he,* αρ *into* pa, *and* τος *into* nis. *Make what uſe of them you judge fit. As to what concerns me in particular, as* Soulier *attributes to me the Subſcription of this pretended Act, and ſays that he knows my Subſcription, becauſe of a Conference about Religion, which we had by Writing in the City of* Eymet; *ſo I heartily wiſh I could recover an Original of the ſaid Conference, which I have among my*

my Papers in France, *to make it appear, that he has the gift of Impudence in the higheſt degree, and cannot forbear Lying, ſince he there gives himſelf the Lye by a groß and manifeſt Contradiction: but I fear this Writing was burnt with many others, as well as my Books.: But for want of this Piece, which would render him unworthy of all Belief: I can ſay, to juſtifie myſelf from the Accuſation, by which he charges me to have ſigned an Act of ſecret Correſpondence with the Enemies of the State, That I have been ſo far from being ſuſpected of Unfaithfulneſs to the King, that ſome of my Brethren grew jealous of me in their own minds, by the very cloſe adherence which I teſtified to his Service in the Civil Wars, and by reaſon of a Letter under the Great Seal, which his Majeſty cauſed to be written to me in the Year* 1654, *to aſſure me, That he took in good part my Fidelity and Zeal, with aſſurance of Recompence according to my Merits, when occaſion ſhould be offered to him. By the Grace of God I never deſired, nor cauſed it to be requeſted of him, although occaſions thereof preſented themſelves unto me: This Letter could not protect me from divers Decrees of Impriſonment, which the Parliament of* Guyenne *did afterwards grant againſt me, for the cauſe of my Religion, nor from the Decree of the Intendant of* Ageſſeau, *for preaching in forbidden places, by the order of the Synod; nor from the Impriſonment and Quartering of Souldiers, appointed by the Intendant of* Ris, *becauſe, going from* Bergerac, *I wrote to one of my Friends, That I went away becauſe I would not ſee the Abomination of Deſolation, which was about to fall upon this Church. God hath beſtowed on me the Mercy of eſcaping happily out of theſe troubleſome Affairs, by manifeſting the Integrity of my Conduct, and the Sincerity of my Intentions. 'Tis true, at laſt, perceiving I could not ſerve two Maſters, in* France, *who were of ſuch contrary Sentiments,* viz. GOD, *and the* Moſt Chriſtian King, *I deſired of him, in the Year*

1683,

1683, *three Paſs-ports, for myſelf, and two Sons, both Miniſters, (by Monſieur of* Corbichet, *heretofore the Steward of the Duke* de la Force, *and who was then in the Service of Monſieur the Prince of* Condy, *who obtained them with great eaſe) to allow me the liberty of going out of the Kingdom. From whence I reaſon thus againſt* Soulier: *If the King, having been informed of the pretended Act of* Montpazier, *had given credit to the Accuſor, would he ſo eaſily have granted my Paſs-port, before our general Baniſhment? Is it credible he would have permitted a Miniſter convinced of Rebellion againſt his Majeſty, and of Conſpiracy againſt the State, to go out of his Kingdom? He who had kept in Priſon other Miniſters of* Guyenne, *for Preaching or Praying after the Prohibitions, would he have given the Keys of the Gates to a Miniſter known guilty, not only of the ſame faults, but of a crime worthy of the ſevereſt Puniſhment? Certainly there is nothing could have protected me, and I muſt have expected to have been condemned to Priſon, or to the Gallies for ever: Seeing therefore, that after the ſight of this Act, he gave me my Paſs-port, and was content with my Baniſhment, as well as with that of others, 'tis an indiſputable proof, that he gave no credit to it, and knew the Falſhood thereof, only he thought fit to leave* Soulier *at liberty to fight us with the Weapons of his Tongue and Pen. To conclude, though we have to do with a King who hath condemned his Faithful Subjects to Baniſhment, even thoſe who expoſed their Goods, their Lives, and Liberties to his Service, yet I do not repent the performance of my Duty; 'tis matter of Confidence to me, and gives me the boldneſs to implore the Protection of* GOD *againſt the Cruelty of Men.*

Two things are conſiderable in this Teſtimony of Monſieur *Aſimont*; the firſt is, That he is a man of great Age, and of whom it may be ſaid, that he expects the moment in which he muſt go and appear before God. Can any one believe that a man ſo near to leave the World, ſhould be willing to keep meaſures with it, for the preſervation of I know not what trifle of Honour and Reputation; and that being ſo near his appearance before God, ſhould dare to prophane his holy Name by ſo many Falſhoods and Perjuries? The other thing obſervable is, The Circumſtance which he obſerves in his Letter, concerning the ſuſpicion, though unjuſt, under which he fell, in the minds of ſome of his Brethren, by reaſon of a certain Letter of Favour, and Thanks, which the King cauſed to be written to him, as an Acknowledgment of his Fidelity to his Service. This is notorious, and all the World knows it. Is there any probability, that they would truſt ſuch a man with a Conſpiracy, which they knew to have been ſo faithful, and ſo perfectly in the Intereſts of the Court? But is there any probability, that a man who had been ſo faithful to the King, and ſo faſt and ſure to his Service, would have any part in ſuch a Confederacy and Conſpiracy? I do acknowledge, that I have no more to ſay after this, and that if the Prieſt *Soulier* does continue to maintain his Act, and Conſpiracy of *Montpazier*, he may very well boaſt, that he hath the gift of Impudence to the higheſt degree and meaſure: For never had Romance and Fiction, ſo many marks of Falſhood. Let us ſee them a little altogether.

1. *Ricottier* is here Miniſter of *Clairac*; and in truth he was Miniſter of the Reformed Church of *Bur-*

deaux.

deaux. 2. *Saint Blancard* is here Commiſſary for the King; but in truth 'twas Monſieur *Vivans* of *Vilefranche.* 3. *Daret* is he by whoſe Mediation they treated with the *Engliſh*; this *Daret* is a Phantome who never was in the World. 4. *Durel,* Miniſter of the Duke *de la Force,* ſubſtituted in the place of *Daret,* was not Aſſiſtant to the Synod; 'twas *Dorde* Miniſter of *Montpazier* itſelf. 5. To *Durel,* who treated with the *Engliſh,* they give the name of *Elijah,* or *Eſtienne,* or *Eſay,* or ſome ſuch name beginning with an *E*; and yet his name was *John.* 6. *Durel* is preſent, he receives the Act, and nevertheleſs he was not ſo much as deputed to the Synod. 7. *Durel* treated with *Cromewell,* who even had been dead ten Months. 8. *Durel* treated with the Parliamentarians, to whom he was a mortal Enemy, and by whom he was mortally hated. 9. The *Engliſh* offer to enter *France* with their Arms, in a time when they were in the greateſt Confuſion among themſelves, in an Anarchy, and by conſequence in a ſtate of the utmoſt weakneſs. 10. A Conſpiracy is diſcovered to the Court, part of the Authors are living, and the Court ſays nothing thereof. 11. *Aſimont,* one of the principal Conſpirators, begs leave for himſelf and his two Sons, to depart the Kingdom, 'tis granted him without any difficulty. 12. They ſuppreſs the Edict of *Nantes,* they Perſecute the Reformed even to death, without objecting this Conſpiracy as a fault unto them. 13. Men enterprize and attempt to deliver places to an Enemy, which they have not had in their hands theſe fifty Years. 14. Men attempt to raiſe a Civil War in the time of the Peace of the *Pyreneans,* at a ſeaſon when the Kingdom remained without any trouble from abroad. 15. They are four or five Miniſters, and it may be as many Elders, which make this Conſpiracy, and pre-

tend

tend to execute this great Deſign without communicating it to any one. 16. Or they did communicate a Secret on which the Lives of an infinite number of perſons depended, to an hundred and fifty Deputies, yea, to all the Conſiſtories. 17. To conclude, the Reformed attempted to trouble a Kingdom, and themſelves in a time when they enjoyed a very great Peace. I do maintain, that here are a heap of Falſhoods, Contradictions, and Follies ſo plain, and ſenſible, that a man muſt have a head and heart made like thoſe of *Soulier* the Prieſt, to be able to digeſt them.

To conclude, let us ſee a little the Channels by which this Piece hath paſſed, and Providence will therein ſhew us new Indications of Falſhood: As to its ſource, 'tis ſufficiently difficult to diſcover it; according to *Soulier*, this Act made by the Synod of *Montpazier*, is put into the hands of the Miniſter *Vignier*; *Vignier* died in the Year 1666, and dying, committed this Piece in truſt, into the hands of *Mounier*, Miniſter of *Nerac* alſo, and his Colleague; the Miniſter *Mounier* turns *Catholick* in the Year 1675, and dies in the Year 1677, at *Paris*, in an Inn near the Houſe of *Soiſſons*. Monſieur *de Queſne*, Arch-Deacon, and Vicar-General of *Condom*, goes to ſee him in the time of his Sickneſs, he gives him this Act of *Montpazier*, Monſieur *de Queſne* gives it Monſieur *Joly*, then Biſhop of *Agen*, *Joly* gives it to Monſieur the Cardinal of *Bouillion*, the Cardinal of *Bouillion* gives it to the King, and at laſt the King gives it to Monſieur *Chaſteau-neuf*, who puts it in his Office, where it is ſealed up, and joyned to the Acts of the Synod of *Montpazier*. Behold a great many hands which are either unknown to us, or ſuſpected by us. As to the Miniſter *Mounier*, we do continue to ſay, he was a man wounded in his Reputation, by Suſpenſion

from

from his Miniſtry, he was beſides an Apoſtate from the Truth, and had the Character of all voluntary Apoſtates, *i. e.* hatred for the Truth, and for thoſe which do profeſs it.

But there is in this place one circumſtance ſo evident, to convince theſe Villains of their Knavery, that a man cannot eſcape the ſight thereof, The Miniſter *Vignier* died in the year 1666, as *Soulier* himſelf ſays: Why did he, when he was about to die, give this Act of *Montpazier*, as a thing in truſt? To what could this Act ſerve? It was ſeven years ſince that this pretended Conſpiracy with the *Engliſh* was made; the Affairs of *England* had intirely changed their face, the King was reſtored, and at War with the *Hollanders*: every one knows he was ſo far from entring Leagues in favour of the Proteſtants, that on the contrary, he rather engaged againſt them. There was not a man living in the World, upon whom they could caſt their eyes to accompliſh the Conſpiracy, but *Cromewell*, or the Parliamentarians: this Piece therefore was abſolutely on one hand of no uſe, and on the other hand, 'twas capable of deſtroying an infinite number of ſingle perſons, and the whole intire Body of the Reformed in *France*: Monſieur *Vignier* therefore, when he was dying, loſt his Underſtanding and Charity itſelf, to be willing to preſerve a Paper which was good for nothing, but to deſtroy his Brethren; a Piece which ought to have been burnt, and which he ſhould have burnt when he was dying. The farther we look into this thing, the more we find that theſe Villains were ſmitten with a Spirit of Blindneſs, in all the circumſtances of their Fiction.

As to the Biſhop of *Agen*, he was a Court Biſhop, which had always a thouſand good reaſons to continue at *Paris* about the Affairs of his Dioceſs.

ceſs. I have had a long time in my hands a Letter of Monſieur the Procurator-General, who appointed him in the name of the King, in a manner very rough and harſh, ſpeedily to put an end to his Non-reſidence, and to return to his Dioceſs, whither he went very ſeldom. Theſe ſort of men are always at watch, that they may have ſomething to produce, which may make them ſtay at the Court, where they are willing to be, that they may be always ready to hunt after a Benefice greater than their own. As to Monſieur *de Queſne*, Vicar-General to the Biſhop of *Condom*, we know him not: he may ſay true, and yet all that we have ſaid, receive no blemiſh nor diſadvantage thereby; he might really receive the Piece from *Mounier*, a revolted Miniſter: *Mounier* might be the man that forged it. And that which I find moſt probable is, that *Soulier* and *Mounier* are the two Authors of it: *Soulier* was at the Synod of *Montpazier*, he rejoyces to produce an Affair which paſſed there, in a Synod where he was. *Mounier*, principal Author of the Falſhood, might furniſh the Names, he inſerted that of *Durel*, as a perſon proper to Negotiate with the *Engliſh*. *Soulier*, who knew not Monſieur *Durel*, reading over the Act forged between them, read *Daret*. And 'tis probable that 'twas he who made him Aſſiſtant-Moderator, at the foot of the Act, for *Mounier* would never have committed ſo groſs a fault. *Soulier* had a Conference with Monſieur *Aſimont*, the Miſſionaries, above all, thoſe of the parts and ſtrength of *Soulier*, who knew neither Divinity nor Language, receive nothing but confuſion from thoſe Conferences, and they always carry a mortal hatred againſt the Miniſters that do confound them, with deſign to revenge themſelves at any rate. Mon-

ſieur *Aſimont* had been really Secretary to draw up the Acts of the Synod of *Montpazier*, for which reaſon this Synod was to be choſen rather than another, that the Miniſter *Aſimont* might be chaſtiſed for the trouble which he had put this Miſſonary to, in the Conference. This Act was put into the hands of the King, the King delivered it to Monſieur *Chaſteau-neuf*. Neither the one nor the other made any account of it, becauſe Monſieur *Chaſteau-neuf*, who had the true Acts of *Montpazier*, ſaw no conformity betwixt them, neither in the Commiſſary, nor in the Aſſiſtant; beſides that, the Piece bore many other Characters of Falſhood: Nevertheleſs it is kept in the Office, as they keep a thouſand and a thouſand falſe Pieces in ſuch places. For example, the Cheſts of the Evidences of Abbies are inexhauſtible Fountains of forged Pieces. Monſieur *de Launoy* hath given us notice thereof ſome-where on the ſubject of the Abby of Saint *Dennis*, by reaſon of the Pieces which *Doublet* hath produced in his Hiſtory of Saint *Dennis*. And ſaving the reſpect which is due to the King, and his Library, 'tis full of falſe Manuſcripts. For example, the Jeſuite *Meſnier*, the Prieſt *Soulier*, and Doctor *le Feure*, do ſay, that they have drawn from that Library, the Secret Articles of the Edict of 1577, in one of which 'tis ſaid, The King permits to the Prince of *Condy* the Exerciſe of Religion in his Houſe upon the *Loire*, yea, although he himſelf were abſent. Nevertheleſs 'tis certain, that there never was in the Houſe of Monſieur the Prince, any Land which bore the name *de la Ferte*, upon *Loire*, and that there is not any City or Village of this name upon the *Loire*, from its Fountain till it enters the Sea. Let this be obſerved

ved by the by, That we may know what account we ought to make of the Manuſcripts of the King's Library, which *Soulier* quotes ſo often. Men throw into theſe Repoſitories all Pieces that go up and down, whether they be true or falſe; the true, fifty Years hence, will be ſo confounded with the falſe, that nothing will be certainly known. Fifty Years hence the Act of *Montpazier*, well kept in the Office of Monſieur *Chaſteau-neuf*, will be as good as if it were true. Behold how things go! If the Son of the Miniſter *Mounier* (at preſent Canon of *Tarbies*) be troubled, that we make ſuch a Knave of his Father, he ought not to accuſe us, who do not make men, but take them as they are. As to the Letter which he hath written for the Juſtification of his Father, 'tis evident, that 'tis worſe than nothing in the preſent Affair; his Teſtimony is of no weight, and henceforth 'twill be his intereſt to retract it, unleſs he will have his Father paſs for the moſt profligate of all Men. For if it be true, as he would have it be believed, that his Father put this Piece into the hands of Monſieur *de Queſne*, 'tis unavoidable, that he was the Forger of it, it being certain, as we have proved it, that the Piece is falſe, and that he could not receive it from Monſieur *Vignier*. So that 'tis no officious Lye in favour of his Father, 'tis an Act the moſt wounding to his Reputation, that could be produced againſt him.

We will ſtop here, becauſe we have impos'd a neceſſity upon ourſelves to ſpeak nothing but of the Act of the Synod of *Montpazier*, for which reaſon we will not refute all the Calumnies of *Soulier*, nor repel all the Injuries which he ſpeaks

in every Page againſt the Author of the *Policy of the* CLERGY, and of the Anſwer to the *Calviniſm* of *Maimburgh*: We only know concerning this Author, by report, that he hath a great Contempt for *Soulier*, and his Works; ſo that if he make Books expreſly to vex him, he may ſet his heart at reſt, for he will never obtain his end.

The

The Ninteenth

PASTORAL LETTER.

An Article of Antiquity: The Original of Images: An Article of Controverſie: A Continuation of the Matter of Schiſm: The Corruption of the Roman Church *was ſo great, that we were forced to a Separation: A notable Letter concerning the Confeſſours carried to* America.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given unto you, from God *and our* Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

WE have been obliged to interrupt the ſubject of our *Paſtoral Letters*, to refute a heinous Calumny caſt upon one of our Synods, and which reflects upon the whole Body. At this time we take again our matter and our order: we remember that the laſt Article of Antiquity which we handled, was that of the Invocation of Saints, which took its birth in the fourth and fifth Ages: 'Tis the fourth change which altered Chriſtianity in thoſe Ages: the firſt was the Original of Monkery; the ſecond was the Eſtabliſhment of the Hierarchy; the third was Oecumenical Councils; and the fourth was the Invocation of Saints, and the Worſhip of Reliques: Behold a fifth, 'tis the Introduction of Images into Churches. The Worſhip and Adoration of Images did not come ſo ſoon, and we

do not ſee the ſpreading thereof, till the ſixth Age: But in the fourth and fifth Ages men began to bring Images into ſome Chappels conſecrated to the Memory of Martyrs. And 'tis a thing that could not fail to happen; One depth calleth to another; and when men fell into Idolatry to men, they were not far from Idolatry to Images: for 'tis very natural to repreſent thoſe men which we Invoke, and to give Honour to their Images. For which reaſon I am amazed that the ſecond Part of *Paganiſm*, *viz.* The Adoration of Images came ſo ſlowly after the Worſhip and Adoration of Saints. But the averſation which the firſt Chriſtians had for Idols, held firm as yet for ſome time after the Birth of the Superſtitious Worſhip of the Martyrs, and their Reliques: It is therefore true, that in ſome Provinces, about the end of the fourth Age, a perſon may ſhew you Hiſtorical Repreſentations in the Churches; they began to paint the Hiſtories of the Bible: It appears by a paſſage of *Gregory Niſſen* *, that the Hiſtory of the Sacrifice of *Abraham* was painted in ſome Churches. And by another Homily of the ſame *Gregory Niſſen* †, it appears, that they began alſo to paint the Hiſtories of ſome Martyr, or Martyrs in their Temples: *The Painter*, ſays he, *hath expreſſed the Flowers of his Art, drawing on a Table the great Actions of the Martyr, his Reſiſtance, his Combates, the ſavage and bruitiſh Aſſaults of Tyrants, the flaming Furnace, and the happy Conſummation of the Martyr; and a Table in which was Jeſus Chriſt in Humane ſhape, over-looking the Combate.* If we were of the mind of your Convertors, we would hide ſuch things, as you might very well be ignorant in; but we are ſincere in our Confeſſions, as we are willing to be

* *Greg. Niſſ. Orat. de Divin. filii & Sp. S.*

† *Orat. in Theodor. Martyr.*

be in our Defence and Allegations: 1. For firſt we do maintain, That in the fourth Age the Church had as yet a horrour for all Worſhip of Images: They begun to introduce them into Churches only for Ornament. And if your Convertors do produce to you any thing of theſe Ages, which ſeems to ſignifie that they Adored Images, hold it for certain, that they are falſe paſſages, or taken from falſe and ſuppoſititious Books. 2. We do maintain, That the uſe of painting Hiſtorical Tables in Churches, did not begin till about the end of the fourth Age: And before *Gregory Niſſen* of *Capadocia*, who lived about the Year 380, we do not find any mention thereof among the Ancients. 3. In the third place, you ought to know, That this Cuſtom was then very rare, and that we cannot diſcover any Churches, but thoſe of *Cappadocia*, in *Aſia*, and a certain Church in *Italy*, where Images were ſeen in their Temples. 'Tis true ſome quote a paſſage of St. *Baſil*, taken from his Homily upon the Martyr *Barlaam*, by which they would prove, that in the Chappel of this Martyr, they had ſet the Hiſtory of his Martyrdom: for St. *Baſil* there invites the Painters to repreſent magnificently the Combates of the Martyr. But it is certain, that the Painters to whom he ſpeaks are Orators, which he exhorts to repreſent well in their Diſcourſes, the glorious Sufferings of *Barlaam*. But although it ſhould be to Painters (without Figure) that *Baſil* ſpeaks, as the City of *Ceſarea*, whereof he was Biſhop, was in *Cappadocia*, this would ſerve to fortifie that which we maintain, (*viz.*) That this dangerous Cuſtom of introducing Images into Churches, was not any where elſe, but in the Province of *Cappadocia*: for no Author of this Age ſpeaks of it, but the Biſhops of that Country: unleſs it be *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, who

tells us, That he cauſed the Repreſentation of the Sufferings of St. *Fælix* the Martyr, to be put in the Chappel that was dedicated unto him. Now 'tis to be obſerved, that this *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, tells us alſo two conſiderable things, *Firſt*, That the Cuſtom of placing of Pictures in Churches, was very rare. The *ſecond*, That that which put him upon doing it, was a deſign to repreſent to the Eyes of the Country People, thoſe Combates, the painting whereof would make more impreſſion upon them, than Deſcriptions made by the mouths of Orators.

Paulinus Bibliothec. Pat. Tom. 14. Edit. *Lugdu.*

Some peradventure will demand of me, ſays he, *what was the reaſon which occaſioned me to reſolve to make the Figures of Animate Creatures, to be painted in Sacred Houſes, ſeeing the Cuſtom thereof is very rare.* And he adds, *That it was to try whether the ſight of theſe enameld and raiſed Shadows of Colours, would not make ſome impreſſion upon the groſs and ſtupid minds of the Vulgar.* He ſays alſo, in the ſame place, That his end was to employ theſe Dregs of the People in the Contemplation of theſe Figures on Feaſt-days, to the end that they might ſpend the leſs time in Debauchery. Obſerve thereon, that then it was very rare to ſee Pictures in Churches, therefore they did not expoſe them to the Adoration of the People. For Objects of Adoration and Worſhip ought to be known by all: beſides, they were put there only for the uſe of the Vulgar; 'twas not therefore to give any Worſhip to them: for they are not only Country People which are obliged to Religious Worſhip. To conclude, *Paulinus* ſays expreſly, That it was only for Commemoration, and not for Worſhip. 'Tis therefore from this good, but ſuperſtitious man *Paulinus*, that this leud ſaying hath taken its original, *That Images*

are

are the Books of the Ignorant. 4. The fourth thing to which you ought to give attention is, That then they did not ſet in Churches any Figure, Image, or Statue of a ſingle perſon, but Hiſtorical Repreſentations in large Tables, where many perſons and many actions were repreſented. This makes almoſt an infinite difference: for it never entred into the mind of Man, that Hiſtorical Tables, whereon were ſome times repreſented the Devil tempting *Jeſus Chriſt*, oftentimes Hang-men plucking off the fleſh of a Martyr, with Pincers, were placed there for Worſhip. For ſo men would Worſhip the Devil, as well as Jeſus Chriſt, and the Hangmen as well as the Martyr. Indeed when the Idolatry of Images was brought into the Church, 'twas by Pictures or Statues which repreſented but one or two of the Saints. Now 'tis certain, ſay I, that about the end of the fourth Age, thoſe which gave themſelves liberty of introducing Images into Churches, placed nothing there but Hiſtorical Pictures and Tables. To prove the contrary to you, they may produce a paſſage of *Gregory Nazianzen*, where he complains of this, That ſome would deſtroy the City of *Dioceſarea*, raze the Temples, and pull down the Statues thereof: * *Our greateſt grief*, ſays he, *is not that the Statues are pluckt down, although that be troubleſome too.* Becauſe immediately before he was ſpeaking of the Ruine of Temples, ſome it may be will ſerve themſelves of that, to perſwade you, that Statues were in their Temples. But that is falſe, and 'tis certain that he ſpeaks of Statues which were in their publick places: *Our grief is*, ſays he, *that with the Statues, they pull down and deſtroy an ancient City.* And to the end that you may not be able to delude your ſelves thereby, be advertiſed, That the *Greeks* would never

* *Epiſt. ad. Olympium.*

never ſuffer Statues in their Churches, and that yet to this day they Adore nothing but Images, or plain and flat Pictures; and by a humour ſufficiently pleaſant, they accuſe the *Latines* of being Idolators, becauſe they Adore Statues: As if their Images of *Moſaick* Work, were much more worthy of Adoration, than Emboſſed Figures. However it be, this demonſtrates, that *Gregory Nazianzen* could not ſpeak of Statues which were in Churches.

5. To conclude, the laſt thing whereof you are to be advertiſed, about the Original of Images, is, That in the time that this miſcheivous Cuſtom of putting Images in Churches began in ſome places, the good Biſhops oppoſed themſelves thereto with Zeal, and treated it as an Abomination. It were convenient that you ſhould read thereon a paſſage of *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Salamina* in *Cyprus*, who lived about the year 375, that is to ſay, exactly in the ſame time that *Gregory Niſſen* ſuffered Pictures in the Churches of *Cappadocia*, *I came one day*, ſays *Epiphanius*, *into a Village which is called* Anablata, ('twas a Village in *Paleſtine*) * *having ſeen there, as I paſſed by, a burning Lamp, I enquired what place it was; I learnt that it was a Church, and being entred there to Pray, I found on the Door of the Church, a died Vail hanging there, having an Image painted on it, as it were of Chriſt, or ſome Saint: for I do not remember, in good truth, whoſe Image it was; having therefore ſeen that contrary to the Authority of the Scripture, they had hung the Image of a Man in the Church, I rent the Vail, and adviſed the Sexton of the place, to employ it rather to wrap up the body of ſome poor dead perſon to carry him to his Grave.*

* *Epiphan. in Epiſt. ad Joh. Jeruſ.*

John, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, took it ill, that *Epiphanius* had attempted ſuch an Action in a Dioceſs where

where he had no Juriſdiction, but he did not condemn the Action in itſelf.

This paſſage is without reply, and your Seducers will never have any thing to anſwer to it. It appears that the uſe of introducing Images into Churches, was ſo rare, and ſo little received, that he which undertook to put one in the Church of *Anablata*, did not dare to put it any farther then the Door. At this day men have the inſolence to ſet them upon Altars. And even *Epiphanius*, a little while before, in the Church where this Image was, lookt upon the attempt as the Violation of the Law, although it were even the Image of Jeſus Chriſt: for he ſuppoſes it might be the Image of our Lord; nevertheleſs he made not the leaſt ſcruple to rend it, and hated not the attempt ever the leſs. Notwithſtanding 'tis very probable that after St. *Epiphanius*, the Cuſtom of ſo placing Pictures and Tables in the Churches of the Martyrs, did continue and increaſe. The People which naturally fall into Superſtition, did not tarry long ere they abuſed thoſe Images, which were placed for them in the Sepulchres of the Martyrs: 'tis from the People that the Worſhip of Images came, as well as the Invocation of Saints; that could not ſtay long after this; for when they adored men, which might be painted, 'tis natural to make Images of them. So St. *Auſtine* learns us, that in his time the Invocation of Saints paſſing from the People to the Paſtors, the People running much farther, began to Adore the Pictures of the Martyrs. But behold how he ſpeaks of it: The *Manichees* heaped together all the popular Superſtitions, and all the Actions of private Perſons, to make Crimes of them againſt the Church; and upon that *St. Auſtine* tells them, * *Do not collect thoſe who making profeſſion*

* *Lib. 1. de Moribus Eccl. c.* 34.

of

of being Christians, have nothing which answers to their Profession; do not joyn yourself to the croud of ignorant People, who being on the side of true Religion, are superstitious, &c. *I know there are many which Worship Pictures, and Sepulchres.* Unto the middle of the fifth Age, nevertheless, few Images were seen in Churches: after the year 450, many of them were seen there: 'Twas not only those of the Martyrs that were placed there, they put also those of the Bishops in the Churches of their Dioceſſes. The Image of *Thomas* Bishop of *Apamea,* was set on the top of the Church †; *Theodorus Lector*, tells us, That in the Reign of *Anastatius,* * *Macedonius,* Bishop of *Constantinople,* caused his Images to be set in Churches; and that *Timothy,* who was put in his place, some time after, would not perform Divine Offices in any Church, before he had caused the Images of *Macedonius* to be removed. It cannot be imagined these Images were set there for Adoration, for no man makes his own Images to be adored.

† *Evag. lib.* 4. *cap.* 26.

* *Lib.* 2.

But that in the fourth and fifth Ages men did not give any Religious Worship to Images, by the publick Authority and Approbation of the Pastors, is a truth which cannot be disputed by those who have any remains of Conscience and Honour: This appears by the Testimonies of Authors of that time: by the Deed of *Epiphanius,* which we reported touching the Image which he found in *Anablata*; and by another passage of the same St. *Epiphanius,* cited by the Council of *Constantinople,* against Images, in the Reign of *Constantine Copronimus*, and reported by that Image-worshipping Council of *Nice*, † *Take heed to yourselves,* says *Epiphanius, retain the Traditions which you have received, turn not from them*

† *Evag. l.* 4 *c.* 26.

them to the right hand, nor to the left; Remember alſo, that you put no Images in Churches, nor in the Dormitories of the Saints, &c. nay, put them not even in your own Houſes.

St. Chryſoſtome ſaith, in a paſſage alledged by the ſame Council *, *We have the preſence of Saints by the Scriptures, and not by Images.* *Amphilochius* † Biſhop of *Iconium*, Contemporary of *St. Baſil*, alſo ſaith, *We take no care to paint the fleſhly Countenance of Saints with Colours upon Tables, but we immitate their Life and Converſation, by Piety and Vertue.* *St. Auſtin*, upon the 123 *Pſalm*, doth expreſly deny, *That among the Movables and Ornaments of the Church, there were any Images that had Mouths and ſpake not, and Eyes that ſaw not.* This appears alſo by the Fact of *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, and of *Gregory* the Firſt, Biſhop of *Rome*, which was not till the end of the ſixth Age: *Serenus* had broken the Images of his Church, becauſe the People adored, and fell down before them; as thoſe of which *St. Auſtine* ſpeaks. *Gregory* blames him for breaking the Images, and praiſes him that he hindered men from worſhipping them; which makes it evident, it was not then believed generally, that they might be adored. 'Tis true, nevertheleſs, that in the fifth Age, the brutiſh and ſuperſtitious People in ſome places began to believe, that the Images of the Saints had ſome Vertue in them. For *Theodoret*, in the Life of *Simeon Stylites*, reports, *That it was ſaid, that at* Rome *men ſet the Images of* Simeon Stylites *at the entrance of all their Shops, to obtain ſome Protection and Security from them.* But beſides, that this was but a report apparently falſe; 'twas a popular Superſtition in which the Church was not concerned.

* *Synod.* 7. *Act.* 6.
† *Synod. ib.*

An

An Article of Controverſie.

A continuation of the matter of Schiſm; that the great Corruption of the Roman Church, forced us to a Separation.

HItherunto in ſpeaking of Schiſm, we have reaſon'd upon one or other of theſe two ſuppoſitions; either that our ſeparation was not eſtabliſhed upon good Reaſons, or at leaſt that the corruption of the Church of *Rome* was not at the higheſt degree, and therefore it was in ſome ſort tolerable. We have proved in our thirteenth *Paſtoral Letter*, that although our Fathers had done ill in their Separation, nevertheleſs you do not hazard your Salvation by continuing in the Proteſtant Communion. Afterwards we made it appear, that ſuppoſing the Church of *Rome* very corrupt, although the Corruption were not wholly intollerable, you cannot return thither at this day, without deſtroying yourſelves, becauſe the Providence of God hath drawn you thence by a Miracle, in the perſons of your Fathers. And we have diſperſed the Illuſions which you put upon yourſelves therein, and which ſome amongſt you have communicated to thoſe which are fled for Protection into theſe Countries. But at preſent let us no longer ſuppoſe any thing which is falſe; let us conſider things as they are, *i. e.* let us conſider the Corruption of the Church of *Rome* in its utmoſt extent, and reaſon upon it: It is the third Suppoſition, according to which I will ſhew you, that you cannot with a good Conſcience return to Popery: If the Corruption of the Church of *Rome* be extream, if ſhe be Idolatrous, if ſhe be Impure, if ſhe be Antichriſtian,

chriſtian, if ſhe have introduced true *Paganiſm* into the Church, we muſt neceſſarily Separate from her, as ſoon as we can; and the Separation being made, to re-unite ourſelves unto her is a Crime for which we can expect no Mercy. There can be nothing of doubt in this kind of reaſoning, but the Suppoſition, (*viz.*) That the Corruption of the Church of *Rome* is extream, and wholly unſufferable; So that this is the only thing which remains to do, about the matter of Schiſm, to juſtifie our Separation, and prove to you, that you cannot return to Popery without Damnation; this we ſhall do in this, and the following Letter.

To give you a true and natural Idea of the Corruption of Popery by a ſhort Diſcription, 'tis neceſſary at firſt, That you diſcharge yourſelves of thoſe vain Charms, and falſe Appearances, wherewithal they dreſs, and preſent it to your Eyes. Firſt, you may not conſider Popery by the Chriſtianity upon which 'tis built, for 'tis thither that you turn your Eyes immediately. 'Tis a Religion, ſay you, where the true God is worſhipped, and the true Jeſus, where the Holy Trinity is believed, the Incarnation of the Son of God, Redemption by the Death of Chriſt Jeſus, the laſt Judgment, the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, everlaſting Life, and everlaſting Death. How can ſuch a Chriſtianity be ill? Diſtinguiſh my Brethren, in the Popiſh Church Chriſtianity from Popery. That which I would have you conſider, and which I have told you is Chriſtianity. But that which I will deſcribe unto you, the uglineſs whereof I will ſet before you in an abridgement, is quite another thing, 'tis that which hath been added to Chriſtianity, 'tis Popery. Say not it ſufficeth us that Chriſtianity doth continue in the Roman Church, that is falſe, it is not ſufficient. 'Tis not enough

enough that the Subſtance doth continue in poyſoned Wine to make it ſafe, and wholſom. Do not you imagine that this is only a plain Compariſon, 'tis an example that doth demonſtrate, and prove Wine as good, and excellent as it is, is not more ſpoiled by the Mortal Poyſon mingled with it, then Chriſtianity in the Church of *Rome* is ſpoiled by the Popery added thereto. Have you never read any where that the Roman Church is like a great double Temple, whereof the lower part is conſecrated to God, and the ſuperior part to an Idol? This is a Compariſon which hath all the force of Examples to prove, and demonſtrate. Do you believe, that a man after he had worſhipped in the Church below, conſecrated to the true God, ſhould aſcend into the Church above, and adore Idols? Do you believe, ſay I, that ſuch a man were in a good and ſafe way? 'Tis true, Chriſtianity remains in the Roman Religion, 'tis the Church below; but they have built upon it the Idol Church, and that is Popery. Do not you imagine therefore, that you can Worſhip only in the Church below, or live in the Chriſtianity of the Roman Church without partaking in Popery. This cannot be, theſe two parts of the Roman Church are not built together as two Churches, whereof the one is below, and the other above. By an unhappy Art of the Devil you cannot enter into the one without entering into the other. You cannot worſhip God without partaking in the Worſhip of Idols. You cannot partake in the Heavenly Sacrament of Jeſus Chriſt without participation in a falſe and corrupt Sacrifice; and without proſtrating yourſelves before the Idol of Bread. You cannot confeſs Jeſus Chriſt Head of the Church without adhering to a falſe Head, to the Head of a Body which is altogether Antichriſtian. You cannot call upon God in publick Worſhip, unleſs at the

the ſame time you call upon Creatures: It remains therefore, that we prove unto you, that Popery, ſo confounded and mixt with Chriſtianity, is mortal, impure, and intollerable.

The ſecond general Advice which I have to give you is, That well to underſtand Popery, you muſt not look upon it in the Books of your Convertors, in the Explications of the Catholick Doctrine, or other painted Tables which diſguiſe to you the Religion into which they force you to enter. Diſcharge yourſelves alſo from this wicked imagination, That we ought to attribute nothing to Popery but what is ordained by its Councils. For there is nothing more falſe, and more diſtant from truth, then that the Councils have not expreſſed in their Deciſions, all thoſe frightful Exceſſes into which Popery is fallen, therefore they are not to be imputed to her. 'Tis a wicked conſequence, all that is done in a Church, be it by order of her Councils, be it by uſe and common cuſtom, ought to be imputed to her. 'Tis true, that St. *Auſtine*, in a paſſage which we quoted above, would not grant, that the *Manichees* ſhould impute certain Superſtitions which the People practiſed, to the Church: but 'twas becauſe there were few perſons, in compariſon to others, that fell into them: And the Teachers condemned them, inſtead of ſupporting and maintaining them. But we impute nothing to Popery, but Extravagances univerſally practiſed, and defended by their moſt famous Doctors. I will give you yet a third Advice, 'Tis that for the true underſtanding of Popery, and all its Deformities, you muſt not look on it in certain places, and at certain times. For Example: At this day in *France*, they ſhew you the Popiſh Religion in a ſmooth and poliſhed condition, with reſpect to the Authority of the Pope:

they tell you, that to ſpeak properly, he is no more than the *firſt Biſhop*, he is not the Vicar of *JESUS CHRIST*, that he is not the true Head of the Church, nor the true Center of Unity, that he is not Infallible, that he has no more Power over the Biſhops, than the Biſhops have over him: they ſpeak to you with great indifference concerning the Worſhip of Images, as a thing eſteemed not very neceſſary; they do extreamly mollifie the Invocation of Saints, reducing it to a ſmall matter. The Biſhops give order, that little of thoſe popular Devotions which are capable of giving you ſcandal, be practiſed in their Dioceſſes. I do declare to you, that it is not by the ſmall Country of *France*, nor by this little ſpace of preſent time, that you ought to look on Popery, to know and ſee all its Deformities. In what follows, we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you, that all theſe Reformations are nothing, that they are fictitious; and that although they ſhould go further than I know not what appearances, it would not ſuffice; but in expectation of that, I adviſe you at preſent, my Brethren, that for a true underſtanding of Popery, it behoves you to look on it every-where, and in all times: You muſt behold it in *Italy* and *Spain*, as well as in *France* and *Germany*: you muſt look on it in all preceeding Ages, at leaſt in the ſeven hundred or eight hundred Years which went before our Reformation; obſerving theſe three Rules, 1. That you look on Popery ſuch as it is in itſelf, diſtinct from Chriſtianity. 2. That you look on it in its practice, and univerſal uſage. 3. To conclude, that you look on it above all in *Spain* and *Italy*, as well as elſewhere; and that you look on it in all thoſe times which preceeded the Reformation. If you do thus, ſay I, I do maintain that you cannot behold the Deformitie of Popery without horrour.

Firſt you will there ſee a Head which calls himſelf the moſt Holy Lord, his Holineſs, and the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, who bears on him all the Characters of Antichriſt: He ſits in the Temple of God, as if he were God; he makes himſelf to be adored as God; he has his ſeat at *Rome*, the City upon ſeven Hills; he hath ten Kings under him, which give Obedience to him; he is cloathed in Scarlet, as the Whore in the *Revelations*; he bears a Triple Crown; he has upon his Forehead the names of Blaſphemy, calling himſelf God on Earth, the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, the Spouſe of the Church, the Mouth which pronounces infallible Oracles; he ſits upon a Beaſt, *i. e.* on an Empire, *viz.* the *Roman* Empire, which he hath raiſed up again: He makes the Image of the Beaſt to ſpeak, and be adored: he hath eſtabliſhed in the Church the true Image of the *Roman* Empire; and cauſes this Image to be adored on pain of Death: he hath two Horns, two Powers, as a Lamb, the Temporal and Spiritual; ſpeaks like a Dragon; and is the Protector of Lies and Falſhood: He works falſe Signs and Wonders to ſupport his falſe Religion; his Teachers make profeſſion of Auſterity, Celibate, Abſtinence, and Faſting, and refuſe Marriage: He hath his ſeat in *Babilon*, that City of Merchandize, where all things are ſold, and where they make Merchandize even of the Souls of Men: He cauſes his Mark to be born, *i. e.* his Profeſſion, upon the hands and upon the forehead; The name of *Latine* Church, and *Latine* Pope, contain exactly 666, which is the number of the Beaſt: This Pope, this pretended Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, is ſeen under a Canopy, or Cloth of State, in pomp, and in magnificence; he is ſeen trampling crowned Heads under his Feet, making himſelf to be carried on the ſhoulders of Emperours;

cauſing Princes to kiſs his Feet: He hath been ſeen as a furious Lion in all Ages, covering the Earth with Blood, dethroning Emperours, pulling off their Crowns, Abſolving Subjects from the Oaths of Fidelity given to their Kings, and thereby putting a Sword into their hands, from whence have followed cruel and barbarous Civil Wars: He has been ſeen encouraging the Father againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father; Subjects againſt their Kings, and ſtirring them up to run their Swords into the Bowels of their Soveraigns: He has been ſeen putting all *Europe* into a flame, and carrying confuſion, blood, and diſorder every-where by his Ambition: He hath been ſeen fighting with Competitors, called Anti-popes, conducting Armies, ſhedding Bloud, diſpeopling Cities, and laying waſt Fields by Fire and Sword: He has been ſeen with his Arms in his hands, like a mad man filling the World with Horrour and Deſolation, to maintain his pretended Succeſſion to the Inheritance of Chriſt Jeſus: He has been ſeen ſome times keeping Whores, ſometimes a *Sodomite*, ſome times a Sorcerer, ſometimes a Murderer, and a Paracide, ſometimes an Adulterer, and Corrupter of Wives, and Women; ſometimes like a Bloud-ſucker devouring Provinces, ſwallowing up Kingdoms, exhauſting their Subſtance, and drawing Tributes from all the Earth: He hath been ſeen Cheating, Deceiving, making falſe Oaths, violating Treaties, ſtirring up Seditions, moving to Wars: He has been ſeen to make an horrible Traffick of Sins, ſelling Pardon for *Sodomies*, for having lain with Siſter and Mother, and even with a Beaſt, for having killed his Father, his Benefactor, and even his King: He himſelf hath been ſeen killing, poyſoning, robbing, exerciſing rage, ambition, and dreadful robberies. I do profeſs, that he muſt be

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fallen to a reprobate ſenſe, to call ſuch a man the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and to imagine that ſuch a See is the ſeat of the Church.

After you have lookt upon the Head, if you conſider the Members of Popery, you will ſee great Lords, Lovers of the World, who call themſelves the Princes of the Church, who being oftentimes nothing but the dregs of the People, diſpute place with Soveraigns: They keep Houſes, and the Train of Princes, they have magnificent Equipage, ſtately Lodgings, ſumptuous Furniture, and delicate Tables: They are the Council, and the Senate of the Pope; they are the Cardinals which call themſelves the Pillars of the whole World, upon which the Church ſtands: Theſe are the Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaid to his Diſciples, That *he who will be greateſt among you, let him be your ſervant. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, That if you humble not yourſelves as a little child, you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.* Below theſe Prince-miniſters of the Antichriſtian Empire, we ſee Biſhops, another ſort of ſecular Princes, Governours of Dioceſſes, *i. e.* the Provinces of the Pope, who call themſelves Biſhops, Archbiſhops, *&c.* by the Grace and Favour of the Holy See, after the ſame manner that the Govournours of the Provinces of a Kingdom take the Title of their Dignity, by the Favour of their King: Theſe men poſſeſs a great Revenue, which was appointed by the Donors to nouriſh the Poor, but ſerves nevertheleſs to maintain the beſt Table in the Province; a great number of debaucht and unruly Servants, Cooks that are moſt expert in the Art of making curious Meats and Sawces, Coaches with ſix Horſes, packs of Hounds, and oftentimes a race of proſtituted Whores. Theſe men cauſe themſelves to be called my Lord in the World, and treat their Infe-

riours like Pages and Foot-boys: Theſe have not the leaſt grain of that which is called the Spirit of the Goſpel, but are animated by the Spirit of the World, that of Diſorder, Debauchery, Ambition, and Avarice: They watch not over their Flocks, but after ſome Benefice greater than their own, after which they gape always like Wolves after their Prey. Below theſe Superiours are ſeen an inferiour Clergy, compoſed either of Cannons appointed to ſing Veſpers and Mattins in Cathedral Churches, whoſe repoſe, eaſe, good chear, long ſleep, drunkenneſs, ſloth, fat and plumpneſs have always ſerved, and do ſerve ſtill for matter of Satyrs and Jeſts: or they are Curates who are not only for the moſt part the dregs of the Clergy, but dregs of the People; excepting thoſe of great Cities, who put themſelves to the labour of inſtructing themſelves at the leaſt, in the way to live like the World, the reſt are ignorant, brutiſh, drunken Whore-maſters, & given to the baſeſt & moſt ſhameful Vices: And beſides this, the Clergy is made up of an infinite number of little Prieſts, which are (above all in *Italy* and *Spain*) as they were heretofore every-where, Miniſters of the filthieſt pleaſures, and of the moſt criminal attempts. Are theſe the Guides of *Jeruſalem*, or the Builders of *Babel*? My Brethren, look not upon the Clergy of *Paris*, who are better governed, conſider that during the ſpace of ſeven or eight hundred years, the *Popiſh* Clergy were of this make in all the *Roman* Church; look upon *Spain* and *Italy*, where it is publickly known, that the Clergy are yet thus formed and faſhioned: Conſult thoſe which have ſeen *Rome* a little near at hand: Learn from them that Religion there is an Interlude, and that all the Eccleſiaſticks are Comedians which do not believe in God. An honeſt man came a little while

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ſince from *Italy*, and told us, from his own obſervation, That when they are at their Devotions, they commit Indecencies, and make ſuch noiſe there, that honeſt men in *France* would not do at play. Judge whether it be likely, that God hath permitted ſo horrible a Corruption of Manners in a Church pure and infallible.

From the Clergy, *i. e.* from the Prieſts paſs to the Monks, which are the holy part of *Popery*, where are found the Reverent Fathers, the ſeraphical and angelical Doctors: Draw the Curtain from their Hypocriſie, and you will ſee an Abyſs of Impurities; men who under pretence of long Prayers, devour Widdows Houſes, Wolves gaping after a prey, which compaſs about the Beds of the ſick and dying, to obtain great gifts and preſents; men who think Gain to be Godlineſs; who dreſs Religion like a Play, that they may draw Spectators, who in their Houſes perform *Paganiſh* Devotions, and ſuch as are ridiculous and worthy of the Theatre, to draw the crowd of people, and to obtain Offerings, who by this means obtain thoſe Alms which belong to the Poor, who by theſe Alms maintain themſelves in a criminal ſloth and idleneſs, without being of any uſe to Church or State; who behind their own Walls and Curtains, abandon themſelves to the utmoſt Extreamities of Wickedneſs, who eat, and drink, and ſleep like Hogs, who go not without the Walls of their Cloiſters, but to run after ſtrange Fleſh, who corrupt Wives and Daughters, and to that end, ſerve themſelves of all the moſt hideous and diabolical Arts: The pretence of Religion, Sacraments, and the moſt holy things are employed therein. You will ſee Houſes of ſacred Virgins, (ſo they call them) which are the Lodgings of Impurity, the Houſes of Proſtitutes, the places of thoſe that are Debauched.

Behold thoſe who are the principal, and the moſt illuſtrious Members of *Popery*, during the ſpace of ſeven or eight hundred years, by the confeſſion of all the World, and what they are yet to this day, in an infinite number of places unto which the Reformation has not come: 'Tis by this, that you ought to look upon the Members of *Popery*, and not by ſome Reformed Societies which are in *France*, whereof they let you ſee nothing but the out-ſide. Judge whether the true Church, and the true Religion, could permit and ſuffer ſuch horrible Diſorders! Are theſe the Paſtors of Jeſus Chriſt, or the falſe Paſtors of him, who in the laſt times was to teach a Doctrine of Devils, by men whoſe Conſciences were ſeared with a hot Iron, forbidding to Marry, and abſtaining from Meats, which God hath created to be received by Believers.

IN our ſeventeenth Letter, you may read the Continuation of the Cruelties which are exerciſed in *Languedock*; you have there ſeen that they fill Veſſels with Confeſſors to ſend them to *America*: The laſt News from that Country doth inform us, That two of theſe Veſſels are gone for *Martinique*, and among other eminent perſons, there is Monſieur the Barron of *Verliac*, with Madam his Wife, but with this augmentation of Cruelty, that they have put them in divers Veſſels, to the end that whether they live or die in the Voyage, they may be no Conſolation to each other. Monſieur *Matthew*, an Advocate of *Duraß*, of whom we have ſpoken heretofore, one of our moſt illuſtrious Confeſſours, is alſo of that number. How ſad ſoever the lot of theſe exiled Confeſſours which are

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carried into another World, I do not think that they have ſo much reaſon to complain, as thoſe that abide in the Kingdom: For the moſt cruel Hang-men remain there to put the Conſtancy of thoſe which perſevere in their Religion, to the utmoſt tryal. Above all, *Rapine* continuing in *France*, the New World cannot boaſt to have a more cruel Tormentor. This Monſter, nevertheleſs, would be very proper to revive the Cruelties, which the *Spaniards* exerciſed heretofore upon the poor *Indians*. We have promiſed you a Hiſtory of the horrible Actions of this Villane, and we will not fail to give it you, when it ſhall be ſent unto us.

We thought, even at this time, to have given you the memorable Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of which he cauſed Monſieur *Menuret* to ſuffer, the moſt illuſtrious Martyr it may be that the Church hath ever ſeen; and alſo the Hiſtory of ſome other Women martyred by the ſame *Rapine*, the moſt cruel Rraſcal in the World: But this Letter which comes to be communicated to us, muſt go before it; it comes very opportunely to acquaint you with the News of the Confeſſors, which are ſent to *America*, and whereof we ſpeak but now.

From *Cadez*, *April* 17th, 1687.

MOnſieur —— I don't doubt but you are informed of what paſſes in France, *with reſpect to our Families, which groan under the Yoak of cruel Perſecution; but it may be you are not yet informed of a new kind of Perſecution which they have lately invented: After they had tired out the Conſtancy of an infinite number of unhappy perſons; for ſeeing that they had made no farther progreſs in the Work of Converſion, they ſend them*

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to the Islands of America, *in the King's Ships, to be sold to them who give most for them. These things are an abhorrence of Nature, that those who are called Christians should sell other Christians for Money; 'tis a thing that was never heard of, till this miserable Age in which we live. The Tears which I have, and do pour out every moment, permits me not to tell you all that I have seen, being accompanied by Monsieur ——, your Son, and an Officer, which escaped, and is now in our Vessel; a tempestuous Wind hath caused us to put in, and refresh our selves in the Haven of* Almaria, *which is in the Kingdom of* Granada, *and hath kept us there five Weeks, and every day we see Vessels arrive there from some Nation or other, which this tempestuous season doth oblige to seek some place of safety. On the sixth of* April, *a Vessel, bearing the Admiral's Flag of* Fance, *arrived there: As soon as the stormy season was over, Monsieur the Count of* Stirum, *sent one of his Lieutenants to the said* French *Vessel, to inform himself whence it came, and whither it went; we learnt that it came from* Marseilles, *and that it went to carry them for Slaves to* America. *This obliged me to desire a Challoupe, that I might satisfie myself in the doubt wherein I was, suspecting there might be in it men of our Religion; and indeed it proved two true. After we had been on Board the* French *Vessel, they brought us a Collation, and soon after we saw some Gentlewomen appear, upon whose Countenances Death was drawn, who came upon the Deck to take the Air: We asked them upon what account they went to* America; *they answered us, with an Heroick Constancy,* Becaufe they would not Worfhip the Beaft, nor Proftrate ourfelves before Images: Behold, *say they,* our Crime. *We enquired of them, if there were any from* Cevennes; *they answered, there was two from thence, the one of fifteen, the other of sixteen years of Age, who were below, and they were of a Village called St.* Ambrofe. *This increas-*

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ed my Curioſity to ſee them, the one was ſick unto Death, the other was with her to aſſiſt her in what ſhe could: At my deſire the Captain granted, that ſhe who was not ſick, ſhould come up; as ſoon as ſhe appeared on the Deck, I well perceived that her countenance was not unknown to me: Monſieur your Son askt her, Mademoiſelle, from whence are you? She ſaid, I am from St. Ambroſe. What is your Name? I am named Peirique. I needed no more to aſſure me, that they were my Coſin Germaines: I had reſolved to permit her to ſpeak a while, but the tears which began to run from my eyes would not ſuffer it: I drew near to her and ſaid, Madam, do you not know me? At that very moment, caſting her eye upon me, falling on my neck, ſhe ſaid, Is it poſſible, my dear Coſin, that I ſhould ſee you once again in my Misfortunes. She added a hundred other things ſo affecting, that there was not a perſon in the Ship, which did not pour out a river of tears, at leaſt of thoſe who had the guard and keeping of them. I deſired leave of the Captain to ſee her Siſter, which was not able to come upon the Deck, which he freely granted me: I was no ſooner below, but I ſaw fourſcore Women, or Maids, lying upon Matts, overwhelmed with Miſeries; my mouth was ſtopped, and I had not one word to ſay. They told me, the moſt moving things in the World, and inſtead of giving them Conſolation, they comforted me; and I not being able to ſpeak, they told me, with one common voice, We put our hands upon our mouths, and ſay that all things come from Him who is King of Kings, and in Him we put our truſt. On the other ſide, we ſaw a hundred poor miſerable perſons, oppreſſed with old Age, whom the torments of Tyrants had reduced to their laſt gaſp: We ſaw there of all ſorts, of all ages, and of all qualities, for they ſpare none. They told me, when they left Marſeilles, they were two hundred and fifty perſons, Men, Women, Girls and Boys; and that in fifteen days, eighteen of them died. There is but one Gentlewoman

that

that is of Poictou, *all the reſt are of* Niſmes, *or* Mompellier, *and the Countries in the Neighbourhood thereof. A Country-man who lived about a League and half from St.* Ambroſe, *who had ſuffered all that he could ſuffer, upon whom theſe Barbarians could gain nothing, was put on board among others, and is ſince dead in the Harbour of* Granada; *his Son, who was in the ſame Ship, knew me at firſt ſight; he is called* Griollet, *and the Village of his abode* Ceurla. *There are yet ſix Veſſels upon their departure from* Provence, *laden with theſe poor Men, who expect nothing but a fair Wind to hoiſt ſail. I was willing to have encouraged my Kinſewoman, ſhe told me, Dear Coſin, 'tis not Death that I fear, if God will call me hence, I ſhall eſcape a great many Miſeries which I have yet to ſuffer, but I am reſigned to whatever he ſhall pleaſe to lay upon me. A young Gentleman which the Captain entertained at his own Table, died of Grief about ſome eight days ſince. After I was returned to our Veſſel, and had given a particular account of what I had ſeen, Monſieur the Count of* Stirom *ſignified a great deal of trouble at it, and ſent me back again with ſome Fowls, Wine, and other things, together with ſome Money for their refreſhment; and if it had been in his power to have reſcued them from their Miſery, I am ſure as he would have ſpared nothing to have done it. Mademoiſelle, your Siſter, is yet wandring about, as my Kinſewomen informed me; they themſelves lay hid a long while in the Woods of* D'forfre *and* Arowbac. *They told me ſo many things that I have not power to expreſs them to you. The day after we drew up our Anchor, at the point of day, to my very great trouble; I went to bid them Farewel, and in that little time that I was there, with one voice, they repeated to me,* We intreat you to remember us in your Prayers, that God would give us Grace to perſevere unto the end, that we may obtain the Crown of Life. *You will take it in good part, Monſieur, that I deſire, on the behalf of theſe poor unhappy perſons, the ſame thing*

which

which they desired of me; I assure myself that you will intreat Monsieur d' Marais *to be mindful of them; they repeated it to me a hundred times after the most moving manner in the World. I conclude in professing my self* ——

The Mother of a Minister, and her Sister, who are also in the same Ship, intreated me to give intelligence concerning them to her Son, who is a Minister in Holland, *he is called Monsieur* Arnolt, *of* Languedock. *Monsieur, your Son would have written to you, but we have thought that this will suffice for us all.*

As soon as this Letter was communicated to us, we have not delayed one moment to give it you, that it may be scattered all over *Europe*, and that all the Reformed Churches may answer the Wishes and Desires of these illustrious Confessours, by praying to God for them, by Name, and that without ceasing. We see by this Letter, what false Zeal and Cruelty, animated by a Spirit of Superstition, may do; this is an example thereof which has no president. It cannot be said, that these were Rebels, and such as defended themselves by Arms: they were poor innocent Women, and such as had no other Faults, but that of desiring to Worship God without serving the Creature: 'Tis a voice that cries loud towards Heaven. Oh God of Vengeance, when wilt thou awake? We intreat all those who have Friends in divers parts of the World, to disperse this Letter among them, without delay, that the Voices of all Believers, united together, may pierce the very Heavens, and render God favourable to these poor Victims, who bear our Iniquities into another World, and suffer the Evils of a Persecution which our Sins have

have cauſed. They are the Innocent and the moſt Juſt which ſuffer, the Criminal and Faulty withdraw themſelves from Sufferings, either by their Apoſtaſie, or by their Diſſimulations. Thoſe among them, who are of this number, ought to make ſerious Reflections thereon.

The firſt of June,
1687.

The

The Twentieth
PASTORAL LETTER.

An Article of Antiquity: Concerning the Sacrifice of the Maſs, in the fourth and fifth Ages: An Article of Controverſie: A Concluſion of the Matter of Schiſm: A Deſcription of the Corruption of Popery, which engaged us to a Separation.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given unto you, from our God *and* Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

IN the preceding Letters we have Examined the divers Alterations which have happened in Religion, in the fourth and fifth Ages, and we have there found five very conſiderable ones: 1. The Original of the Monaſtick Life. 2. That of Oecumenical Councils; to which at this day ſome men aſcribe Infallibility. 3. The Hierarchy, which hath been changed into a Government purely Monarchichal. 4. The Invocation of Saints, and Worſhip of Reliques. 5. And to conclude, the Introduction of Images into Churches. I will not ſpeak of other Changes, ſuch are the Eſtabliſhment of *Lent*, and Faſts, which took their utmoſt perfection in theſe Ages, becauſe theſe things are of leſs importance, and were not the Cauſes of our Separation: I will conclude the Hiſtory of theſe two Ages, with four or five things which were not chang-

changed: 1. The Sacrament without Sacrifice. 2. The Opinion of the Real Abſence. 3. The Communion under both Kinds. 4. The kind of Veneration men had for the Sacrament. 5. The Opinion touching the State of Souls after Death.

1. The remained in the Opinions in which the Church was, with reſpect to the Sacrifice, which at this day is called the Sacrifice of the Maſs: The Hereſie of the Church of *Rome* about it, is one of the moſt novel, and alſo of thoſe which have had the longeſt time to digeſt and compleat itſelf; it received not its higheſt perfection till the Council of *Trent*. In the fourth and fifth Ages, men continued to ſpeak of the Sacrament as of a Sacrifice; the exteriour form of Sacrifice did augment by the addition of ſome Ceremonies, and becauſe the Liturgy did always enlarge itſelf by ſome new Prayers: Nevertheleſs, at the bottom they underſtood that it was no new Sacrifice, but improperly ſo called, a Sacrifice of Bread and Wine, a Sacrifice of Commemoration, the Image of a Sacrifice, a Sacrifice as the other parts of the Worſhip of Chriſtian Religion are Sacrifices. We need no more than hear the Authors of thoſe Ages upon this ſubject: *Euſebius* ſaith, a *That Jeſus Chriſt hath appointed us to offer unto God the Memory of his Sacrifice.* St. *Chryſoſtome* b ſaith, *That we every day offer the ſame Sacrifice, or rather the Commemoration of the ſame Sacrifice.* St. *Auſtine* c *That we Celebrate the Image of this Oblation in memory of his Paſſion.* d *That we Celebrate the Sacrifice of our Lord, by a Sacrament of Commemoration.* *Theodoret* e, *That we offer no other Sacrifice, but we celebrate the Memory of that only Saving Sacrifice of the Croſs, &c. to the end that by the Contem-*

a *Lib.* 1. *c.* 10. *Demonſt. Evang.*
b *Homil.* 17. *in Heb.*
c *Lib. Queſt.* 83. *Queſt* 61.
d *Lib.* 20. *Cont. Fauſt. cap.* 21.
e *Euſeb. Dem. Evan. lib.* 5. *c.* 3.

Contemplation of the Figure, we might call to mind that which he hath ſuffered for us. I do not know whether a man can ſay more plainly, that the Euchariſt is nothing but a Sacrifice of Commemoration: And if it be a ſimple Commemoration, where is the Real Preſence, where is the Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead?

They are the ſame Authors which ſay, That Jeſus Chriſt by his Servants, f *hath accompliſhed among men, that which reſpects Sacrifice, repreſenting by Bread and Wine, the Miſteries of his Body, and of his Saving Blood.* The Author of the imperfect Work upon *St. Matthew*, under the name of *Chryſoſtome*, ſaith, That the Chriſtian g *offers the Sacrifice of Bread and Wine.* And *St. Jerome*, h *That* Melchizedeck *did not offer the Victims of Fleſh and Blood, but that he did dedicate the Sacrament of Jeſus Chriſt with Bread and Wine, which is a ſimple and pure Sacrifice.* And *St. Auſtine*, i *That to eat Bread under the New Teſtament, is the Sacrifice of Chriſtians, and that men offer every-where under the High-Prieſt Jeſus Chriſt, that which* Melchizedeck *brought, when he bleſſed* Abraham: That is to ſay, Bread and Wine. And *Iſidore* of *Peluſium*, k *That the Oblation of Chriſtians is an Oblation of Bread.* And *St. Fulgentius*, l *That the Catholick Church does not ceaſe to offer throughout all the Earth, an Oblation of Bread and Wine.* And *Eucherius* Biſhop of *Lions*, m *That Jeſus Chriſt hath commanded Chriſtians to offer in Sacrifice, not Victims of Beaſts, as did* Aaron, *but the Sacrifice of Bread and Wine.* I would willingly know, how an Oblation of Bread and Wine, can be a true Sacrifice of Humane Fleſh, propitiatory for

f *In Epiſt. ad Heb. cap. 8. verſ. 4.*

g *Homil. 19. ib.*
h *Jer. lib. 2. Adverſ. Jovin.*
i *Lib. 16. de Civit. Dei. c. 22. & lib. 17. c. 5. & 17.*
k *Lib. 1. Ep. 401.*
l *Ad Petrum de Fide. cap. 19.*
m *In Geneſ. lib. 2. cap. 18.*

the ſins of Men? They have not ſpoken otherwiſe even until the eſtabliſhment of the Opinion of the Real Preſence, for venerable *Bede*, in the eighth Age, ſaith, n *That the Lord hath changed the Sacrifices of the Law, into the Sacrifices of Bread and Wine.* And *Iſidore* of *Seville*, in the ſeventh Age, o *That the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt*, i. e. *the Oblation of Bread and Wine, is offered through all the World.*

n *In* Pſal. 133.
o *Lib. de Alleg.*

The ſame Fathers have alſo ſaid, with one conſent, That the Chriſtian hath no other true Sacrifice, but that of the Croſs: *Origen*, in the third Age, did ſay, p *That when the perfect Oblation, and Lamb without ſpot, came to take away the Sins of the World; the Sacrifices which were offered to God one after another, did ſeem ſuperfluous, ſeeing that by one only Sacrifice, all the Worſhip of Demons was deſtroyed.* It had been natural to ſay, that the Worſhip of the Sacrifice of the Maſs was put in the place of the Worſhip of Devils.

p *Homil.* 17. *in Numb.*

And *St. Chryſoſtome*, a *That Jeſus Chriſt hath offered one only Sacrifice for Sins, and that he always cleanſeth us by this Sacrifice alone.* And elſewhere, b *There is no other Sacrifice, one Sacrifice alone hath purified and cleanſed us.* To ſpeak thus, is indeed to forget ones ſelf, ſeeing we have a daily and continual Sacrifice, which is that of the Maſs. It would be to no purpoſe to quote more Authors, for they all ſpeak after the ſame manner.

a *Homil.* 17. *in Johan.*
b *Hom.* 13. *in Heb.*

An

An Article of Controverſie.

A Concluſion of the Matter of Schiſm; the extream Corruption of Popery hath forced us to a Separation.

IN the preceding Letter, we began to make for you a Picture of *Popery*, to convince you of the Juſtice and Neceſſity of our Reformation. This Corruption of *Popery* may be either conſidered in its Guides, its Head, and principal Members, or in its Doctrine: We did conſider this Corruption in its Head, *i. e.* the *Pope*; in its Guides, *i. e.* the Cardinals, Primates, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops: in its principal Members, ſuch are the Prieſts, the Monks, and the Nuns; and in all this, we have ſeen the Characters of the Conductors of *Babel*, and the Emiſſaries of *Antichriſt*.

Theſe are the Mouths of *Popery*, but what can proceed out of ſuch Mouths? 'Tis eaſie to judge: They appoint for you at this day, Preachers which ſpeak good things. There have been for ſome time paſt, a number of perſons raiſed up to obtain the uſe of the Word of God, and the Holy Scripture, for the people: But this is neither ancient nor general, you muſt know the *Popiſh* Miniſtery by what it was not long ſince, and by what it is in all places where 'tis regnant: hear thoſe which tell you the *Holy Scripture* is a dangerous Book, an obſcure Book, all full of *Traps*, *Snares*, and *Precipieces*; that an infinite number of men have ruined themſelves thereby; that 'tis from thence that Hereticks have drawn their Hereſies; that 'tis imperfect; that it contains not half the Chriſtian Religion; that to underſtand the true ſence of this half, there

needs another which is called the *Unwritten Word*, Tradition, the infallible Voice of the Church. And a man knows not where to find this Voice. However it be, they do aſſure you, that the *Scripture* has no Authority without Tradition; that without the Teſtimony of the Church, we were no more obliged to believe the *Goſpel*, than *Titus Livius*, or the Fables of *Homer*. Moreover, at this day the *Janſeniſts*, great Defenders of the *Holy Scriptures*, tell you plainly, and without ſcruple or heſitation, That by the *Holy Scripture* we cannot prove the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt; and that it were a Folly more clear than the day, to go about to prove the Divinity of the *Holy Scriptures* by the *Scripture* itſelf. There is nothing that *Popery* doth not do to decry this ſacred Book: Not only 'tis inſufficient, obſcure, it has no authority by itſelf, but it is maimed, imperfect, many Books thereof are loſt, thoſe which remain are corrupt, either by the *Jews*, or by the negligence of Tranſcribers; we cannot know with any certainty what is intire, or what is not; the Tranſlations thereof are ſpoiled, there are none of them conformable to the Original. Good God, what a *Prodigy* is this! And how great muſt the patience of God be, to tollerate a Religion which makes it its buſineſs to annihilate, to vilifie, and abaſe thoſe Oracles which ought to be ſo venerable among all Chriſtians? What Chriſtianity is this, but that, in which for the ſpace of more than a thouſand years, the *Scripture* was an unknown Book almoſt to all Chriſtians, and is ſo yet at this day in all thoſe places where *Popery* domineers without contradiction? Obſerve alſo the profound Ignorance in which thoſe people live, that are ſubject to the *Popiſh* Inquiſition. To find among them the Figures of *Aretine*, or ſome other infamous Work, is no fault; but

but to find there a Bible, in the Vulgar Language, is a crime not to be forgiven: for which reason, in these Countries, they know GOD no better, and it may be a great deal worse, than in *Turky*. The sacred Histories are utterly unknown to them; they know nothing of Christianity, but what we find thereof in their *Catechism*, mingled and confounded with the Errours and Superstitions of *Popery*.

Instead of the true Gospel, what do they preach in those places that are under the Dominion of *Popery*? And what have they preacht in the times when it did Rule, and prevail without contradiction? They did there preach, 1. Corrupt Morality, according to which a man might commit Murder, to save a Crown, to defend his Honour, and secure himself from some small Affront; according to which a man might Rob, when a person did not think himself sufficiently recompensed for his labours; according to which a man might exercise Usury, and infamous Monopolies; according to which a man might keep Concubines, and abandon himself to *Sodomy*, without mortal Sin; according to which a man might Lye by Equivocation, and mental Reservations; according to which he might live all his life without the Fear of God, without performing one act of Contrition, or the Love of God to his death; and he might be Dispensed with, that at the point of death, provided he exercised an act of the fear of Hell, when he receives the Sacrament of Penance. *Popery* hath produced this detestable Morality; it hath taught it where it could, inspired it into private persons, and suffered it where it durst not teach it. For Holy History, instead of the pious and sacred Histories of the *Scripture*, which might turn mens minds towards Devotion,

they entertain the people with Fabulous Legends: Inſtead of ſpeaking to them of the Miracles and Greatneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, they ſpeak of the Greatneſs of the Virgin; they ſay that ſhe was conceived without ſin; that her Father and her Mother had been advertiſed of her Birth by an Angel; that at her Birth the Angels aſſembled together, and formed a Quire and Conſort in the Air; that this Celebration of the Birth of the Holy Virgin, is repeated every year on the ſame day; that many Saints have heard them in the Air; that this Holy Virgin was bred and brought up in the Temple, and in the moſt holy Place called the *Sanctuary*; that when ſhe conceived Jeſus Chriſt, it was by three drops of her Bloud, which the holy Spirit took from her heart; that after ſhe had lived moſt holily, ſhe died in the preſence of all the Apoſtles, whom the Holy Spirit brought in the Air from all parts of the World, whither they were gone to preach the Goſpel; that three days after ſhe roſe again, and was carried up into Heaven, with charming Muſick made by the Voices of Jeſus Chriſt and the Angels; and that ſhe was ſet very near to Jeſus Chriſt, above all the *Seraphims*. After the Aſſumption of the Virgin into Heaven, they made her do a thouſand and a thouſand ridiculous Miracles upon Earth: ſometimes ſhe appeared to a Monk, ſometimes to a Pilgrim, ſometimes to ſome one of her devoted Servants: ſhe kiſſes them, ſhe makes them kiſs her; ſhe opens her boſom to them; ſhe gives them ſuck from her breaſts; ſhe appoints them to build a Chappel to her in ſuch a place, and that they ſhould perform ſuch or ſuch Devotions to her; ſhe fixes herſelf in certain places, and there makes her choice to dwell, and do Miracles: All thoſe which come thither for Sickneſs, Blindneſs, Palſie,

loſs

loſs of Bloud, Deafneſs, loſs of Members, return thence ſafe and ſound: when one of her Houſes formerly frequented, ceaſed to be ſo, ſhe tranſported it beyond the Seas, and fixed it in another Country to draw thither new Servants to her Devotion; ſhe forgets nothing that may favour thoſe which ſerve her: In one Convent ſhe takes the place, office, and figure of a debauched Nun, which ran to the places of Proſtitution, becauſe this Nun, when ſhe was going, did devoutly commit the Convent into her hand; In another place, becauſe an Abbeſs did moſt devoutly commend herſelf to her, when ſhe had polluted herſelf with her Domeſticks, ſhe delivered her in private of her great Belly, and reſtored her Virginity, in ſuch ſort, that thoſe who had accuſed her, remained aſhamed and confounded.

Inſtead of entertaining the people with the Miracles and Vertues of true Saints, as were the Apoſtles, to oblige them to an imitation of them, *Popery* hath ſubſtituted unto them new Saints, which were Fools, and wicked Fools too, *St. Francis*, *St. Dominick*, *St. Hyacinth*, *St. Vincent Ferrerius*; or imaginary Saints, as *St. Chriſtopher*, and the eleven thouſand Virgins, or modern and unknown Saints, ſuch as *St. Milorus*, *St. Alldem*, *St. Colganus*, and a thouſand others: To which they attribute ridiculous and impertinent actions for Vertues, and ſuch ſottiſhneſſes for Miracles, as are unworthy of thoſe little Demons called *Hobgoblins*. One to teſtifie his Humility, made himſelf to be toſſed in a Sieve by little Children; another, to draw upon himſelf contempt, counterfeited the Fool and the Ideot; another fouled the Bed of his Hoſt, that he might be deſpiſed of him; another kept company with Beaſts, Wolves, and Swallows; another preached to Fiſhes, or Birds; another ſtripped himſelf naked,

and in that condition expoſed himſelf to publick view; another made himſelf Women of Snow, and embraced them to cool and extinguiſh his Luſt; another, through great Mortification, lay with the faireſt Women without touching them; another made himſelf a Bed of Stones, and Sticks, and crowns of Nails, and Girdles of Iron; another thruſt Thorns into his Body, waſhed his hands in quick Lime, and covered his face with an eating Powder, which made the fleſh thereof one intire Ulcer. Behold a ſmall part of the Idea that *Popery* gives us of the Vertue of its Saints. As to Miracles, they produce to the people faithful Chronicles, as they ſay, by which it appears, that ſome of theſe Saints, for their parts, have raiſed fifty two dead perſons; another thirty; another twelve; another ſix, three, or four: They have healed deſperate Diſeaſes, raiſed Dogs, Parrots, and other Animals from the dead. The Water in which they waſhed their hands cured all ſorts of Diſeaſes; the clippings of their Hair, and the parings of their Nails, put into the craks of Walls, cloſed them up again, and have made Houſes ready to fall, firm and ſtrong. When theſe Saints preached to the Birds, theſe Animals reached out their bills, and clapt their wings; when they preached to the Fiſhes, they gathered together on the top of the Water, that they might hear; when they pleaſed they drove away not only evil Spirits which troubled them, but alſo living Creatures which interrupted their Diſcourſe: They made Angels ſerve them not only at Maſs, but alſo they uſed them as Grooms to dreſs their Horſes: They cauſed themſelves to be carried by the Devil to places whither they would go; they made him hold the Candle till he burnt his fingers therewith: if the Devil turned himſelf into a Cat, they put him into ſuch diſtreſs,

diſtreſs, that he left behind him a matter which infected the Air: When Birds were roaſted, and ſet upon the Table, with ſigns of the Croſs they made them fly away: Another nouriſhed a Child in a Deſart, by making him ſuck the clapper of a little Bell: another hung his clothes upon the ſhaddow of a Tree, or on a ray of the Sun, as upon a Peg: another made whole again a Basket of Eggs that had been broken: another made a golden Cup of a pound of Butter: another by ſucking a leprous perſon, drew from his Navel three great lunchions of fat matter, whereof he made ſo many Ingots of Gold: To conclude, there are no Impertinencies, nor ridiculous things which *Popery* doth not make its Saints to do; and behold the Hiſtory which they put in the place of the Evangelical Story.

As to what concerns Doctrine, they ſpeak but little of the Auguſt Miſteries of Religion to the People, ſuch as are thoſe of the Divine Attributes, the Perſons of the Trinity, the Incarnation and Redemption of Chriſt Jeſus. Theſe Miſteries were laid by and neglected, or if they ſpake any thing of them, 'twas after a Scholaſtical manner, and method, 'twas by mingling with it a barbarous Philoſophy of *entities* and *quiddities*, with obſcure and unintelligible diſtinctions; 'twas by raiſing fooliſh queſtions on the ſubject of the moſt venerable Myſteries: For example, Whether God could make matter without form; whether he could command ſin; whether this propoſition, God is a Beetle, or a Gourd, could be as true as this, *God is a Man*; whether the number of three Perſons in God, ought to be referred to the firſt, or ſecond intentions; whether the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, could take the nature of a Devil, or of an Aſs, as he took the nature of Man? The Books which contain theſe fine queſtions, are not yet deſtroyed.

At

At leaſt they entertain people with the falſe Doctrines of Popery. Inſtead of ſpeaking to them of the efficacy of the venerable Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt upon the Croſs, they ſpeak nothing to them, but of the greatneſs and utilities of the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar called the Maſs. It was good for every thing, for the ſound, and for the ſick, to cure all diſeaſes for Travellers, for thoſe who undertook great things, to find Silver, Horſes, Aſſes, and Hogs that were loſt. 'Twas good for the Dead, as well as for the Living, 'twas excellent to fetch Souls from Purgatory, or to abate their Sufferings, for which reaſon they could not tell how to ſay too many for that purpoſe, 100. 200. 300. 1000. 2000. 3000. 4000. and all with deſign to draw by this practice Maintenance for a million of Sluggards, who have nothing to live upon but theſe Maſſes. Inſtead of exalting the divine Vertue of the Bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, they ſpoke nothing but of Purgatory, of a certain Fire which was to burn Souls after Death; but of what ſort of Men? of thoſe who had not made pious Foundations, who had not left great Revenues to Convents, and who had not left great Alms to the Monks to ſay Maſſes. And upon this account they had always ſome Soul in pickle which came from Purgatory bringing News from thence, who deſired Maſſes, and Suffrages, and who complained lamentably that his Friends had forſaken him. Amongſt the means of appeaſing the wrath of God, true repentance which conſiſts in contrition, and amendment of life, was paſſed over very lightly. But they inſiſted mightily upon Satisfactions, Mortifications, Whippings, hair Cloaths, and Pilgrimages; they advanced the value of theſe things, they ſpake of them with prodigious Exceſſes, and aſcribed Salvation wholly to them. And becauſe all the World were deſirous to be ſaved, but few were capable of

theſe hard penances, they found out ways more eaſie, and commodious. If you give money to a Monk, he will whip himſelf for you, and you ſhall go to Heaven for him. If you give great Alms to a Convent of the Frior Minors, or the Preachers, or the Auguſtines, or the Carmelites; if you take the Cord-girdle, or the Roſary of the Fraternity, and beſtow great bounty and liberality on them, and get the Letters of Adoption of *St. Francis*, or *St. Dominick*, by theſe means you partake in the merit, *i. e.* in all the ſcourgings and macerations of the Monks of that Order ſcattered all the World over. For greater ſecurity they have eſtabliſhed a lovely, good, and inexhauſtible Treaſure of Indulgencies, made up of all the ſuperabundant ſcourgings of the good Monks, mingled with the infinite merit of the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. And from this Treaſure the Biſhops, and the Popes as Soveraign Diſpenſers fetch Indulgencies, and Remiſſion for all Sins, for 40000 years, for a 100000 years, for 500000 years, and all this by paying well for it. So that if a man had committed ſo many enormous Crimes, that they could not be expiated under leſs than 500000 years pennance, he becomes diſcharged of them in a moment by his Money. And there was no diſtinction of Sins, Inceſts, Adulteries, Paricides, Sodomies, Brutalities, all fell under the grace of Indulgencies.

Inſtead of abaſing man before God, by ſpeaking nothing to him but of Grace, and the forgiveneſs of Sins; inſtead of ſaying to him perpetually you are ſaved by Grace, through Faith which is the Gift of God; inſtead of making him underſtand that his good Works could merit nothing before God, becauſe they were very imperfect; inſtead, ſay I, of doing all this, they endeavoured to fill man with himſelf; they ſpake nothing to him but of the merits of his Works, and of the profitableneſs of humane

mane ſatisfactions. They made him believe that above all in matter of ſatisfactions he could do more than he was obliged unto, that he had merit remaining, and that he did works of ſupererogation, and there are found even in this age devout perſons ſo fooliſh, and proud, as to ſay to their Friends, *that they will give them their Merits.* They never ſpeak any thing to them but of their power, of their free will, of their good works, of their merits, of the crowns which are prepared for them above others. And above all theſe works to which they affix theſe Crowns, are not prayers, devotions, ſevere Morals, or holy lives, Charity, and alms to the poor. But they are ſack-cloaths, and hare-cloaths, 'tis to ſhut themſelves up in Covents, and there make vow of Virginity, 'tis to abſtain from certain Meats, 'tis to live in Retirement without ſeeing or ſpeaking to any one, 'tis to wear a Frock without a Shift. With this Furniture of good Works theſe men look on Heaven as an Inheritance, by full Right, and according to all the Laws and Rigour of Juſtice. And for other men, theſe pretended righteous perſons full of phariſaical pride lookt on them with a great contempt, by ſaying, *Come not near me, for I am Holy.*

Inſtead of inſtructing men in the true way of poſſeſſing, and uniting ourſelves to Chriſt Jeſus, they have invented a carnal and corporeal manner, and of ſmall expence to receive him, and taſt all the ſaving Fruits of his preſence. They have encloſed him under a morſel of Bread, from whence they have withdrawn the ſubſtance, leaving nothing but the accidents there. And under theſe accidents they have conveyed in the ſubſtance of Jeſus Chriſt, by the vertue of Tranſubſtantiation Concomitancy, and I know not how many monſtrous Imaginations, and barbarous Expreſſions. Behold thus much for the Opinions and Doctrine of Popery.

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Let us a little conſider its Worſhip inſtead of the Adoration, and Worſhip of the only true God, who is jealous of his Honour, and Glory, they have truly re-eſtabliſhed pure Paganiſm. The moſt bleſſed Mother of Jeſus Chriſt hath taken the place of the Mother of the Gods, they have ſet her upon the Throne of God, they call her the Mother of Mercies, the Redemptrix of Mankind, the perfection and accompliſhment of the Trinity, the Queen of Heaven. They give her the power to command her Son by the Authority of a Mother, they addreſs to her in all their needs, they deſire of her remiſſion of Sins, Health, the life of Men, the recovery of the Sick, and the reſurrection of the Dead. Thoſe which are devoted to her, are much advanced above all others. Devotion to the Bleſſed Virgin is an infallible Mark of Predeſtination. He can't be damned that prays to the Bleſſed Virgin. She hath oftentimes fetched men from Hell, ſhe hath raiſed them to the end that they might do pennance, ſhe hath reſcued the Souls of wicked men out of the hands of Devils, who had already dragg'd them down into the bottomleſs Pit. Perſons rejected by the Son have been received into favour by the Mother, the white Ladder of the Virgins Milk, is a more ſure way to aſcend to Heaven, then the red Ladder of the Bloud of Jeſus Chriſt. In the place of the Gods, and Demy Gods of Paganiſm, of their Tutelor Gods, their Houſhould Gods, their Protecting Gods, ſubordinate to the great God Jupiter, Popery hath put its Saints, taken not only from among the Apoſtles, Martyrs and Confeſſors, but from among its Bygots, its devout People, its Hypocrites, its Monks, its Founders of Orders, its Fanaticks, and proud Phariſees. It hath placed them in Heaven very near unto God. It hath pulled Jeſus Chriſt from the Right Hand of the Father, where

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he was to intercede continually for us, and hath placed there in Conjuction with him its Tuteler Gods, and the Patron Gods that are there, not only to offer to God their Interceſſions but their Merits, for they pray unto God to have regard unto the merits of theſe Saints. Theſe Patron Gods have here below their Temples, their Chappels, and their Altars which bear their Names. For here are to be ſeen the Churches, and the Altars of *St. Paul*, *St. Peter*, the Virgin, and other Saints. They have their Sacrifices of the Maſs, that is to ſay, the adorable Body of the Saviour of the World, and God of the Univerſe, by a Worſhip as fantaſtical as it is criminal, is offered to the honour of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, *St. Roch*, and *St. Francis*: Littanies, Prayers, Supplications, Genuflections, and generally all Religious Worſhip is given to theſe inferiour Gods, to theſe canoniz'd Saints: they have their part every-where, they are taken for Protectors, Kingdoms, Cities, Families, and perſons are put under their Defence: Men beg of them Life, Health, Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Eternal Happineſs: They are conſtituted Princes, Regents, Governours of the World, to break the Nations with Rods of Iron: 'Tis not enough to adore their perſons, men adore their Reliques; they expoſe their Aſhes, their Bones, ſhreds of their Cloaths, their Girdles, their Slippers, their Shifts, the Iron, Nails, the Wood, the Bloud, the Tears of Jeſus Chriſt; the Teeth, the Milk, the Hair of the Virgin; the Cradle of Chriſt, and a thouſand other things which are a ſhame to the Chriſtian Name. Theſe Reliques do wonders, heal the ſick, open mens eyes, raiſe the dead. They are laid with great reſpect and honour upon Altars; men bow down to them, and kiſs them with great devotion: they are carried in ſtate about the ſtreets; men cry before them, as

before

before *Joſeph*, *Bow the Knee*; men expect from them rain and fair weather, plenty and abundance, peace and war. That *Paganiſm* may be compleat, they have filled the Churches with Idols, which they call holy Images: They picture God againſt his expreſs command; they repreſent Angels, tho' altogether ſpiritual, by corporeal Figures; they ſet up material Croſſes, and Crucifixes of wood, ſtone and metal in all places. The Virgin hath her Pictures, where ſhe is painted with a Child in her arms. All the Saints have their ſeat in their Churches, and upon their Altars; men fall down before them, they offer Incenſe to them, they kiſs them, and act towards them, as if they thought ſome divine Vertue in them. For although the Doctors do ſometimes ſay, that we ought not to affix any divine Vertue to them; they do nevertheleſs authorize, by their tolleration and examples, the fury of the People, who make their Nine-days Devotions, and Pilgrimages to them; who there rub their Beads and their Handkercheifs, who make their Children touch them to ſanctifie them thereby. They dreſs them up after a ſtately manner on their Feſtivals, they crown them with Flowers and Garlands, they carry them in pomp, and cauſe them to go in proceſſion, they put their confidence in theſe Reliques and theſe Images. The devout perſons bear about them a little piece of the pretended wood of the Croſs; ſome ſmall filings of the Nails thereof; a pretended Thorn of his Crown; and a little bit of the Bone of a Saint. They carry, ſay I, theſe about them as Preſervatives againſt the Devil, againſt death, and all perils by Sea and Land: Every Family has his Patron, every particular perſon his Saint, for whom he hath a ſingular devotion; he hath the Image thereof placed in his Oratory, he proſtrates himſelf

ſelf before it, to make his Prayers. To indemniſie the true God for all the loſſes which he hath ſuſtained in thoſe Worſhips given to his Creatures, they have dedicated to him in particular, an Idol which they call the *Sacrament of the Altar*; there they adore, in his honour, a little morſel of dry and flat Paſte, which they call in great reverence *Our Lord*; which they make all the World adore with great ceremony, which they carry in ſtate about the ſtreets, that every one may worſhip it, and whoever does not ſo, is execrable and accurſed: they incloſe Jeſus Chriſt therein in a ſtate of Annihilation, without head, feet, hands, ſoul, motion, or life, ſubject to be eaten by Rats, ſtolen by Thieves, trod under foot by the Prophane, and vomited by the Sick. But in compenſation to God, they adore this Tomb of Jeſus Chriſt, as the ſoveraign God, Creator of Earth and Heaven. If on the one hand they have corrupted the Worſhip by adding in the Euchariſt, that which is not there, on the other hand they have taken away half thereof: they give but one part of the Sacrament, and by ſo doing give nothing. They have made private Maſſes, contrary to the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and the cuſtom of all ſound Antiquity. To conclude, What have they not done, to diſfigure the Worſhip of God? How many vain and ridiculous Ceremonies, and of no uſe? How many ſigns of the Croſs, holy Waters, Exorciſms, *Agnus Dei's*, and other Toys And above all, they cover this with the Vail of an unknown Tongue; they ſpeak *Latine* to the Peaſants of *France*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, who are edified by what is ſaid, as much as if they ſpake *Arabick*. Behold, my Brethren, a very ſhort, but very true *Pitture of Popary*. After this, will you think that our Separation was unjuſt? You will yet ſay, that we muſt bear many

ny things; and that 'tis a Religion in which a man may conveniently enough be ſaved. In the Name of God do not ſay that this *Picture* is extravagant, and that you do not ſee all this therein. For 'tis a true *Deſcription of Popery*, ſuch as it hath been in *France*, as well as elſewhere, for more than ſeven or eight hundred years. There is no man that knows any thing of Antiquity, that can diſſent from it; 'tis yet at this day the *Popery* of *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and all Countries where the Reformation hath not been tollerated. Yet at this day, do the people of *Spain* and *Portugal*, know any thing of God, and of Jeſus Chriſt, but the Names? The Object of their Devotion, is an Image, which works Miracles on the top of a Mountain, or in ſome Church of a Monaſtery; and their Piety ſpends itſelf in Fooliſh and *Pagan* Proceſſions, in which there are mingled all thoſe things which may render a Show ridiculous, and Devotion impious. We wiſh you could hear thoſe which being baniſhed from this Country, a while ſince by the order of the Court of *France*, are again returned hither. The *Bible* is impriſoned in thoſe unhappy Countries: An illuſtrious Fugitive carried one of them thither, the Inquiſition, who laid hands on him, ſeized it, and kept it as you keep a dangerous Enemy: and never could that illuſtrious Exile get it out of their hands, till he came out of the Country, then they permitted this dangerous Book to carry its poyſon elſewhere. God grant that you may give attention to all this, to the end that you may remain fully perſwaded, that your Fathers were obliged to ſeparate from the Church of *Rome*, and that you cannot return thither without Damnation.

WE ſhall now give you that which we omitted in our laſt *Letter*, 'tis the Hiſtory of ſome Cruelties exerciſed at *Valence* by *Rapine*, which deſerve to be conſecrated to the memory of all Ages of the Church. Firſt you ſhall know how he treated the Daughters of that illuſtrious Martyr Monſieur *d'Croſs*, and thereby at the ſame time you will learn after what manner he labours in the Converſion of all others: When theſe Gentlewomen were arrived, and delivered into his hands, he ſeparated them, and put them in differing Dungeons filled with Dirt and Ordure; he took away their Cloaths and Linnen, and ſent them to an Hoſpital to enquire for Shifts, which had been many Weeks, and ſometimes many Months upon Bodies covered with the Itch, Ulcers, and Carbuncles, full of matter and putrefaction: after this manner he cloathed the Daughters of Monſieur *d'Croſs*. This Villain gives them nothing to ſupport their Lives, but a little Water and Bread which Doggs would not eat. *Rapine* viſits them many times in the day, with his Lacques, by whom he ſtrips them, and gives them many blows with a Bull's Piſle, and he himſelf beats them with his Cane on the body, and upon the very face itſelf, in ſuch a manner, that they have nothing of humane ſhape remaining; he breaks them with ſo many blows, that they are not able to ſet one foot before another, nor lift their hand to their mouth, nor move their arms; beſides this, he cauſes them to be plunged many times in a day in a deep Mire, moiſtened with ſtinking water; he draws them

them not from thence, till they have loſt all ſenſe and knowledge; at laſt they faint under theſe Torments, which have no example in the Hiſtory of the moſt barbarous *Pagans*; after which they were exported to a Convent, where they are having neither form nor figure, covered with wounds from head to foot. This we have received from an honeſt Man who ſaw them in this frightful ſtate. Mademoiſelle *d'Farelle* of *Niſmes*, is at this day in the hands of this Villain, with many other Gentlewomen. The *Parliament* of *Greenoble*, a little while ſince, ſent him twenty five, or twenty ſix perſons, both men and women, to be converted by theſe ways and methods. Monſieur the Baron *d'Faugere* of *Languedock*, whoſe Fidelity is known to all thoſe who know his perſon, met the Rector of the Jeſuites of *Niſmes*, at *S.Eſprit*, who told him, he was going to *Valence* to labour in the Converſion of an obſtinate *Hugenot*, who had reſiſted all the means that they had made uſe of. And a few days after, meeting the ſame Gentleman, told him, That he could prevail nothing; and that he had ſaid to *Rapine*, that no body but he could be ſucceſsful therein, and that he ought to labour in it. So that this poor Gentlewoman, with many others, have without doubt paſſed the ingenious Cruelties of this famous Hangman.

We may very well boaſt, that he has given us an example of Courage and Conſtancy, which may diſpute it with all the ancient and modern Martyrs: 'Tis the famous Monſieur *Meniurett*, an Advocate of *Montlimar*, he was eminent throughout his Converſation, for an exemplary Life and Devotion: when the Miſſionary Dragoons were ſent into *Dauphine*, and to *Montlimar*, he ſtrengthened all perſons about him, by his Exhortation and

Example. The Governour of *Montlimar* cauſed him to be arreſted, they put him three Months into ſomething like a Chamber, where he had nothing to lye on but a ſorry Matt. After theſe three Months, they put him into a hideous Dungeon. He went thither full of joy, comforting his Friends who wept, and bewailed him as they accompanied him thither: He told them, they ought to rejoyce, that God did him the favour to ſuffer for his Name. He was ſix months in this noiſome Dungeon, and there became Dropſical. They drew him from thence to carry him to *Valence*, and put him into the hands of *Rapine*, which is the laſt tryal to which they put the Faith of the Martyrs of that Country. *Rapine* drew near to him with the countenance of a Lyon, and with words like roaring, concluding, *We will ſee whether thou wilt be ſo obſtinate in my hands.* He put him into the entry of a Chamber, under which ran all the ſinks of the Hoſpital, even thoſe of the Bogg-houſes, and Jaques; and for a bed, they gave him a Plank. This place was oppoſite by another little entry to the Chappel of the Hoſpital, where they ſaid Maſs every day; they would have obliged our Martyr to have aſſiſted at the Maſs by this entry, but they could never effect it. All theſe evil treatments not being able to vanquiſh this illuſtrious Confeſſor, *Rapine* comes to his laſt Remedies; he cauſed Monſieur *Menurett* to deſcend into the Court, where there was a Mulberry-tree, and faſtned his arms on high thereto, his feet ſcarce touching the ground; he rent off his Cloaths to his very Shirt, and cauſed him to receive an infinite number of blows with a Bull's piſle: this treatment was continued for the ſpace of fifteen days, with ſo much violence, that our Martyr voided blood by his Urine, and by all the parts of his body.

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In the midſt of theſe horrible Torments, without ceaſing, he beg'd mercy and grace from God for himſelf, and for his Perſecutors, and implored the compaſſion of his Hangmen in ſo moving a manner, that two *Capuchines*, who heard his cries, exhorted *Rapine* to ceaſe his cruel puniſhment; he did ſo, and was content to employ our Martyr to carry ſtones for a building which they were making at the Hoſpital. The firſt day of *April* laſt, the Biſhop of *Valence* went to viſit him in this ſtinking Sink, but gained no more upon him at this time, than at others. In concluſion, *Rapine* inraged with his long oppoſition, entred like a Devil into the Priſon of this holy man, accompanied with two Lacques, or Serjeants, and gave him ſo many blows with a Bull's piſle, and for ſo long a time, that the cries of the Martyr did even rend the Air all round about. This Monſter about two hours after, (after he had been wearied with the pains that he had taken to martarize this Saint) return'd with his Searjeants, to repeat the puniſhment; but he found our Martyr expired in the midſt of theſe cruel torments. He was put into the hands of *Rapine* in the month of *June* 1686, and died in the beginning of *April* 1687. I cannot tell whether after this, they will have the impudence to maintain, that all theſe Cruelties which have been exerciſed, have not been authorized by the Miniſters of his Majeſty, and the Judges, nor by the commandment of the Dragoons; but that they are the Violences of the Souldiery, which have been condemned and puniſhed when they have been known. *Rapine* is neither Souldier nor Dragoon, he has no Commiſſion to exerciſe theſe Cruelties, but ſuch as he receives every day: He is Guardian of the Hoſpital of *Valence*:

lence: The *Parliament* of *Greenoble* have ſent him twenty five or twenty ſix perſons at a time, as I ſaid but juſt now, to be converted by theſe cruel Methods. The Biſhop, and the Jeſuites put into his hands all thoſe upon whom they cannot prevail: But to the end that they may not ſay any more, that Authority does not interpoſe in theſe Cruelties, they ought to be informed of a memorable ſtory happening at *Uzes*, and which I think has been atteſted by twenty *Letters* of different perſons, all which agree in the thing: There is at *Uzes* a Houſe of Propagation, governed by four Creatures, called the *Daughters of the Propagation*; in this Houſe are many Gentlewomen of the Reformed Religion, impriſoned, who have reſiſted preceeding Violences and Temptations: One of theſe four *Daughters of the Propagation* went to complain to the Intendant, of the rough anſwers which theſe poor perſecuted Gentlewomen gave, and of the ſmall diſpoſition they had to be converted. The Intendant, Monſieur *d' Bauille*, whoſe name for his conduct in *Languedock*, deſerves to live to all future Ages, this Intendant, I ſay, immediately appointed Scourging againſt ten of the moſt intractable. In the execution of this command, four Souldiers were ſet at the Gate with Muſquets charged, and lighted Matches, ready to give fire. Two Prieſts went in with the Major of *Viuon*, and the Judge *Larnac*, Sub-delegate to the Intendant: in their preſence theſe Creatures of the Propagation, ſtript theſe Gentlewomen from the Girdle upward, and doing the Office of Hangman, ſcourged them after the moſt cruel manner, with ſtraps made of Coards, at the end of which hung Bullets of Lead; afterwards they were thrown into a dark Priſon. During the time of this puniſhment, they uttered

tered cries which were heard into the ſtreet; but they encouraged each other to ſuffer theſe Tryals for the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

I will at this time tell you no more ſad News, but on the contrary, I will comfort you by giving you to underſtand, that in this general Misfortune, wherein the Reformed Church of *France* ſees ſo many perſons, in ſome ſort fall under the Temptation, we have the joy to know, that ſcarce one falls in love with this wicked Religion. We have taken care to enquire concerning it, of thoſe which came from all parts; and we have cauſed enquiries to be made upon the places, as much as is poſſible for us; but we can aſſure you, my Brethren, as a thing certain, that the hatred of the *Roman* Religion increaſes every day, inſomuch that the Perſecutors are farther every day from accompliſhing their deſigns, than ever: We may ſay, without fear of lying, or hyperbole of expreſſion, that this Perſecution has not gained to the Church of *Rome* two hundred hearty Converts; and although I know a vaſt number of perſons have been prevailed withal to make their Subſcriptions, yet the number of thoſe, which have with a ſatisfied Judgment embraced their Religion, is ſo ſmall, that it does not deſerve to be computed. But on the contrary, by a ſurprizing marvel of Divine Providence, this Perſecution has opened the eyes of a great number of ancient Catholicks, as they are called. That which we tell you, is no Conjecture or Fiction, 'tis that which we know upon good Teſtimony: So that it is certain, that the Church of GOD has gained more Souls than it has loſt. Theſe Seeds will bring forth in their time. Every day we ſee perſons arrive here, who Ab-

jure the Roman Religion; and amongſt them there are ſuch as are eminent by their Merit, by their Birth, by their Parts, and by their Learning. When we know that they will not take it ill, if we name them, we will do it; for 'tis neceſſary that all the World know it, that the depths of Divine Providence, and His Judgments may be admired thereby.

June 15. 1687.

The

The Twenty firſt
PASTORAL LETTER.

An Article of Antiquity: The Fathers of the Fourth and Fifth Ages ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Euchariſt is the Figure and Image of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt. An Article of Controverſie. An Anſwer to the Prejudices that have been drawn againſt our Separation from the Authors of it.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you, from our God *and* Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

WE have already ſeen one eſſential thing in which the Fourth and Fifth Ages had introduced no alteration; 'tis the Opinion concerning the Nature of the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt. We ſhall now ſee that the Faith of the Church did not change in the Point of the Real Preſence, and Tranſubſtantiation. This Article being long, we ſhall divide it into two. And we ſhall ſee at this time, that the Fathers did believe as we do, that the Sacrament of the Euchariſt was nothing but an efficacious Figure of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

As they perſevered in the cuſtom of calling the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, a Sacrifice and Oblation, they continued alſo in a cuſtom much more ancient, ſince it deſcended from Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles,

Apoſtles, that is, to call the Bread and Wine of the Euchariſt, *the Body, the Fleſh, the true Fleſh, and the Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* They ſaid then, *that we eat the Fleſh of our Lord Jeſus; that we really receive him; that Jeſus Chriſt hath given his Fleſh to eat, and his Blood to drink; that it is truly his Fleſh, and truly his Blood; that we may not doubt, that Jeſus Chriſt doth not give what he promiſed, viz. his Fleſh and his Blood; nor that the Bread is not the Body of Chriſt; that Jeſus Chriſt, who changed Water into Wine, could eaſily change the Bread into his Body, and the Wine into his Blood; that we muſt communicate with a full certainty, as in the Body of Jeſus Chriſt; that Jeſus Chriſt, who is the inviſible Prieſt, changes the viſible Creatures into the ſubſtance of his Body and of his Blood.* After all that which they quote unto you of moſt ſtrength concerning the Article of the Euchariſt for Tranſubſtantiation and the Real Preſence in the fourth and fifth Ages amounts to this.

But I pray you, what doth all this ſignifie? Is there any thing therein of more ſtrength than that which Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles have ſaid? The Lord ſaid, *My Fleſh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed, this, or this Bread is my Body.* St. *Paul* ſaid, *The Bread which you break is our Communion in the Body of Jeſus Chriſt.* That which is under debate, is to know how they underſtood this, and if we prove, that Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles did underſtand that the Bread continueth Bread, being nevertheleſs changed into the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, if we prove that they meant the Bread is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe it is the Sign, the Sacrament, and the Means by which the efficacy of his Death is applied unto our Souls; it is certain, that we have ruined all the advantages that can be drawn from theſe high Expreſſions. In like manner, if we can prove, that the Fathers of the fourth and

fifth

fifth Ages did underſtand that the Bread and Wine became the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and are changed into his Fleſh and Blood, becauſe they are the Sacraments, the Signs, the Figures, the Images, and the Means by which God doth communicate the vertue of his Fleſh, and the efficacy of his Death, without any change happening in the ſubſtance thereof; if, ſay I, the Fathers of theſe Ages declare this plainly, it is obvious, that they cannot draw any advantage from all theſe Expreſſions, how high ſoever they appear; now I take it for granted, that they could not declare themſelves more plainly thereon, than they have done, as we ſhall hear hereafter.

And to the end that their Declarations may appear to us more expreſs and ſignificant, it is neceſſary that you be acquainted with one thing, of which your Converters are at an agreement with us, and by conſequence I need not prove unto you; and 'tis this, in theſe Ages it was the cuſtom to hide the Myſteries not only from Unbelievers, but alſo from the Catechumens which had not as yet communicated. This conduct had two Reaſons or Foundations, the firſt was the deſign to increaſe the reſpect which they deſired Chriſtians ſhould retain for theſe Myſteries; the ſecond was an earneſt paſſion to diminiſh the contempt which the *Pagans* had for a Myſtery wherein nothing was ſeen but Bread and Wine. Theſe two Conſiderations obliged them never to ſpeak of the Sacrament but in obſcure and dark words. They deſired never to name the Bread and Wine; as much as they could they ſerved themſelves of *Periphraſes*, ſaying ſometimes, *that which you well underſtand*, ſometimes *that which the Prieſt takes*, ſometimes *the nouriſhment made of many Grains, and the drink drawn from many Grapes*, or ſomething of like ſort. This was, in my opinion, the meaneſt ſub-

ſubtilty in the World. For in deſpight to all their Precautions, every body knew, that they took nothing but Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt, and they themſelves ſaid it oftentimes contrary to the deſign which they had of ſaying nothing concerning it. But at laſt the deſign of hiding the matter of the Sacrament engaged them to ſpeak nothing of it but in dark terms, and always to ſerve themſelves of the myſtical terms, of *the Body*, *the Fleſh*, and *the Blood* of Jeſus Chriſt, and always to uſe theſe expreſſions, and always to avoid thoſe that were plain and without figure, as much as they were able. So that when it happens, that they call the Signs by their name, and to ſpeak of things as they are indeed, one only paſſage is more worth than a hundred, where they ſpeak figuratively and myſtically. For this myſtical Language was among them a Language of neceſſity, and duty which they had impoſed upon themſelves, whereas when they ſpake of things plainly and nakedly, 'twas the Language of truth, 'twas the Language of the Heart and Soul which reſcu'd it ſelf from politick ſlavery and bondage. It will not be therefore amazing, if we find few paſſages in Antiquity, where the truth of the opinion of the Fathers was plainly expreſſed. Nevertheleſs, we find ſo many of them, and ſo plain, that 'tis not conceivable how prejudice hinders our adverſaries from ſeeing the truth in this caſe.

Firſt of all, altho' we had no other paſſages of the Fathers, but thoſe where they call the Sacrament, the *Figure*, the *Sign*, the *Image*, the *Symbols*, of the Body and Blood of the Lord, theſe were enough. Now of theſe there is almoſt an infinite number, what other things do we ſay thereof, than that the Sacrament is the Figure, the Sign, and the Symbol of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt? why did they ſay the ſame thing with us, if they had not the ſame thoughts and

and conceptions with us? St. *Auſtin* ſaid (a), *Our Lord made no ſcruple to ſay, this is my Body.* The Author of the Book of Sacraments, under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, ſaith (b), *That the Oblation of the Euchariſt is the Figure of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* St. *Ephraim* ſaith (c), *That our Lord, taking Bread in his hands, brake it, and bleſſed it, that it might be the Figure of his immaculate Body, and that he bleſſed the Chalice, and gave it to his Diſciples, to ſignifie his Blood.* St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, from whom they bring you many paſſages, to prove Tranſubſtantiation, ſays, that (d) *under the Figure of Bread, is given to us the Body, and under the Figure of Wine, is given to us the Blood.* And St. *Gregory Nazianzen* ſaith (e), *that we are made partakers of the Paſſover, but always figuratively, altho' our Paſſover be much more clear than that of the ancients, for the legal Paſſover, I dare ſay, was a dark Figure of another Figure, i.e.* of the Euchariſt. St. *Jerome* ſaith (f), *that the Figure of the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt is made with Wine*; and elſewhere, *that Jeſus Chriſt hath offered not Water, but Wine for the Figure of his Blood. Theodoret* ſaith (g), *that the Euchariſt is the Figure of the Paſſion, and that the Sacred Nouriſhment is the Figure of his Body and his Blood.* In theſe Paſſages the Ancients make uſe of the word *Type*, which exactly ſignifies *Figure*.

(a) *Cont. Ademas, cap.* 12.

(b) *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 5.

(c) *Lib. De Nat. Dei non frut.*

(d) *Miſtagog.* 4.

(e) *Orat.* 42.

(f) *In Jerem. cap.* 3. *lib.* 2. *adverſ. Jovin.*

(g) *Dialog.* 3, & 1.

They have alſo expreſſed the Nature of the Sacrament by the word *Antitype*, which ſignifies an oppoſite Figure, or a Figure that has reſpect unto the thing ſignified, as one Pillar anſwers to another, which is placed juſt over againſt it. So the Au-

thor

thor of the Conſtitutions attributed to the Apoſtles, ſaith (a), *that our Lord gave to his Diſciples the Myſteries, which are the Figures anſwering to his precious Body and Blood, and that we celebrate the Figures anſwering to the Body and Blood of our Lord.* In the Liturgy aſcribed to St. *Baſil*, 'tis ſaid (b), *we beſeech thee, by offering the Figures of the Body and Blood of thy Chriſt.* St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* ſaith (c), *that we taſte the Figures anſwering to the Body and Blood of our Lord.* *Theodoret* ſaith (d), *that the Divine Myſteries are the Figures anſwering to the true Body.*

(a) *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 13.

(b) *Lib.* 6, *&* 29.

(c) *Myſtag.* 5.

(d) *Dialog.* 2.

Can any thing be more expreſs than all this, unleſs it be what we ſee with our eyes? In proper terms they tell us, that the Sacrament is nothing but an Image. *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Ceſarea* ſaith (e), *That Jeſus Chriſt commanded his Diſciples, to make the Image of his own Body.* *Procopius*, upon *Geneſis*, ſaith (f), *that Jeſus Chriſt gave to his Diſciples the Image of his Body.* And Pope *Gelaſius*, or ſome Author of the ſame Age, ſaith (g), *certainly the Image, or the Similitude of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, is celebrated in the Myſtery. This therefore ſhews us plain enough, what we ought to believe concerning Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, even that which we profeſs, that which we celebrate, and that which we receive in his Image.* I do not think, *that Zuinglius* and *Calvin* have ſpoken more plainly and ſignificantly.

(e) *Demonſt. lib.* 8.

(f) *Cap.* 49.

(g) *Gelaſ. de duabus nat.*

To conclude, they call the Bread and the Wine, Symbols, a word which every one knows ſignifies as much as the word Figure. *Euſebius* ſaith,

ſaith, * *We have learnt to make a Memorial of this Sacrifice upon the Table with the Symbols of his Body and Bloud.* And St. *Chryſoſtom*, ‖ *If Jeſus Chriſt be not dead, of what are the conſecrated things the Symbols?* And *Theodoret*, † *When we ſhall have the preſence of our Lord, we ſhall have no more need of the Symbols of his Body.* Nothing is ſo common in the Fathers, as theſe Expreſſions, To partake in the Symbols of our Lord, to take the Symbols, to burn the Symbols, &c.

* *Demonſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10.

‖ *Hom.* 83. *in Matth.*

† 1 *Cor. c.* 11.

Theſe ſame Fathers do give us the ſame Reaſons of the Names, Body, and Bloud, which are given to the Bread and Wine, that we our ſelves give of them. 'Tis becauſe they are the effectual Repreſentations of the Fleſh and Bloud of Jeſus Chriſt. *If the Sacraments*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, † *had no reſemblance of thoſe things whereof they are Sacraments, they would be no Sacraments; and 'tis becauſe of this Reſemblance, that they take the name of the things themſelves: as in the Sacrament of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, the Sacrament of his Body and of his Bloud, are in ſome ſort his Body and Bloud.* It ſeems to me, that a perſon muſt be prodigiouſly blind, to believe, that he which ſpeaks thus, does not think as we do. The ſame St. *Auſtin* ſaith elſewhere, * *How is the Bread his Body, and that which is in the Cup his Bloud? My Brethren, theſe things are called Sacraments, becauſe 'tis one thing that is there ſeen, and another thing which is underſtood; that which is ſeen, is a corporeal Species; and that which is underſtood, is a ſpiritual Benefit and Advantage.* To what end does he take this compaſs of diſcourſe? and why does he not anſwer without ſcruple, 'Tis becauſe the Body of Chriſt Jeſus is really there, after the words of Conſecration?

† *Epiſt.* 23. *ad Bonifac.*

* *Serm. ad Infantes apud Bertram.*

An

An Article of Controverſie.

An Anſwer to the Prejudices which ſome perſons have raiſed againſt our Separation from the Actions, the Conduct, and the Perſonal Qualities of the Authors thereof.

WE have finiſhed our Anſwer to the Sophiſms which they propoſe unto you on the ſubject of our Separation, by making it evident to you, that it does not hazard your ſalvation, that it was neceſſary, and that it was juſt. But before we paſs to other Queſtions which reſpect the Church, we muſt ſay ſomething concerning thoſe who made this Separation; for 'tis the moſt fruitful Source and Fountain of Illuſions, and a Subject of perpetual Harangues and Declamations. And this we owe eſpecially to a Woman of Quality, among thoſe which are called new Converts, who places the little Edification that our Reformers have given to the World, or rather the Scandal which they have given to it by their Conduct and Diviſions, as one of the Reaſons which hath moſt affected her, and prevailed on her to embrace the Roman Religion. 'Tis a ſubject on which an infinite number of Books have been made, to which I might ſend you, were it not that Books are taken from you for the moſt part; beſides, my deſigne being to ſpare you the labour of reading great Books, I am to abridge and reduce what our Authors have ſaid thereon, to the compaſs and extent of a Letter. Behold then the Accuſations which they form againſt the Authors of the Separation, which I have juſtified in my preceding Letters. 1. That theſe pretended Reformers

mers did no Miracles, to ſupport their extraordinary Miſſion and their new Goſpel. 2. That they led a ſcandalous life, and ſuch as had no conformity with the Spirit of a Reformed Goſpel, which they boaſted to bring into the World. 3. That there appears in their Expreſſions a dark Malignity, and an implacable Hatred againſt the Roman Church, and that their Books are full of cruel Injuries both againſt the Roman Religion, and againſt its Doctors, a thing abſolutely contrary to the Spirit of Charity. 4. That they are divided into three Sects, of which *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and *Luther* made themſelves the Heads. That if the Spirit of God had ſent them to Reform the Church, he would alſo have united them in this great deſign, and have inſpired them with the ſame thoughts, and the ſame apprehenſions. 5. To conclude, they ſay, that they have rent and torn each other by tranſports of Paſſion, which are the true Characters of falſe Paſtors, and falſe Chriſtians.

As to the firſt Objection, I cannot avoid baptizing it by its own name, and calling it an Impertinence. Why ſhould our Reformers work Miracles, and why were they obliged thereunto? When *Jehu* reformed the Church of *Iſrael*, pull'd down the Temples of *Baal*, broke in pieces his Statues, rooted out his Prophets, and aboliſhed his Worſhip, did he work Miracles, or had he any need thereof? Was it any ſpot to that Holy Reformation, that *Joſiah* made, when he re-eſtabliſhed the Service of God, which was almoſt wholly under a heap of forreign Idolatries, that he wrought no Miracles? When *Theodoſius* the Great reformed the Chriſtian Church, and drove away Arianiſm, which was become the reigning Religion, did he do Miracles, or had he any need thereof? There is no need to work Miracles, but when men bring a new Religion, and a

new Revelation. For that reaſon the Apoſtles wrought Miracles, becauſe they had a new Revelation to propoſe to the World. They brought a Goſpel unknown to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and oppoſite to the prejudices of the one and the other. We brought no new Goſpel into the World, we propounded the Old and the New Teſtament; the one and the other were received, without contradiction, by all thoſe Chriſtians which we deſired to reform. When it ſhall pleaſe God to convert the *Jews* to Chriſtianity, according to his promiſes, there is much probability that he will ſend them ſome Prophets which will work Miracles, and that will be neceſſary. For although the Goſpel-Revelation be already manifeſted, and we have the Books of the Evangeliſts and the Apoſtles, nevertheleſs this is nothing with reſpect to the *Jews*, becauſe they do not eſteem our Books Canonical, but believe the Apoſtles to be Cheats and Impoſtors. There is therefore need of new Miracles to recover them from their prejudices, and oblige them to give attention to the truth. But as for us, it was in no wiſe neceſſary to work Miracles to eſtabliſh that Book whereof we ſerved our ſelves. Otherwiſe, as often as the Kings of *Judah* produced the Law of *Moſes* to make Reformation in their Church, they had been obliged to work Miracles. They had nothing elſe to do, but to produce the Book, and make it evident, that the Abominations which had been introduced into Religion, were either forbidden, or not commanded there. Behold all that they had to do; behold all that we have to do; and 'tis to miſunderſtand the Conduct of God, and the Spirit of the Goſpel, to imagine that the truth cannot be commended to Unbelievers, but by Miracles. How many millions of men have been converted to Chriſtianity, ſince the days of the Apoſtles, and the ceſſation

ceſſation of the gift of Miracles? Miracles are deſigned to deliver men from their evil prejudices, and to endue them with ſuch as are good, that they may hearken to the truth: Men that believe not the Chriſtian Religion, but only for the ſake of its Miracles, are very ill Chriſtians. And among thoſe which became Converts by the preaching of the Apoſtles, thoſe who had no other reaſon to embrace this New Religion, but the Miracles which they ſaw done by thoſe which preacht it, were very miſerable Converts; ſuch perſons are the ſeed of Apoſtacy, and adhere to the Church but by a very feeble root. We ought to adhere to it for the love of truth, now 'tis the knowledge of the truth, and not the ſight of Miracles, which gives birth to the love thereof. If Miracles be not neceſſary for the Converſion of Unbelievers, with far greater reaſon they cannot be of neceſſity for the bringing back of wandring Chriſtians to the right way. For there needs no more, but to ſhew them the holy Scripture, which ſo exactly marks out the path in which they ought to walk. As to what they ſay, that thoſe who will eſtabliſh a new Miniſtry, muſt have Miracles for the ſupport of it, 'tis an Affair to be treated on elſewhere. We have already ſaid ſomething concerning it, and we ſhall have yet farther occaſion to ſpeak of it, and ſhew that we have no more eſtabliſhed a new Miniſtry, than we have introduced a new Goſpel. Where there is no new Revelation, there is no new Miniſtry; our Miniſtry is that of the Apoſtles, becauſe our Doctrine is theirs.

The ſecond Accuſation which they make againſt the Authors of our Seperation, is their Scandalous Life. There is no probability, ſay your Converts, that God ſhould ſuffer ſo ſtrange an Alliance, as that would be, of a great abundance of the Spirit of Light on the one part, and of ſo great diſorders of

Manners on the other. And thereon they publiſh a hundred ugly ſtories to cry down the Memory of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Martyr*, *Beza*, &c. Firſt we ſay, that truth is truth, without any dependance on thoſe who declare it. Your Converters have ſaid ſomewhere, That *the Citizens of* Babel *may ſometimes build* Jeruſalem. 'Tis a truth ſo certain, that to deny it, a man muſt be ignorant and falſe: For in all Ages there have been very Evil men, who have defended the part of truth, and who have even maintained it againſt Hereticks, whoſe Conduct and Manners have been very regular, and oftentimes more edifying than that of the Orthodox. We muſt not form a prejudice againſt the Doctrine, upon the ill Conduct of thoſe which preach it: we muſt judge of Truth by it ſelf. So that although it ſhould be true, that our Reformers were ſuch as they report them, nevertheleſs it would behove us to ſee whether theſe Citizens of *Babel* were not the Builders of *Zion*. But God forbid that we ſhould have no other fortification to defend our ſelves. We have made to appear the innocence of the Lives of the Authors of our Separation, by Apologies of ſo much ſtrength, that their Calumniators have been covered with Confuſion; and the moſt part of our moſt reſolved Enemies have been obliged to renounce them. The *Boſſacs*, the *Bertheliers*, the *Florimond de Raymonds*, and other like Calumniators, ought to be the Horror and Execration of all Honeſt men. The Author of the Legitimate Prejudices againſt the *Calviniſts* and other like Authors, who are willing to preſerve themſelves in the Eſteem of Honeſt men, fortifie and eſtabliſh themſelves upon notorious matters of fact, ſuch is for example, Marriage of Prieſts. Perſons who have made a Vow of Chaſtity, ſay they, and who were obliged to celibate by ſo many Oaths, have violated their Vows in the face of the Sun;

Sun; they have opened Cloyſters to take Wives from thence, and ſo have committed a double Adultery againſt Chriſt Jeſus. Theſe are pitiful Declamations, according to my apprehenſion. To judge of the nature of theſe Actions, we muſt know what were the Principles of thoſe who did them. Why ſhould they obſerve Celibacy, ſince they lookt upon it as a Yoak of which they deſired to deliver the Clergy, becauſe it had produced a world of Impurities and Abominations, ſo that a Deluge was not capable of purging them? They have broken their Vows. They were unlawful Vows, made under a tyrannical Empire, conceived in a falſe Religion, unacceptable to God, becauſe they ſerved as a Vail to an infinite number of Corruptions, and at the ſame time to a debaucht and hypocritical life. They forſook *Babylon*, and it behoved them to forſake all the Badges thereof. This kind of life, which under an appearance of Piety hides ſuch great Diſorders, is the true Character of the Beaſt. Theſe Monks are thoſe Hypocrites whoſe *Conſciences are ſeared as with a hot Iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from Meats which God hath permitted*; which teach a Doctrine of Devils, and ſerve as a Support to the Throne of the Beaſt. So that theſe Reformers being delivered from the tyrannical Yoak of this unhappy Empire, ought to return to the enjoyment of all their Rights, and of all their Liberty; and being put in the poſſeſſion of it, they may and ought to uſe it. There needs but one thing to confound all theſe Calumniators, who are willing to ſtain and blacken the Lives of the Authors of our Reformation: What have theſe Reformers gained, what have they gotten, to do the work of Impoſtors? Have they gained Riches, Honours, or great Dignities? Have they left great Houſes, have they left Heirs, and Children that were great Lords?

Never did perſons deſpiſe their own Intereſts more than they did, they never got wherewithal to be buried decently, and ſcarcely got wherewith to live. Their Zeal, Firmneſs, Conſtancy, and Perſeverance, joyned with a contempt of their own Intereſt, make up a Character very oppoſite to that of diſhoneſt men. If they had been debauched effeminate Lovers of Pleaſure, why did they go out of the Body of the Roman Clergy, who enjoyed all the pleaſures of the fleſh, even thoſe which were moſt infamous, with ſo much convenience and advantage. Theſe Gentlemen ſay, that the principal reaſon which gave ſuch ſucceſs to the New Goſpel, was the licentiouſneſs of the Church-men and the Monks of that Age. This is it which that ſame Lady does confeſs, who makes the ill Converſation of the Authors of our Separation, one cauſe of her return to the Church of *Rome*. But this Confeſſion and this Truth which is publickly known, doth it not utterly ruine the Accuſation which the Papiſts make againſt our Reformers? Is there any probability that the great number of people, which forſook the Roman Church, being ſcandalized by the wicked Lives of its Guides, ſhould liſt themſelves under the Enſigns of other wicked perſons, which were no better than thoſe they had forſaken? If they were not vicious and debaucht, at leaſt, ſay they, they were fierce, proud, Lovers of themſelves, paſſionate, ambitious, vain, and violent. Theſe are ſtroaks ſtriken in the Air, and Accuſations which make it evident they have nothing to ſay. Concerning Ambition, there doth not appear any footſtep thereof in their Converſation. And that which they call Pride and Fierceneſs, is according to us, Zeal and Vigour in the maintenance of Truth, as we ſhall make it appear in examining the third Accuſation.

The third Accuſation is, that it's evident the Authors of our Separation were inſpired with a dark Malignity againſt the Roman Church; they vomited out againſt her, ſay they, flouds of Injuries, and every-where is to be ſeen a Character of black Choler, which diſcharges it ſelf both upon their Perſons and Religion. They ſupport and ſtrengthen this Accuſation by the Confeſſion of ſome Proteſtants, who were of another frame and temper of mind, and did not approve thoſe methods of proceedure that were ſo full of flame and fire. I anſwer, That Grace which changes mens Manners, does not change their Temper and Conſtitution, but governs and ſerves it ſelf thereof. Although it ſhould be true, that there appeared a great deal of fire in the Authors of our Reformation, that would be no ſufficient cauſe to condemn them, it being the temper of all Great men. And this temper is of ſo great neceſſity for the execution of great things, that without it 'tis very difficult to carry on and proſecute great Deſigns and Enterprizes. This is a thing unto which thoſe men have too little regard, which at this day do ſo highly commend, and advance the Elogies of ſweetneſs and moderation in Controverſies, and who perſwade us to imitate other Great men, who are of a quite contrary Character, and temper of Mind. If theſe honeſt men of this laſt Order, that is to ſay, theſe ſoft and moderate men, had been born in the paſt Age, and had been engaged in that great Work, they had neither maintained, nor carried it ſo far, as did thoſe men, the heat of whoſe Temper they would fain make a Crime. If *Luther* had not had a heart fearleſs, and of inconceivable courage, he had never been able to bear up againſt the Torrent of Contradictions and Oppoſitions that he met withal, and repelled. Father *Paul* the famous *Venetian* Divine, who became famous

on occaſion of the Affair of the Interdict of that Republick, knew aſſuredly the Corruption of the Roman Church, at leaſt as well as *Luther*: He made no ſecret of it, no eminent Proteſtant paſſed by *Venice*, to whom he did not diſcover himſelf concerning it. They often repreſented to him, that he was obliged in Conſcience to break with a Church, the Impurity and Idolatry whereof he ſo well underſtood. He had a thouſand Reaſons to offer on his own behalf: ſometimes that he ſeparated the good from the bad, ſometimes that he was of uſe to a thouſand perſons that lay hid, and had good ſentiments; at laſt when he was preſſed hard, he would ſay, that God had not given to him the Heart and Spirit of *Luther*. It is certain, that if Father *Paul* had been of the Temper and Spirit of *Luther*, *Venice* had been at this day what *Geneva* is. And it is alſo certain, that if *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, had been of the Temper and Spirit of Father *Paul*, all *Europe* had been yet what *Venice* is at this day. It behoves us therefore to admire the great and profound Wiſdom of God, who choſe for ſo great a Work, men whoſe Temper was fit to maintain, improve, and exerciſe Zeal effectually. To this Conſideration add another; the Authors of our Reformation have indeed ſpoken ill of the Church of *Rome*, of its Prieſts, of its High-Prieſt, of its Monks, and its Guides. And why might they not ſpeak ill of them? I do maintain, that they ſaid nothing but what was true; they could ſcarcely ſpeak too much ill of Popery. They ſaid, that the Church of *Rome* was myſtick *Babylon*; that ſhe was a famous Harlot; that ſhe was a debaucht Adultereſs; that her Paſtors were Dogs and Swine. This was true. There was nothing in the World ſo corrupt as the Roman Clergy. *Rome* is *Babylon*, and all her Members are the Inhabitants of *Babel*. Was this a time to ſpeak

things

things by halves? What reaſon had they to flatter *Rome*? Ought they not to paint her in all her Colours, that they might make her odious? If it had been poſſible to exceed in the deſcription of her, that had been more pardonable, than the tenderneſs of thoſe who abate her uglineſs by their ſmooth and ſoft Pencils. It was then expedient to awaken men who were in ſo deep a ſleep, and in order thereunto 'twas neceſſary to ſpeak loud. And after all, theſe Gentlemen have but little reaſon to reproach us with the Violences and Injuries of *Luther* and *Calvin*, againſt the Church of *Rome*: that is little, in compariſon with the Rage which that Church has exercis'd againſt us. The *Calviniſts* call the *Papiſts* Idolaters and Swine, and the *Papiſts* returning a thouſand Injuries more ſevere, add thereunto Cruelties unknown to *Pagans*, and the moſt barbarous Nations. They burnt them by a ſlow fire, they hanged and quartered them, they cauſed them to die in Priſons by unheard-of puniſhments, they hunted after them as after *Lions* and *Bears*. Although there ſhould have been ſomething humane in the heat of our firſt Reformers, had it been very ſurprizing, that men whom they burnt, which they rent and tore in pieces, ſhould grow into ſome little choler againſt their Perſecutors? Let the preſent Conduct of thoſe who at this day would form a prejudice in the minds of the New Converts, on the occaſion of the tranſport and heat of our Reformers, be lookt into and examined. Theſe Gentlemen have addreſſed Paſtoral Letters unto us, with a Quill dipt in Gall, and afterwards have ſheathed their Swords in our breaſts and bowels. They condemn to death thoſe who exerciſe any other Religion but that of *Rome*. They drag the Bodies of thoſe to the Dung-hill, who die refuſing to embrace their Doctrine. They ſend thoſe to the Gallies, who will not ſubmit unto it.

They

They cauſe thoſe who will not ſubſcribe to their Superſtitions, to be burnt, torn in pieces, eaten up, and devoured by their Dragoons: Thoſe who reſiſt them by the Weapons of the Word of God, they ſend for Slaves into the other World. And after this, they tell you, your pretended Reformers were violent and paſſionate perſons; they could not be the Meſſengers of God, for God is Love and Kindneſs. Tell them on this ſubject, you cannot be the Miniſters of God, for you do the Work of the Devil, and the Father of Lies, who was a Lyer and a Murderer from the beginning.

But behold a new Accuſation founded on this, that the Authors of our Separation poured out their Gall not only againſt the *Roman* Church, but alſo againſt their own Brethren. The *Popiſh* Authors of all Orders take a great deal of pleaſure in heaping together all the injuries which the *Lutherans*, and *Calviniſts* have ſaid againſt each other, and they have found therein the marks of Reprobation. On this ſubject we have anſwered, That we condemn theſe tranſports, that we acknowledge them oppoſite to a Spirit of Charity. We ſay, that the Authors of our Separation did not utterly ſtrip themſelves of all that was Humane; that they did retain ſome tinctures of *Popery* from whence they came, which were blemiſhes and ſpots in their conduct and converſation: Impatience, fury, and tranſport againſt thoſe who oppoſe themſelves to their ſentiments, and contradict them, is the Spirit of *Popery*, and particularly that of the Monks. This is certain, for which reaſon the *Romiſh* Church treats all her Enemies as Devils, damned, reprobate, excommunicated Hereticks. Let a man read the Hiſtory of *Popery*, and he will ſee theſe furies reigning every-where: let him obſerve what bloody and cruel Tragedies, the

the Monks ſtirred up a little before the Reformation, on the ſubject of the form of their Hoods; and of the Queſtion concerning the property of thoſe Commodities and Goods which the Friers Minors ſpent. The thing proceeded even to fire, for the Popes cauſed ſome of theſe poor Monks to be burnt, who obſtinately maintained, that what the Minors ſpent, was not their own. What is the injuſtice of the Inquiſition againſt thoſe who are guilty of the leaſt contradictions to the ſentiments of *Rome*? Let a man read the Furies of the Popes, when they had Oppoſites, and Antipopes. Let him read the frightful Bulls of Excommunications againſt Kings, Princes, States, and perſons, who had the boldneſs to oppoſe themſelves againſt the torrent of Corruption, and the attempts of Tyranny. 'Tis from thence that the impatience and paſſion into which the Reformers fell againſt one another, in the maintaining their ſentiments, did derive: 'Tis from the ſame tincture of *Popery*, that ſome of them took thoſe harſh methods of procedure, which they believed they might take againſt Hereticks. So that if theſe tranſports, and this impatience of ſuffering, with reſpect to their Brethren, hath been in our Reformers a mark of Reprobation, 'tis unavoidable that the *Roman* Church is reprobate, and the Synagogue of Satan; for 'tis ſhe that inſpired this Spirit into thoſe which came out of her boſom. We ſay alſo, that in all Ages men have been made much after the ſame faſhion, they have grown into heat, and tranſport one againſt another upon very light occaſions, even to the making of ſcandalous Schiſms. The Biſhops aſſembled in the Council of *Nice*, to condemn the Doctrine of *Arrius*, tore one another, and gave Libels to *Conſtantine* to ruine each others reputation. *Conſtantine*, to reconcile them, thought it convenient

ent to throw their Papers into the fire, without reading them. We learn from the Writings of *Athanaſius*, that the Orthodox, who agreed in the ſence of the Doctrines againſt *Arrius*, diſagreed among themſelves about the words *Subſtance*, *Perſons*, and *Hypoſtaſis*; ſome being willing it ſhould be ſaid there were three *Hypoſtaſes* in the Deity; others ſaying, That it was an Hereſie, becauſe it was to make three Gods. The *Luciferians*, who with all the Church were enemies to the *Arrians*, ſuffered themſelves to run into the higheſt paſſions againſt thoſe who were willing to receive the *Arrian* Biſhops, and permit them in their Sees, after their repentance. The Controverſies of *St. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *St. Chryſoſtome*, who called each other Traytors, and *Judaſes*, have been already quoted to theſe Gentlemen. Examples of this ſort taken from the moſt happy Ages, and ſuch as were neareſt to the fountain of Charity, have been quoted to them, as the tranſport of *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, who treated *St. Cyprian* as a *falſe Chriſt*, a *falſe Apoſtle*, and a *deceitful Worker*; *St. Cyprian* and *Firmilian*, the Adverſaries of *St. Stephen*, on the other hand ſaid concerning him, That he was *wicked, obſtinate, preſumptuous, proud, inhumane, bold, inſolent, ſchiſmatical, fooliſh, inept, blind, and ſmitten with a Spirit of Giddineſs.* To conclude, their own Authors have been quoted to them, who in theſe laſt times, on the ſubject of ſome Diſputes about Grace, have ſpoken againſt each other, a thouſand and a thouſand heinous Calumnies. Therefore if eagerneſs and tranſport againſt Brethren, be always a mark of Reprobation, 'tis unavoidably that *St. Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Cyril*, *Chryſoſtome*, as well as all the Hero's of *Popery*, be eſteemed Reprobates. This is enough to make it evident, that inſtead of drawing prejudices againſt Doctrine, from the faults

faults of thoſe who teach it, we ought to admire the profound Wiſdom of God, who ſerves himſelf of weak Inſtruments to execute great things, who leaves in men the faults of their temper, and nevertheleſs fails not to uſe them profitably in his great Work of building up *Jeruſalem*, to the end that all the glory may be of God, and not of us, and that we may have reaſon to ſay, *We have this Treaſure in earthen Veſſels.*

To conclude, the laſt Accuſation is founded on the difference of ſentiments in which the Authors of our Separation were found, with reſpect to ſome points. *I conſider*, writes the Lady of whom we have ſpoken, *I conſider*, ſays ſhe, *three men which appeared almoſt in the ſame time, who attempting to reform the Church, in the mean while could not agree among themſelves in the moſt eſſential points.* If a perſon had a mind well formed and faſhioned, as it ought to be, inſtead of being ſcandalized at this, that the Reformers were at a difference about ſome Articles, he would be edified by this, that they were at an agreement in ſo many. I am troubled at this, that they were not at an agreement in all; but I much more admire this, that without conſultation, as it appears by their Controverſies with each other, they agreed in ſo many points; and I look on it as an evident proof that God guided them in this great Work. For 'tis certain, that if they had been inſpired by a ſpirit purely Humane, as all the Patrons of Hereſies have been, they would have agreed in nothing, but in the general deſign of troubling the Peace of the Church. Let a man read the Hiſtory of Hereſies, and Hereticks, and he will ſee, that they made Sects and Parties that differed in every thing; the *Gnoſticks*, the *Manichees*, the *Arrians*, the *Entychians*, the *Neſtorians*, and a hundred others: They might agree in

in certain points, as the *Gnoſticks* and the *Manichees* might agree in the Hereſie of two Principles, but it was with ſuch enormous differences, that it was viſible they could not be guided by one and the ſame Spirit. But I intreat you, by what accident did the Authors of our Separation, agree to condemn in *Popery*, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the taking away of the Cup, Tranſubſtantiation, the Adoration of the Euchariſt, the Proceſſion of the Sacrament, private Maſſes, Purgatory, Indulgencies, Humane Satisfactions, the Adoration of Images, the Invocation of Saints, the Worſhip of Reliques, Monaſtick Vows, the Pope, and Antichriſtian Tyranny, a barbarous Language in the Worſhip of God, Prayers for the Dead, falſe Sacraments, the abuſe of Eccleſiaſtical Power, the Merit of Works, Works of Supererrogation, Pilgrimages, Idolatrous Devotions to the Bleſſed Virgin, Legends, Inſtitution of divers Orders of Monks, Miracles, the Infallibility of the Church, the ſupreme Authority of the *Pope*, or Councils over Conſciences, Traditions, the pretended imperfection, obſcurity, and inſufficiency of the *Holy Scripture*, and the prohibition to read it. This is the object to which we ought to give attention, that we may admire and ſay, it muſt be, that all this be falſe, wicked, vicious, and of ſuch corruption as is plain and obvious, ſince men that were at no agreement or correſpondence among themſelves, yea, who divided, and oftentimes evil intreated each other, ſhould agree, and be at good accord therein. Indeed 'tis a thing which we can never admire enough, that men who were no Prophets, nor inſpired perſons, nor led by an infallible Spirit, ſhould condemn in *Popery*, not that which continues of Chriſtianity there, *viz.* the Fundamental Doctrines contained in the Creed, but preciſely, and only all the pernicious

cious Additions, yea, and that one and the ſame Additions. Wherefore did not one of them take one part of *Popery*, and reject another? Why, without any correſpondence, did they treat as Abominations, all theſe pieces patched on to Chriſtianity? Why did they agree, that we ought to receive only the Word of God for the Rule of our Faith? Why, and how did they agree ſo admirably in the Interpretation of this Word of God? If a man does not acknowledge ſomething Divine therein, he muſt be ſmitten with a ſpirit of Aſtoniſhment. But they are not at an agreement about the manner how the Bread in the Euchariſt is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt. Behold a thing very amazing, that among a hundred and a hundred points, in which they are agreed, there ſhould be one in which they could not come to an accord: Moreover, *Popery* cannot reaſonably draw any advantage from this diſſention; for if they be not at an agreement among themſelves, they agree to condemn the Opinion of the *Roman* Church therein. The *Lutherans* have nothing in this point in common with the *Papiſts*: 'tis a thing which we ſhall make plain to you one day. This is therefore but one point againſt a hundred: Is this worthy of conſideration, and thereof to make a Stumbling-block, and a Scandal?

But however it be, ſome will ſay, how little conſiderable ſoever it may appear, 'tis the Foundation of a Schiſm; the *Lutherans*, and the Reformed make two different Communions. On this ſubject, and in general of all the Faults which are obſerved in the Authors of the Separation, ſuch as paſſion, exceſs of heat, quarrels, diviſions, controverſies, too too warmly managed, injuries, and calumnies; and to conclude, the Schiſm which their Succeſſours live in among themſelves: 'Tis fit to admire the provi-

providence of God, and to bring hither the excellent Reflections of Mr. *Paſchal*, ſaying with him, *A man will never underſtand any thing in the Works of God, if he do not lay down this as a Principle, That He does illuminate ſome, and blind others.* Hear the Comment on this Maxim, given by himſelf, * *God hath been willing to Redeem Men, and to open the Door of Salvation to thoſe that ſearch it; but Men make themſelves ſo unworthy, that it's juſt that He refuſe to ſome, becauſe of their Hardneſs and Impenitency, that which He grants to others by a Mercy that is not due unto them. If He had pleaſed to ſurmount the Obſtinacy of the moſt hardned, He could have done it by diſcovering himſelf ſo manifeſtly unto them, that they ſhould not have doubted of the truth of his Exiſtence, and ſo will appear at the laſt day, even with ſuch a luſture and brightneſs, that the moſt blind ſhall ſee him: It was not his pleaſure to appear after this manner in eſtates of Grief and Humiliation; becauſe ſo many men making themſelves unworthy of his Clemency, it was his will to leave them deprived of thoſe good things which they would not have. It was not therefore juſt that he ſhould appear after a manner ſo manifeſtly Divine, and abſolutely capable of convincing all men; but neither was it juſt, that he ſhould come after ſo ſecret a manner, that he could not be known by thoſe that ſincerely ſearch after him: He communicates light enough for thoſe that deſire to ſee, and obſcurity enough for thoſe that have a contrary diſpoſition; brightneſs enough to enlighten the Elect, and darkneſs enough to humble them, obſcurity enough to blind Reprobates, and light enough to condemn and make them inexcuſable.* This is the true Key of Providence; Light and Darkneſs throughout, is exactly the Character of the Word of God, of his Myſteries, and of his Conduct. 'Tis not the Will of God, that *Babylon* ſhould fall all at a time;

* *Thoughts of Mr. Paſchal, cap.* 17.

* *Tho*

* *The great City must be divided into three parts.* Before it drink the last Cup of the Wrath of God; † it must be reaped before it come to the Vintage. The *Latine* Church before the full or entire Reformation, was to be divided into *Papists*, *Lutherans*, and *Reformed*: God to accomplish this design, came to Reform the Church the first time by mixing darkness with light. There is light enough to save humble minds, and there is darkness enough to offend and scandalize the proud. The Evidence of the Testimonies of the Word of God, which the Authors of our Separation did discover; the Ughliness of the Corruption of *Popery*, which they did observe; the Zeal with which they began this Work; the admirable Success with which they carried it on; the unanimous Accord in which they were to retain Christianity, and reject *Popery*, all this, say I, forms the light in this great Event: but their Divisions, private Quarrels, humane Passions, and the sad Schism found among them, make that Obscurity that God hath permitted, because his Design was not to throw *Popery* down to the ground all at once. It is of necessity therefore, that those who have any care of their Salvation, give attention to the light to maintain and support themselves, and that they serve themselves with the obscurities for their Humiliation and Abasement: 'Tis necessary that they admire the Finger of God in this great Work; and that they admire it so much the more, because he hath accomplished it by Instruments so weak and feeble. If you give attention to all this, I may assure you, that you will find wherewith to satisfie yourselves, in all those Scruples they put into your minds on the subject of the Authors of our Separation.

* *Revel.* 16.
† *Revel.* 14.

If you have at this time no matters of Fact, 'tis

not becauſe we have not thoſe that are ſufficiently conſiderable to communicate unto you, but 'tis becauſe the Apologies for our Reformers, could not well be divided into two Letters. You may pleaſe to know only at this time, That the Cruelties and Violences do continue; but they diſpenſe them after a manner that we little underſtand, or can account for: In ſome places there is ſome Abatement and Relaxation; that which may be underſtood concerning it, is that the Convertors are in ſome diſtreſs what courſe to take, to carry on their great Work. The deſertion, and forſaking the Kingdom, which is greater than at firſt, makes them well ſee, that as yet they have advanced nothing, and that they will keep no more of the Reformed in it, than thoſe which they ſhut up in Priſons, and ſend to the Gallies.

July 1, 1687.

The

The Twenty Second
PASTORAL LETTER.

Teſtimonies of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth Ages, about the Sacrament of the Euchariſt: Concerning the Communion under both Kinds: An Article of Controverſie: Concerning the Viſibility of the Church; three falſe Conſequences drawn from thence.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you, from our God *and* Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

WE began in our laſt *Letter*, to hear the Depoſitions of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth Ages, about the Euchariſt, and againſt Tranſubſtantiation; at this time we ſhall hear them farther, even as far as is needful to convince the Papiſts of being Innovators. We have heard *St. Chryſoſtome*, *St. Auſtine*, *Theodoret*, and *Gelaſius*, *i. e.* the chief Lights of the *Greek* and *Latine* Church, who tell us more boldly, and clearly than ever did *Calvin* and *Zuinglius*, That the holy Symbols are Figures, Images, and Types of the Body and Bloud of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: Nevertheleſs they did not deny that any change did happen in the Signs of Bread and Wine, nor do we deny it neither. But hear how they ſpake of this change: 'Tis true, when they ſpake thereof before the *Catechumens*, or before the People, to whom they deſired to

give the greateſt and moſt venerable Idea's of Sacraments, there is nothing great and bold in the Figures of Rhetorick, and Similitudes which they did not borrow to expreſs this Change. From thence come thoſe great and magnificent Expreſſions of *St. Chryſoſtome*, which are abuſed, that an Opinion might be aſcribed unto him, of which he never thought. This *St. Chryſoſtome* oftentimes ſpeaks, as if the Bread and Wine had been really and actually changed into Fleſh and Bloud, and as if our Lips and Mouths were died and ſtained thereby: But by one ſingle paſſage of this Father, learn what he underſtood, and how he ought to be underſtood; when it was intended to ſpeak without Myſtery, and without Rhetorick, of the Change which happens by Conſecration, this Author, and others of the ſame Age, ſpeak of it as plainly as we ourſelves can do. *St. Chryſoſtome* ſays in his Epiſtle to *Cæſarius*, *The Bread of the Euchariſt is called Bread, before it be ſanctified, but the Divine Grace having ſanctified it by the Miniſtry of the Prieſt, it bears no more the name of Bread, but is thought worthy to be called the Body of our Lord, although the nature of Bread remains.* And *Theodoret* a, *Jeſus Chriſt hath honoured the viſible Symbols by the name of his Body and Blood, not by changing their nature, but by adding Grace to Nature.* And elſewhere, b *The miſtical Symbols, after their Sanctification, do not loſe their proper nature, for they continue in their firſt ſubſtance, in their firſt Figure, and in their firſt form, and are viſible and palpable as they were before.* The contemporary Author, whom we have quoted under the name of *Gelaſius* ſaith, d *Certainly the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt which we receive, are a thing Divine, from whence*

a *Dialog.* 1. b *Dialog.* 2.

d *De Duab. Natur.*

whence also, it comes to pass, that by them we are made partakers of the Divine Nature, and nevertheless they do not cease to be a substance of Bread and Wine. *Ephraim* the Patriarch of Antioch in the sixth Age says also the same thing (b), *That the Body of Christ which Believers receive, doth not loose its sensible substance, and remain inseperable from the intelligible Grace: as Baptism, being made intirely spiritual, preserves the property of its sensible substance,* i. e. *of Water.* This man had lost all sense to speak thus, if he had believed Transubstantiation, or unavoidably he believed that a Transubstantiation was made in Baptism. In the same sixth Age *Facundus* Bishop of *Hermiane* doth very neatly express, wherein this change consists, (c) *We call,* says he, *The Sacrament of the Body and Bloud which is consecrated in the Bread, and the Cup, the Body and Bloud of Jesus Christ, not that the Bread is properly his Body, and the Cup his Bloud, but because they contain the Mystery of his Body and Bloud; and thence it comes to pass that the Lord himself did call the Bread, and the Cup which he blessed, and gave to his Disciples his Body, and Bloud.* In what kind of frame of mind must a man be to say, after this, That *Facundus* believed Transubstantiation, and the real Presence. It must be confessed, that we owe something to the Heresie of *Eutyches,* who confounded the two Natures in Jesus Christ. For 'tis in refuting this Error, and for the confutation of it, that *Theodoret, Gelasius,* and *Facundus* made use of the example of the Eucharist; and have explained the change which is made there with such clearness, that our own Divines never did it more plainly. 'Tis in disputing against these Hereticks, that *Theodoret* says this, That a man would believe it had been transcribed from the Books of a *Calvinist* (d), *Our Saviour,*

(b) *Apud Photium.* m. l. 229.

(c) *Lib.* 9.

(d) *Dialog.* 1.

ſaith he, *did make a change of Names, he gave to his Body the name of the Symbol; and as he named himſelf a Vine, ſo he alſo called the Symbol his Blood*, &c. *Tell us in good earneſt, whereof think you, that the holy Element is a Sign and Figure? Is it of the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, or of his Blood? 'Tis evident that 'tis of thoſe things whereof they take their names: For the Lord having taken the Sign, ſays not this is my Divinity, but this is my Body, and this is my Blood.* My Brethren, as a matter of Fact, tell your Converters, that thoſe paſſages which we produce unto you, are not the tenth part of what we are able to produce to the ſame ſence and importance.

To conclude, when the Ancients pleaſe to expreſs plainly, and without circumlocution, the manner how we feed on Chriſt Jeſus, they ſay exactly the ſame things that we do. 'Tis a ſtrange thing, that being of ſuch contrary ſentiments, as they are ſuppoſed, they ſhould have expreſſions ſo very much alike: Behold a *Calviniſtical* Paraphraſe upon the ſixth Chapter of *St. John*, taken from *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, he makes Jeſus Chriſt to ſpeak thus: * *Do not think that I ſpeak of the Fleſh wherewithal I am encloſed, as if it were neceſſary that you ſhould eat it; nor do not think that I appoint you to drink ſenſible Blood, but know that the words which I ſpeak to you are Spirit and Life: For they are my Words, and my Diſcourſes which are this Fleſh and this Blood, in which whoſoever does always partake, ſhall be a Partaker of Eternal Life, as being nouriſhed with Bread from Heaven.* 'Tis pitty that *St. Athanaſius*, ſo great a Defender of the Truth againſt the *Arrians*, ſhould have alſo been a *Calviniſtical* Heretick. After he had quoted theſe words of our Lord, *Doth this offend you*, &c. He adds, ‖ *Our Lord*

* *Theod. Eccleſiaſt. contra Marcel.* lib. 3. cap. 12.

‖ *Hom.* On, *That whoſoever ſhall ſpeak a word againſt the Son*, &c.

ſpeak

ſpeak of the one, and of the other, i. e. *of his Fleſh and of his Spirit. And he diſtinguiſhed his Spirit from his Fleſh, to the end, that not believing only that which was viſible in him, but alſo that which was inviſible in him, they might learn, that the things which he ſpake were not carnal, but ſpiritual. For to how many perſons muſt his Body ſerve as Meat, to become the Nouriſhment of all the World? 'Tis for that reaſon that he makes mention of the Aſcention of the Son of Man into Heaven, that he might withdraw them from all corporeal thoughts, and learn them, that the Fleſh whereof he had ſpoken to them, was a heavenly Meat, and a ſpiritual Nouriſhment, which He muſt give them from on High.* 'Tis a thing very ſurprizing, that the *Arrians* who watched the ſteps of *Athanaſius* ſo very warily, and made faults of every thing, did not accuſe him for being eſtranged from the Faith of the Church.

As to *St. Auſtine*, he is upon the matter more a *Calviniſt* than *Calvin* himſelf: And if the Jeſuites have degraded him becauſe he is a *Janſeniſt* in the matter of Grace, I know not why they ſhould treat him with more civility in this Caſe. 'Tis he that ſaith, || *That Jeſus Chriſt ſeems to command a Crime, when he ſays, If ye do not eat my Fleſh, and drink my Blood, you have no life in you; but 'tis a Figure which commands that we communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and that we do gratefully, and profitably remember, that his Fleſh was wounded, and crucified for us.* 'Tis he which ſaith alſo, * *Do not prepare the Throat, but the Heart; Why do you prepare your Teeth, and your Belly? Believe and you will eat him.* Your Converters, my Brethren, are not ignorant that we could eaſily make a Book of like paſſages of this Father;

|| *Lib. 3. de Doct. Chriſtiana, cap. 16.*

* *Serm. 32. de Verbis Domin.*

for he ſpeaks often of the Eating of the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, and never ſpeaks otherwiſe thereof. He ſays that this eating is by Faith, and that the Wicked the Unbelieving and Unworthy Communicants have no part therein. I conjure you, my Brethren, to conſider, whether any thing ſolid can be oppoſed to Teſtimonies ſo plain, and expreſs? What can the Harſhneſſes of *St. Ambroſe*, the Rhetorications of *St. Chryſoſtome*, and the perplext Ratiocinations of *St. Hillary*, do againſt this? Can it hinder, that the Teſtimonies which we have heard, do not make a clear and convincing Depoſition againſt the Real Preſence? I enquire of you, Whether, if we muſt explain one by the other, it be juſt to explain thoſe which ſpeak ſimply, clearly, and without ambiguity, by thoſe who ſpeak like Orators, or in a myſtick Stile, that they may not be underſtood by *Infidels* and *Catechumens*? Beſides, is it not juſt to explain an Author by himſelf? Are not five or ſix paſſages of *St. Chryſoſtome*, where he ſpeaks in plain terms, and diſcourſes of things as they are in themſelves, more than ſufficient to give the Reader a true underſtanding of the ſence and ſpirit of this Author? Where are the Chriſtian Orators with whom a man may not find Hereſies, if he will thus take them at advantage? And in the Books of Proteſtant Meditations, may not a man find a hundred paſſages which Poſterity may abuſe after the ſame manner that they abuſe thoſe of *St. Chryſoſtome*, to eſtabliſh the Perpetuity of the Faith of the Euchariſt, in the ſence of the *Roman* Church? I will ſtop here, and take it for granted, that the Faith was not changed in this Article, neither in the fourth nor fifth Ages, nor in the three that followed them.

There happened neither any change in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament under both Kinds. And

And we boldly defie all your Converters to give us any proof, or any example of any Communion celebrated in thoſe Ages under the Species of Bread alone. Monſieur *de Meaux*, who writ laſt on this ſubject, hath found no other example but that of *St. Ambroſe*, concerning whom the Author of his Life ſays, That he died as ſoon as he had ſwallowed the Body of Jeſus Chriſt. A fine proof, that they did not alſo give him the Blood! As if it were not known that the whole Sacrament were not often expreſſed by the Fleſh, or the Body of Jeſus Chriſt: And as if there were any Figure more common, than that of ſignifying the whole by a part. I will not ſtay on this Article, to prove that no Change happened therein, in the fourth and fifth Ages, for 'tis a thing notorious, and not diſputed by our Adverſaries themſelves: All that they ſay is, That it was alſo permitted to communicate der one Kind; although the Cuſtom then was to communicate under both. But that they can never prove. Monſieur *de Meaux* could not have made a Book which would have done him leſs Honour, than that which he hath made on this ſubject. It will never be believed that a man ſpeaks ſincerely, when he charges himſelf with Falſeneſs in a thing ſo publickly known as this is: 'Tis that for the ſpace of four hundred, or five hundred Years, the Cuſtom of Communicating under one Kind, was wholly unknown.

An Article of Controverſie:

An Anſwer to the fallacious Arguments drawn from the Viſibility of the Church.

I Thought that I had finiſhed telling you, what was neceſſary you ſhould know, to diſintangle your ſelves from the Sophiſms which are drawn from the Unity of the Church, and from that Schiſm which breaks this Unity. We have employed Eleven Articles on that Subject in the Eleven Letters which are from the 9th to the 21th. We ſhall at this time open a ſecond Fountain of the Illuſions of your Converters, on the Subject of the Church, 'tis that of her Viſibility. 'Tis a long time ſince, that one of our moſt illuſtrious Confeſſors deſired of me ſome Elucidations thereon, not ſo much for himſelf, as for many plain perſons which they had ruffled and perplext. But it was not poſſible for us to come at it ſooner, for if we had ſooner left off our Diſcourſe about its Unity and Schiſm, we ſhould have omitted ſomething eſſential. Behold after what manner they form the Sophiſm drawn from the viſibility of the Church. *'Tis neceſſary*, they tell you, *that the Church be always viſible; for ſhe is a City ſet upon a Hill and cannot be hid. How could it be, that the Pagans in all Ages ſhould be able to come over to the Church, if ſhe had been hidden? The Gate of Converſion had been ſhut upon them. Your hidden Believers are Chimera's. Beſides, 'tis neceſſary that the Miniſtry of the Church be always viſible. For you will never perſwade us, that the Miniſtry hath intirely failed; ſo that it was needful, (as your Confeſſion of Faith ſays) that God ſhould extraordinarily raiſe up Men to re-eſtabliſh it. Beſides, 'tis of the eſſence of the Church to be viſible; your Church cannot be the true*

Church,

Church, for it was not visible 200 years ago; it was not visible, say I, since it was not at all.

Concerning this, in the first place, Don't you engage yourselves to maintain, that the true Church is Invisible, as if this point were necessary to defend your Cause, and our Church that was hidden before the Reformation. Your Converters quote many places of Scripture, (as Monsieur *de Meaux* has done in his Instructions, to Mademoiselle *de Duras*) to prove to you, that the Church is a visible Society. Tell them, that is to no purpose; for we are at an Agreement therein with them. They may quote unto you many of our Doctors who have maintained, that the true Church was Invisible. But know, my Brethren, that this is nothing but a Dispute about Words, and that we are at an accord with them in the sence of the thing. Our Divines mean, that the true Members of the Church are Invisible, and not that the Society, in which the true Members of the Church are, is Invisible. This is true, the true Members of the Church are Invisible, for there are none but true Believers that are true Members of the Church: *If you hear my voice, then are you my Disciples indeed:* Now true predestinated Believers are visible, as Men, but they are not visible as Believers; for no body sees true Faith, 'tis in the heart, and the actions which appear without may be equivocal: But the Society where these true Members are, is visible; for 'tis a Society of Men that serve God according to his Word and Laws, this is visible. Understand this by the example of a Man, he hath a body and a soul, but the body in which this soul is, is visible. True Believers are the soul of the Church, that is invisible; the body of the Church is the external Society, and that is visible. Therefore as you may say of a Man, that

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he is viſible, and inviſible; inviſible with reſpect to his ſoul, viſible with reſpect to his body: ſo it may be ſaid concerning the Church, that ſhe is viſible and inviſible, inviſible with reſpect to her ſoul, which is true Faith, and true Believers; viſible with reſpect to the Society, in which this ſoul, *i. e.* theſe true Believers are encloſed. This is ſo clear and evident, that your Converters cannot diſallow it. Behold already one point of Sophiſtry made void: The Church is viſible, be it ſo, as a Man is viſible.

After this, if they inquire of you, Is this viſible Church the Body of Jeſus Chriſt? Diſtinguiſh, and tell them, She is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, foraſmuch as ſhe contains in herſelf truly righteous perſons, and true Believers; but not becauſe ſhe encloſes wicked, hypocritical, and vitious perſons. For 'tis impoſſible that theſe perſons ſhould be the Body of Jeſus Chriſt; otherwiſe Jeſus Chriſt would have rotten and ſtinking Members; otherwiſe Dogs, Swine, *&c.* would be in the Communion of Jeſus Chriſt. Now this is abſurd, for *if any one have not the ſpirit of Chriſt, he is none of his, and there can be no communion between light and darkneſs, Chriſt and Belial.* So that a Chriſtian which hath nothing but a ſimple Profeſſion, and neither Vertue nor Charity, a Lover of the Word, in the Chriſtian Society, is no true Member of Jeſus Chriſt, or his Church, be he Prieſt, Biſhop, or Guide thereof. Make Reflections in this place on the monſtrous Doctrines of your Converters, of whom the moſt part will tell you, that to be a true Member of the Church, it ſuffices to make profeſſion of the Faith, and to adhere to lawful Paſtors. So that Prieſts that are Sorcerers and *Sodomites*, which you have oftentimes ſeen burnt at *Paris*, were the true Members of Jeſus Chriſt. This is capable of making

king a man tremble with horrour. They will ſay to you thereon, if they were not true Members of the Church, and of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, they could not be the Guides thereof. Such a one is an evil Man, he is nevertheleſs a true Biſhop, he muſt therefore be a true Member of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his Body. Anſwer to this, that which one of the Writers of *Port Royal* ſays ſomewhere, *That oftentimes thoſe which Build* Jeruſalem, *and Guide it, are the Citizens of* Babylon. Tell them, that to be a lawful Paſtor and Guide of the Church, to be able to adminiſter the Word, and Sacraments, with Authority, it's enough to be a Member of the external and viſible Society, it is not neceſſary to be a Member of the true Church, to be in the hand of God an Inſtrument of his Work. A King may adminiſter Juſtice, and adminiſter it very well by a wicked man, who hath inwardly all ſorts of inclinations to Injuſtice. It will be ſaid a man cannot be the Head and Guide of a Body, without being a Member thereof, for the Head is one of its principal Members. It muſt be anſwered, That falſe Paſtors are true Members of the viſible Society of the Church, and that they are alſo true Heads of that Society whereof they are true Members: but they are neither Heads nor Members of the principal and inviſible part of the Church, who are true Believers, and truly righteous perſons: They are not therefore true Heads but of that part whereof they are true Members, and that ſufficeth them for the external Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, for the truely Righteous receive the Word and Sacraments in quality of the Members of the external Society.

They will preſs you further, and tell you, You do confeſs the Church is viſible, becauſe ſhe hath

a Body, which is an external Society. But is it always visible? Although you should answer, That it is not necessary that the Church be always visible; they would not be able to convince you of the contrary by reason: For a man who is visible by his body, may be sometimes hidden, and by that means be invisible. May not the external Society of the Church, which is visible, have been at sometimes, and in some seasons hidden, through the Persecution of *Pagans*, or Hereticks? But confess to them, that the Church hath been always visible, and will be to the end of the World. 'Tis true, that the Persecutions under the *Pagan* Emperours were very great, but they never proceeded so far as utterly to destroy all Assemblies of the Church to that degree that there were no visible Society of Christians; the Christians were well known under the Persecutions, seeing they knew where to find them to make Martyrs of them; the Church was visible in the midst of the flames: She remained visible in the Heretical Assemblies of the *Arrians*; for those that held the Truth in those Assemblies themselves, were more numerous than those that erred concerning it. If there were any place where the Church were become invisible, it was in the *Papism*, for never was there a Church so corrupt and drowned in Superstitions, as that: Nevertheless the Church continued there visible, because that Christianity, and the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion did abide there: I do not say that they did remain there in their Integrity, but the contrary; nevertheless it sufficeth, that they did continue there, 'tis necessary therefore that you know, that where-ever Christianity remains sensible and visible, the Church remains visible, for it is Christianity that makes the Church. If a Sect become so corrupt that Christianity is no

longer

longer visible in it, such are the *Mahumetans*, and the *Socinians* who have rejected the Foundations; the Church is no longer visible among them, unless it be as a dead man remains visible, but it is also visible that he is dead, without life, and without soul: so in the Sects which have rejected the Foundations, the Church remains visible, but it's also visible that such Churches are without life, without soul, without salvation. In the Sects which preserve Christianity, although they have added very many things thereunto, and even such things as overturns the Foundations thereof, the Church doth not fail to remain visible, because Christianity both is there, and is seen there. If therefore they do inquire of you, Where was your Church before *Luther*, and *Calvin*? Answer them, She was in the Christian Societies that were in *Æthiopia*, in those which were in *Ægypt*, and in *Africa*, in those which are, and were in *Asia*, in the *Greek* Church that was at *Constantinople*, and *Antioch*, in *Muscovy*, and the Churches of *Russia*, and she was even in the Church of *Rome* itself. If they ask of you, Was the Church visible in these Societies, or were the Members thereof hidden? Answer them, That the Church was visible in these Societies, forasmuch as Christianity, and the Creed of the Apostles, in the true sence thereof, explained in the first six General Councils, were visibly preserved there: Add you, that the true Members of Jesus Christ, and of the Church, were hidden, and not visible, because those that sincerely and truly adhered to this true Christianity, contained in the Creeds of the Christian Church, were not known by name: but that these Believers were hidden, was not at all peculiar to these corrupt Churches, because of their Corruption; for the case is the same in the purest

Churches

Churches, the true Members of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his body are hidden, becauſe we do not certainly know thoſe which adhere to the Chriſtian Faith in ſincerity, and with the heart. Behold a pure and native Explication of the true Viſibility of the Church, and of the Perpetuity of that Viſibility.

The *Biſhop of Meaux*, and your other Converters, will ſeem to you very well pleaſed in this, that you confeſs the Church is viſible, and always viſible. Behold they will ſay one point gained: For if the Church be always viſible, *'tis of neceſſity that there be a Succeſſion in the Miniſtry, a train of legitimate Paſtours: There will always be Teachers with whom Jeſus Chriſt will teach, and the true Teaching will never ceaſe in the Church.* Theſe are Monſieur *de Meaux*, that great Converter's own words: That is to ſay, from the perpetual Viſibility of the Church, he draws theſe three concluſions: 1. That pure and true Teaching hath never ceaſed in the Church. 2. That there will always be a ſeries and train of legitimate Paſtours. 3. That Jeſus Chriſt will always teach with theſe Paſtours, *i. e.* they muſt be Infallible.

I intreat you, my Brethren, to attend to what I ſhall ſay concerning theſe three Conſequences.

1. Theſe Gentlemen ſuppoſe that the Church cannot be perpetual, and perpetually viſible, without being pure, and without continuing pure, and exempt from corruption in the Faith. *The Church is always viſible, therefore pure preaching muſt always remain there.* Can a man argue more pitifully? 'tis juſt as if I ſhould ſay, Whilſt Man hath a Soul in his Body, he muſt be always ſound, and hail, as if Health were inſeparable from Life. Where have they found that Purity, with reſpect to Faith, is inſeparable

ſeparable from Viſibility? And becauſe the Church is always viſible, doth it follow, that ſhe is always ſound? if the nature of the Church conſiſted in an indiviſible point, and in that certain ſtate of purity of Faith in which there was no kind of Errors; 'tis true, the Church would periſh, ceaſe to be, and by conſequence to be viſible, as ſoon as the Chriſtian Doctrine ſhould come to be mingled with any Doctrine that is ſtrange and forreign thereto: And indeed 'tis the ſuppoſition of your Converters. But 'tis the moſt fooliſh Dream that ever entered into the mind of Man, the moſt contrary to the Word of God and Experience, that ever was aſſerted. The moſt contrary to the Scripture: for the Scripture ſays, That *there ſhall be in the Church thorns and thiſtles mingled with the good grain. Wolves will creep in and deſtroy the flock. That there muſt be hereſies. That men will build upon the foundation wood, hay, ſtubble. And that even the Son of perdition will ſit in the Church and Temple of God.* The moſt contrary to Experience, for for the ſpace of 1300 or 1400 years, which way ſoever we caſt our Eyes, we behold Chriſtianity every-where ſpoiled by falſe and ſtrange Doctrines. Lay down this therefore as a thing indiſputable, that the Church muſt be always viſible, that ſhe muſt always ſubſiſt, but not that ſhe muſt always ſubſiſt pure and undefiled. The Church began to be corrupt conſiderably in the fourth Age; and in two Ages the Corruption became ſuch, that Antichriſtianity, which is the higheſt degree of the corruption of Chriſtianity, proceeded and came out from thence.

But in the midſt of this great Corruption, Chriſtianity nevertheleſs preſerved it ſelf, it remained very viſible, and by conſequence the Church alſo continued viſible: for yet once more the Church remains every-where, where Chriſtianity remains;

and the Church remains visible every-where, where Christianity remains visible. Remember therefore that Popery is a very high and extream Corruption of Christianity, but 'tis not the Annihilation of it: for we must well distinguish betwixt *Annihilation* and *extream Corruption* of it. If the Church of *Rome* had rejected the Foundations, as the *Turks* and the *Socinians* have done, she would have *annihilated* Christianity, the Church would have been no more visible than as a dead Body is visible: But because she hath only added an infinite number of false Doctrines superstitious and idolatrous, whilst she hath retained Fundamentals, she hath only *corrupted* Christianity. But Christianity in the midst of these Corruptions, hath not failed to remain visible, to those which search after it with diligence and attention. Imagine you an Egg not broken, which swims in dirty and stinking water; 'tis the perfect Emblem of the Roman Religion. The Egg whole and not broken, is the Christian Creed preserved in its integrity in the sense of the Church. The filthy and stinking Water where this Egg swims, is the heap of Superstitions, Errors, and Idolatries of Popery. The Egg remains visible in the midst of this filthy Water, and even the opposition of the blackness of the Mire to the whiteness of the Egg, make it in some sort more visible. The Body of Christianity is also visible in the heap of Popish Errors; and to him that will give attention thereunto, it may be said, that the true Christianity which doth continue in the Roman Religion, serves to discover and make the uglineſs of Popery more horrible. The Mud and the stinking Water which encompasseth this Egg, is visible as well as the Egg. 'Tis the light of the day which manifests the one and the other. The Corruption introduced by Popery in the Roman Religion, is visible as well as Christianity.

'Tis

'Tis the light of the day, *i.e.* the light of the Word of God which manifests both: for the Word of God manifests Christianity in the Romish Religion, by the fair conformity of the three Creeds; that of the Apostles, that of *Nice*, and of *Athanasius* with the Revelation. This same word manifests Antichristianity, the Mud and the Dirt of Popery, by the frightful dissimilitude and unlikeness which is between Popery and Revelation. It seems to me that he must be very blockish, not to perceive all this, and not to see that the Church may always endure, and always be even visible, although it be not necessary that she always continue in perfect Purity.

But nevertheless, there is in the first consequence of your Converters some truth, which serves for a foundation to that gross Illusion which they would put upon you. They say, *The Church is always visible, therefore pure Preaching must always continue there.* If the meaning be, 'tis of necessity that something of pure Preaching do always remain there, yea, and that the essential parts of true Preaching remain there, 'tis true: for if the Fundamentals and essential parts of Christianity were not there, there were no Church there. Moreover 'tis true, that in Popery, in the Religion of the *Greeks*, in the Oriental Communions, the *Cophtis*, the *Nestorians*, and the *Armenians*, pure Preaching doth continue, as to the Fundamentals of the Creed, which make the Essence of Christianity. But it doth not follow at all, that Preaching must necessarily remain there wholly pure and incorrupt.

Not being able to proceed at this time to the examination of the two last consequences, which your Converters draw from the perpetual visibility of the Church; I will conclude by answering a Question which they put unto you, and which it may be you put unto your selves: Can a man be saved in Com-

munions which you compare to a great Baſon full of Dirt and ſtinking Water, in which ſwims a good Egg, clean, and in its integrity? This reſpects thoſe who deſire to ſave themſelves in the Roman Church, becauſe ſhe retains the Egg, the Creed of Chriſtians, in its perfection. You may well think, that we ſhould have a great many things to ſay to them, if we would ſay all, and were willing to repeat what we have ſaid concerning it in our Seventeenth Letter. But in this place I ſhall only anſwer to them, That it does not follow, that a man may be ſaved in a Communion which retains the Egg of Chriſtianity, whilſt he ſwims in the Dung which compaſſes the Egg, and nouriſhes himſelf with it; a man plunged in a hideous Mire, which receives the ſtinking dirt by his mouth, becauſe he ſees ſome Fruits uſeful for nouriſhment ſwim in this ſlime, can he live thereby. Yea, ſuppoſe that he eats of theſe Fruits, if at the ſame time he eats this corrupt ſlime, will he die e're a whit the leſs? If this man finds an Art to ſeparate the ſlime from the nouriſhments which ſwim there, ſo that he take nothing but the nouriſhments, I do confeſs that he may live. In like manner, if a Chriſtian can live in the Roman Communion, and ſeparate the good from the bad, he may be ſaved. But this is that which we do maintain to be impoſſible at this time, for the adult. Theſe corrupt and dirty Communions are therefore ſaving to thoſe alone, who partake in Chriſtianity, without any participation in the corruption thereof. For example: We ought not to call in doubt the ſalvation of Infants which die in the Church of *Rome*; for they have eaten the Egg, God hath communicated to them his Grace by their Baptiſm, or their Birth, becauſe they were born within the borders of Chriſtianity. As for the adult, if they can eat the Egg, and not ſwallow the Dung, if they can partake in

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pure Chriſtianity, without taking part in its corruption, they may, I do confeſs, live and be ſaved in that Communion. But this is the difficulty, or rather impoſſibility, Who is he that can live in the Roman Communion, without aſſiſting at the falſe Sacrifice of the Maſs, without worſhipping Bread, conſenting to the Invocation of Saints, and the Worſhip of Images? This is enough at preſent to diſabuſe our unhappy Indifferents, who would very falſly perſwade themſelves, that they may be ſaved in the Eſtate wherein they are.

FOR *News we give you this day a Letter, which will teach you the Conſtancy of ſome of our Confeſſors of* Dauphine.

We have yet in Dauphine *ſome Illuſtrious Perſons, which maintain the Cauſe of God in the midſt of their Enemies. There is Mr.* de l' Alo *of the Houſe of* Epeluche, *a Counſellor in the Parliament of* Dauphine, *who being at* Paris *in* 1685. *and refuſing to change his Religion, was baniſhed with Madam his Wife, into a paltry Village, where he could not get ſo much as one perſon that would ſerve him for his money. After that they had been kept there ſome months, Madam* de l' Alo *fell into very great indiſpoſitions; they ſent her into* Dauphine, *and removed Mr.* de l' Alo *to the Caſtle of* Trompette, *where he was confined within four Walls, without ſuffering him to have any other ſociety than that of a Monk, who went every day to torment him after a thouſand ways; and when he could gain nothing, he left him, and ſaid to him, He muſt make himſelf ready to be tranſported to the* Pyrenees. *This is it that he wrote to one of the Gentlemen his Brethren about ſix months ſince, teſtifying to him, That he reckoned all that he had*

ſuffered as nothing, or any thing that he could ſuffer; and that he would never abandon the Faith which he had profeſſed to that moment.

Monſieur the Marquiß of Pierre, *alſo a Counſellor in the Parliament of* Grenoble, *is one of our moſt Illuſtrious Confeſſors; he was extreamly famous in his Religion as well as in his Employ: ſo that his Zeal went an equal pace with his Knowledge, and both the one and the other hath gained him great Reputation among his Brethren. The Court, which fear'd he might confirm them, if he were ſuffered among them, commanded him to render himſelf at* Paris, *by a Letter under the Privy Sign, which they ſent him a little before the Dragoons came into that Province. This Lord, who was not conſcious to himſelf of any fault, and who had long before prepared himſelf to ſuffer not only the loſs of his Office, and of all his Goods, and to beg from door to door with Madam his Wife, and the Gentlemen his Sons, but alſo to loſe his Head upon a Scaffold, yea to be burnt alive, rather than betray his Saviour, as he ſaid in theſe very words to a Paſtor of his Province. (It was to him who gave us this Intelligence about three weeks before he received that Letter under the Privy-Sign.) He was in that generous reſolution, when he went for* Paris *in the month of* Auguſt, *with one of the Gentlemen his Sons. Arriving at* Paris, *he addreſſed himſelf to the Miniſters of State, to know the cauſe of that Summons that they had given him. But they ſaid nothing to him. He abode at* Paris *about ſix months, without having any thing ſaid to him, at the laſt they propoſed to him to change his Religion, he refuſed it. They took from him Monſieur his Son, who was all his comfort, and ſaid to him, that the King would have him brought up in the Roman Catholick Religion: This was the moſt ſmart ſtroak of all the reſt. He reſolved to depart from* Paris, *he went thence with Mr.* de Vic, *and ſome other Gentlemen. They were arreſted at* Laudrecy; *the others for fear, changed their*

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Religion. Mr. de la Pierre *would not do ſo. There was an Order from the King to convey him to the Citadel of* Cambray, *and thither he was conveyed. A Counſellor of the Parliament of* Tournay *had a Commiſſion to examine him, and to make his Proceſs. He anſwered him always with a perfect freedom of mind, and unmovable firmneſs. The Commiſſary told him, that he deſerved the Gallies, for attempting to go out of the Realm without leave, and that he could not hinder his condemnation. He anſwered him, That he was ready not only to go to the Gallies, but alſo to death. We have not yet learnt that he hath been condemned. He continues a Priſoner, but always ſtout and firm.*

We muſt put in the Rank of our Illuſtrious Confeſſors, Madam de Bardonnanche, *Wife of a Counſellor in the Parliament of that Name, and Vicounteſs of* Trienes *in* Dauphine. *This Lady who was formerly diſtinguiſhed by her great Knowledge, (above all in Piety) and by her Eminent Vertues as well as by her great Quality, is now diſtinguiſhed after another manner in theſe laſt Tryals.*

About four years ſince ſhe ſaw the revolt of her Husband, which ſhe teſtified by a great Grief: Since that they took from her one of her Daughters, to bring her up in the new Religion of her Father; ſhe was more wounded for this, then for the loſs of her Husband: In fine, ſhe ſaw the laſt and great Deſolation of our Churches: But all this hath not the leaſt moved her, nor frighted her in any ſort. When that the Dragoons *had put all into Diſpair in her Country, and the reſt of the Province, ſhe boldly exhorted every one to be firm, and as a Paſtor of her acquaintance, (it was he who wrote her Story) had her to think of departing out of the Kingdom, becauſe ſhe ſaw her ſelf unprofitable there; (the Edict of* Nantes *was not revoked) She wrote to him that ſhe muſt not be one of thoſe Mercenaries, who ſeeing the Woolf coming fled away; and he alledging his own Example, ſhe ſaid that ſhe would not depart out of the State, at leaſt till the King command-*

ed her, and that she hoped that God would give her the Grace to surmount all, and abide firm. After that they had subverted all the Churches of that Country. The Intendant le Bret, M. le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, and at this time Cardinal, the Marques de la Trousse, Commander of the Troops in Dauphine, went to see her in her Castle du Monotier of Clermont; they disputed against her, they made Requests to her, with Promise, and Threats; she defended her self vigorously against all their Attaques, and in the end they left her. Some days after they sent to take her away, by the Dragoons, to confine her in a Covent at Grenoble: Seeing she was always the same, they threatned to send her to Valence, and to put her into the hands of Rapine; she answered that she would go whether they pleased, even to the Fire, but not to the Mass. In the end they executed one part of the said threatning upon her, sending her to Valence, but not to the Butchery of Rapine, they put her into a Convent of the Religious, with a prohibition to permit her to speak to any of them, which they call the New Converts. This Lady suffered her Removal, and her Imprisonment in that Cloister, with so much patience, and sweetness, that 'tis said she abated the rage, and fury of her Persecutors. She entertained the Religious with so much Decency, and spake to them such handsome things of our Religion, that she won at first their Heart, and almost perswaded them to be Christians. The Intendant, and the Bishop of Valence understanding that this Prisoner triumpht over her Goalers, gave order that she should be fetcht from the Convent where she was put, and be removed into another, which was done, and Madam de Bardonnanche behaved her self there, after the same manner, there she made also the same Progress upon the Spirits of her new Hostesses. They took her also from that Convent, and confined her in another in the same place, with a Command not to speak to her, nor to suffer her to speak to any body. Since we have learnt by one of our Brethren well worthy of Credit, who

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came lately from that Province, that there hath been a new Order to remove her into another Convent at Vif, *a Town which is not above two leagues from* Grenoble.

I could increaſe theſe Relations with divers Circumſtances, and with others like them, as that of Monſieur de Sainct Croſs, *the Son of a Counſellor of the Parliament of* Grenoble, *who hath been at* Pierre Size *theſe five Months, becauſe he would not change; that alſo if the three Paſtors of* Orange, *Mr.* Chion, *Mr.* Gondran, *Mr.* Petit, *and Mr.* Onet *Paſtor of* Courteſon *near* Orange, *who have long been kept in the Priſons of* Valence, *and who are now at* Pierre Size, *though they be not able to reproach them for having done any thing againſt the King, in whoſe State they lived not, and who teſtifie an admirable Conſtancy, although very many did yield before their Eyes. That of Monſieur* de Beauregard, *Burgeſs of St.* Anthony *near to St.* Marcelin, *in the ſame Province, who after he had ſeen all his Goods devoured, which were very great, hath ſuffered the moſt cruel torments in his Body, until they had hardened, and ſhrunk up the Nerves of his Legs, by the violence of the approaching Fire, and had laid him upon a pile of wood, ſaying unto him, that he ſhould be burnt alive, in one word, whom they had tormented till he loſt his Reaſon, who being at length ſet at liberty, is happily retired out of the Kingdom into* Switzerland. *That of Monſieur* Delis, *a Gentleman of* Trienes *in* Dauphine, *who choſe rather to ſuffer Martyrdom, and hath actually ſuffered it in the Month of* January 1686, *at* Grenoble, *rather than change: But of this enough for this time.*

News from *Niſmes*, written *June*, 17th 1687.

Every day they bring Priſoners from Lions *into this City, and once or twice in a Month they condemn to the* Gallies, *thoſe which had abjured and communicated*

ted and afterward were taken attempting to get out of the Kingdom. As for them which neither have, nor will abjure, they condemn them to America. *The Priſons and the Tower of* Vennatiere *(which is a kind of Priſon) are always full of theſe poor miſerable Creatures. They are very much relieved by thoſe in this City, which have done what they would never do; it is not known why God has left them here, without it be for the relief of thoſe Confeſſors of Chriſt, which would dye elſe by Famine in Priſons. About eight days ſince they carried twenty one Perſons (ſome Women, and ſome young Girls, that were condemned) to* Marſeille, viz. *nineteen for* America, *and two for the* Gallies, *on whom they beſtowed great Charity. Every Month we make a contribution for the General Hoſpital which is eſtabliſhed in this City, in the Church, and in the Houſes adjoyning, which belong to the Conſiſtory, every one according to his Ability. Since the eighth of* May *we have had the Regiment of* Vivonne, *on which day they begun to work upon the Cittadel, tho' that were* Aſcenſion-*day, and they take great pains therein: They have encloſed from the form of* Paulian *unto the Wall of the City, drawing a Line from the Tower of* Corconne *unto the Watch-Tower at the end of the* Tennis-Court. *Two days ſince there was a Detachment of five Companies to go to* Valeraube, *where there was a numerous Aſſembly in the Preſence of the Prieſt of the place, and before the Sermon the Prieſt would diſpute with him that was to Preach, and after that he would hear his Sermon. We know not yet what was the iſſue of that Affair.*

In this City whilſt M. *the Intendant was here, they ſay there are Aſſemblies, notwithſtanding all the ill Treatment with which they have been continually exerciſed. They ſay that the Daughters of* Mr. Ducros *and of* Andemar, *are out of the hands of* Rapine, *ſince their fall through their ill treatment. But Mrs.* Parelle *perſiſts with an incredible conſtancy: When her cruel Hangman*

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ſaid to her, Madam, I am aſtoniſht that you can ſuffer ſuch Miſeries: *She anſwered him again,* As for me, I ſuffer nothing, this is nothing, *Jeſus Chriſt* hath ſuffered much more for me.

Since the writing of this Letter we are informed of two faithful Perſons, which have ſuffered Martyrdom in the ſaid City of Niſmes *the 26th of the laſt Month; the name of the one is Mr.* Manuel, *the other is called* Iloque: *You ſhall have the Hiſtory of their Martyrdom ſome other time. We could alſo give you the News of our Brethren of* Metz, *if this* Paſtoral Letter *could contain the Copy of that which was written from that place. In the mean time, ceaſe not to pour out your Prayers in the preſence of the Great God for the Conſolation of theſe afflicted Perſons.*

July 15, 1687.

The

The Twenty Third

PASTORAL LETTER.

An Article of Antiquity: The Church of the fourth and fifth Ages did not Adore the Sacrament of the Euchariſt: An Article of Controverſie: An Anſwer to the Conſequences which are drawn from the perpetual Viſibility of the Church: Notable Matters of Fact.

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you from our God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

IN the two preceding Letters you have ſeen what the Ancients of the fourth and fifth Ages did think on the ſubject of the Euchariſt. You have ſeen that they acknowledge nothing there but Signs, and Images of the Body, and Bloud of our Lord, and that they apprehended no other change there, but a change of Grace, which made no alteration in the nature of the ſpecies of Bread and Wine. So the Faith of the Church was not changed therein; there remains the Adoration, concerning which it is alſo certain, that there hapned no change in the Ages where we are. They did not Adore the Sacrament in the three firſt Ages, nor did they Adore it in theſe. Suffer not your ſelves to be ſurpriſed, my Brethren, by five or ſix words which they quote to you from *St. Ambroſe*, or *St. Auſtine*, who ſay, *That*

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'tis necessary that we Adore the Flesh of Jesus Christ in the Mysteries, and that we must not eat the Flesh of Jesus Christ when we have not Adored it. We must not search the practice of an Age in rambling, and extravagant Expressions, as these are. 'Tis in History, and in matters of Fact. There is not a person among us, that does not acknowledge, that we must Adore Jesus Christ in the participation of the Mysteries; that is not the thing whereof we dispute. It must be known whether they bowed the Knee before the Sacrament, whether they lifted it up before the Communion, that it might be Adored; now we do maintain that this was not done. And I do not know whether your Converters have the boldness to say the contrary; at least they have not Ability enough to prove it. They dazle your Eyes with a passage of *Theodoret*, who says, speaking of the Symbols of Bread and Wine, (a) *That we conceive by the understanding that they are what they were made, that we believe them, and Adore them as being that which we believe them.* But observe, 'tis the same place where this Author tells us, that which we have mentioned unto you before; *That the Mystical Symbols do not loose their proper Nature after their Consecration, but that they remain in their first Substance, their first Figure, and their first Form, they are visible, and palpable as they were before.* He adds then immediately after the words, which are abused to prove the Adoration of the Sacrament. 'Tis the same Author which hath told us after a very express manner, that God in the Sacrament *doth not change Nature, but add Grace to Nature.* After this 'tis unavoidable, that he must have lost his Wits to say, that we must Adore Bread, and Wine, which remain such, and which have received no change in their *Substance.* Who doth not see then that the word Adore is here taken for Venerate, and

(a) *Dialog.* 2.

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in the ſame ſenſe that we call the Myſteries of Religion Adorable, and that we ſay we muſt Adore the Conduct of Providence. In the ſenſe that *St. Iſidore* of *Damietta* calls the Goſpels (b) *Adorable.* That the Emperors were called (c) Adorable by the Councils themſelves: And that the Table was called the Adorable Altar by the ſame Councils. To conclude, *Theodoret* muſt be underſtood as he deſires to be underſtood, for 'tis he that ſays in the following Dialogue, *If the Body of Jeſus Chriſt ſeems to you vile, and of little value, Why do you eſteem its Figure Adorable, and ſaving? For as an Original the Figure whereof is Adorable, and worthy of Honour, can it ſelf be abject and contemptible?* Behold again, the Euchariſt which is nothing but a Figure, and a Figure oppoſite to the Body, and which by conſequence is not the Body. But 'tis nevertheleſs *an Adorable Figure.* Judge whether *Theodoret* were ſo pitiful a Chriſtian to believe we muſt Adore a Figure.

(b) *Lib.* 1. *ep.* 136.
(c) *Conc. Calced. part.* 1.

If we would find the practice of the Church in paſſages like theſe, it were better to ſearch it in paſſages of *St. Auſtin*, where this Father ſays for example, (d) *That that which he Adores is not a thing towards which he could ſtretch out his Finger, and ſay, Behold the God which I Adore.* Or rather in the place where he ſays, (e) *Whilſt we are in the Body we are abſent from the Lord, and if any one doubt or deny it; and ſay to us, Where is your God? we cannot ſhew him. Jeſus Chriſt is always with his Father, as to the preſence of his Glory, and Divinity; as to his Corporeal Preſence he is now above the Heavens, at the right Hand of the Father, but he is in all Chriſtians by a preſence of Faith.* It muſt be profeſſed, that *St. Auſtin* is an inconvenient Author for theſe Tranſubſtantiators, we can't make

(d) *Serm.* 2. *de diverſis.*
(e) *Serm.* 74. *de diverſis.*

make him open his mouth, but Thunders proceed from it againſt the now reigning Hereſie and Idolatry. It appears here, that he neither adored the Sacrament, nor lookt upon it as his God; for he could not have found any difficulty in anſwering that queſtion, Where is your God? It appears alſo, that he had comprehended this admirable corporeal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament: for he reſerves all the corporeal preſence of Chriſt to the Heavens, and leaves nothing to Earth, but a preſence of Faith. This poor man underſtood his Religion very ill.

We ought alſo to give attention to what St. *Auſtin* ſays, ſpeaking of ſacred Signs, that there are ſome of them ſubſiſt after the action, as the Braſen Serpent, * *But others which ceaſe after they have ſerved the uſe to which they were deſigned, as the Bread which we make expreſly to be a ſacred ſign, and is ſpent in the receiving the Sacrament. But becauſe theſe things being made by men, are known to men, they may well receive honour, and give occaſion for reſpect, as religious things, but they cannot give occaſion for admiration, as things miraculous.* What a poor man was this St. *Auſtin*, and how many overſights in four lines! 1. He would not have us worſhip the Bread, we ought only to give it ſome reſpect, as to a religious thing. 2. He would not have us admire the Euchariſt, as a thing miraculous. Of what did he think, thus to ſpeak of the greateſt Miracle that ever was ſince the creation of the World? Is it not a thing miraculous, that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt with all his ſubſtance ſhould ſubſiſt in a point, ſhould be ſtript of all its Accidents, and be in an infinite number of places at once? I cannot tell then any more what will be called a thing miraculous. 3. He ſuppoſes that 'tis man that makes this Tranſubſtantiation, *theſe things being made by men.* Behold an admirable

* *Lib. 3. de Trinit. cap. 10.*

mirable Divine, which believes that a man can make a God, and do a Miracle, if I may ſo ſay, that exhauſts all the Divine Power.

To conclude, to theſe three or four words of St. *Auſtin, That none eats the fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, before he hath adored it*, we ought to oppoſe what he ſays in the third Book concerning the Chriſtian Doctrine, † *That every one knows the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the celebration of the Body and Bloud of our Lord, that 'tis well known whereunto they have reſpect, and that they are reverenced not by a ſervitude*, i. e. *after a carnal manner, but by a ſpiritual liberty.* Here St. *Auſtin* deſires that we give to Baptiſm the ſame honour, as to the Sacrament of the Euchariſt. We muſt confeſs, if St. *Auſtin* did adore the Sacrament, we ought to make no ſcruple therein; we owe him this complaiſance, for that he hath ſpoken as abſolutely concerning it, as our ſelves. For during the ſpace of two hundred years paſt, there hath not been either *Zuinglian* or *Calviniſt*, which hath ſpoken more boldly or more clearly againſt the Real Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation.

† *De Doctr. Chriſt. lib. 3. cap. 9.*

If this ſuffice not to know what kind of Worſhip was given to the Euchariſt, we muſt learn it from the Hiſtory of matters of fact. We learn from Mr. *de Valois*, in his Notes upon *Euſebius*, ‖ *That the Believers which were to communicate, approached the Altar, and there received the Body of Jeſus Chriſt from the hand of the Prieſt, ſtanding upright, and not on their knees, as at this day.* The Author has paſſed for a good Roman Catholick, he is learned, and he is a Modern Writer: ſo that he wants nothing to give him an authority in the hearts of the New Converts, who refer themſelves much more con-

‖ *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 9. Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

concerning Religion, to what their new Authors ſpeak of it, then to what is ſaid thereof by thoſe that are more ancient. And indeed how could they communicate otherwiſe than ſtanding, ſince they prayed ſtanding on the Lords day, and the fifty days which are from *Eaſter* to *Whitſontide*, in memory of the Reſurrection? When they were ready to conſecrate, they put out the *Catechumens*, i. e. well nigh half the Chriſtians, is it probable that they would deprive them of the comfort of adoring their Saviour, if it had been then the cuſtom of adoring him in the Sacrament? In thoſe Ages they did communicate Infants, and how could they exact Adoration before the Manducation, ſince Infants are not capable of performing an Act of Adoration?

I may alſo reckon amongſt thoſe Articles, concerning which there was no change in the fourth and fifth Ages, that of Purgatory. For the opinion of a ſeparate place, where Souls were to be kept till the day of Judgment, without ſeeing the face of God, but without ſuffering any thing there, was the Opinion of the greateſt men of thoſe Ages; of St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Hillary*, St. *Jerome*, and under names ſo great, it may not be doubted, but it was the prevailing Opinion. 'Twas the third place of the Chriſtians that then were, but as yet there were but few footſteps of a fourth place ſeen. 'Tis true, that in theſe Ages a man may ſhew you ſome paſſages of *Gregory Nyſſen*, and even ſome of St. *Jerome*, which ſpeak of a Purgation of Sins, which ought to be made after death by the means of a Penal Fire. But this is not the Purgatory of Popery, 'tis that of *Origen:* according to whom, we have ſeen that all intelligent Creatures, without excepting Devils, and wicked men, who die impenitently, ought to be recovered and re-eſtabliſhed. *Originiſm* did not die with *Origen*, and many famous Fathers

of the fourth Age were infatuated with it. Thoſe which know the Hiſtory of the Quarrels between St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Epiphanius*, are not ignorant thereof. I think indeed that few men did then dare to maintain the Opinion of *Origen*, crude as he left it, touching the future ſalvation of the Devils and the damned. But many endeavoured to ſoften and ſmooth it, and ſaid at leaſt, Chriſtians who died in the profeſſion of the Faith, but without Holineſs and Repentance, would one day be recovered. 'Tis without doubt, that this Opinion mitigated and ſoftned, was one ſtep which made the Church fall into the Error of Purgatory: For after they had reſtrained thoſe that were to be purged by a Penal Fire, to ſuch as died without Holineſs and Repentance, by little and little they reſtrained them to ſuch, who dying without Repentance, had not ſatisfied the Canonical Penances of the Church.

St. *Auſtin* was not of the opinion of thoſe who believed that ill Chriſtians dying without repentance, were to be purged by fire; nevertheleſs he thought it probable, * that thoſe who had too much affection for temporal good things during the ſpace of this Life, after death would be afflicted with grief for the loſs of them, and that this would ſerve them for a Caſtigation. Nevertheleſs he propoſes this but as a doubtful conjecture. *It is not incredible*, ſays he, † *but that ſomething of like nature happens after death, and it may be diſputed, whether it be ſo, that ſome Believers ſhall be ſaved ſooner or later by a purging fire, according as they have more or leſs loved theſe periſhing good things.* By this Purgative Fire, or *Purgatory*, he underſtands nothing but the grief of being deprived of theſe periſhing things. And this is that

* *Enchir. cap. 67.*

† *Enchir. cap. 69.*

that which he means in the ſame Book, ‖ *That during the whole ſpace of time between a mans death, and the laſt Reſurrection, Souls are in hidden Receptacles, according as they are worthy of repoſe or miſery, with reſpect to what they have been during this life.* A man cannot deny, but this is *Purgatory* in its birth, but it was not as yet believed and received of all the Church, nor hath it been received nor perfected any where but in the Latin Church.

‖ *Enchir. cap.* 109.

Behold that which I have to tell you concerning the changes happening in Doctrines and Worſhip. I will not paſs on to the following Ages, becauſe 'tis not my deſign to give you a compleat Hiſtory of all the changes which have happened in the Church for 1700 years. I only deſire to confound the boldneſs of Monſieur *de Meaux*, and ſuch-like, which dare to affirm that Chriſtianity in their hands is in the ſame eſtate in which it was when it paſſed from the Apoſtles to their immediate Succeſſors; and that time hath changed nothing that is eſſential in the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church; that inſenſible changes, whereof ſome men ſpeak to you, are but Dreams. Behold, ſay I, enough to ruine theſe raſh affirmations of your Converters: for from this ſhort Hiſtory, which I have given you, of the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church, for the ſpace of 500 years, it appears, 1. That during theſe five Ages there has happened very conſiderable and eſſential alterations, ſince that in this time men have overwhelmed Religion by an infinite multitude of vain Ceremonies, which have degenerated into Superſtitions; that they have introduced the criminal Worſhip of Creatures; that they have eſtabliſhed the diſtinctions of Powers and Tribunals, which at laſt have deſtroyed the true Authority of the Holy Scripture. 2. It appears by that which we have

ſhewn to you, that far greater changes have yet happened ſince the fifth Age, than had happened before; for ſeeing that in theſe Ages men knew neither Tranſubſtantiation, nor the Real Preſence, nor the Adoration of the Sacrament, nor the Worſhip of Images, nor Purgatory, nor the Sacrifice of the Maſs, nor the Communion under One Kind, nor the Soveraign Authority of the Pope; all theſe points being at this day fundamental Articles of Popery, 'tis unavoidable that ſince that time there have happened great changes and alterations. And to prove the truth thereof againſt the illuſion of the impoſſibility of inſenſible changes, you have nothing to do, my Brethren, but to ſerve your ſelves of the Proofs which we have put into your hands, and ſay, In the fifth Age the Real Preſence was not believed, 'tis believed at this day; they did not adore the Sacrament, they adore it now; they did not worſhip Images, they do worſhip them at preſent: therefore a change is happened.

To convince your Converters of the poſſibility of changes in things that are eſſential, ſerve your ſelves only of the Example of Maſſes, without Communicants. They will not dare to deny, that this is not a thing wholly unknown to all Antiquity. And I dare tell you, that if they had ſeen a Prieſt communicate alone in the Myſteries, they would have believed the Spirit of Reprobation were fallen upon the whole Aſſembly.

* *Canon* 10. *of Apoſt. decret. de Gratian, de conſecrat. Diſt.* 2. *Canon per acta & diſtinct.* 1. *Canon Epiſcopus.*

* It was not ſo much as permitted to aſſiſt, when they did not communicate; and the Regulations thereof are yet found in their Canon-Law: nevertheleſs 'tis an important affair, if there be any ſuch in Popery. For 'tis a frightful difference, that a Feaſt inſtituted to be eaten in common by all the Believers, ſhould

ſhould be changed into a Spectacle, where all the Devotion of the People conſiſts in ſeeing without eating, and without underſtanding. Beſides, thereon depends the queſtion concerning the Sacrifice of the Maſs: for if it be a true Sacrifice, they have ſome reaſon to ſay, that 'tis not always neceſſary that the Faithful eat thereof. But that the Ancients did never permit any to aſſiſt at the Myſteries, without participation in them, is an evident proof that they did not then look on them as a Sacrifice, the efficacy whereof depends upon the Oblation, but as a Sacrament, the whole efficacy whereof depends upon the reception.

An Article of Controverſie.

An Examination of the two laſt falſe Conſequences which the Papiſts draw from the perpetual Viſibility of the Church.

IN our preceding Letter, we have explained how the Church is Viſible, and always Viſible; and we have refuted one of the Conſequences which the Converters draw from thence: behold another of them, unto which it behoves us to anſwer: *The Church*, ſay they, *is always Viſible, therefore 'tis neceſſary that ſhe ſhould always have had a Succeſſion of lawful Paſtours.* This is deſigned to make you confeſs, 1. That the Paſtours of the *Church of Rome* are lawful Paſtours, and always have been ſo. 2. And by conſequence, that we are ſeparated from lawful Paſtours, and a lawful Miniſtery. To this anſwer, That from this, that the Church is always Viſible, it doth indeed follow, that there hath always been true Preaching in ſome points, *i. e.* in fundamental Articles; in like manner, that it doth

follow, that there hath been always true Paſtors in ſome things, and in ſome reſpect: but it doth not follow, that the Miniſtery which is legitimate in ſome things, is ſo in every thing; for you muſt know, that the Miniſtery depends only upon the Doctrine. If the Chriſtian Doctrine be wholly corrupt, and annihilated in a Society, the Miniſtery is null'd, nor is there any thing lawful there. If the Doctrine be pure, and Chriſtian in all its parts, the Miniſtery is intirely legitimate in all reſpects. To conclude, if the Doctrine be partly Chriſtian, and partly Antichriſtian, the Miniſtery is partly lawful and partly unlawful. This is the condition of the Miniſtery of the *Church* of *Rome*; in that Church there is Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianity, Chriſtianity in the *Creeds*, and Antichriſtianity in the ſuperſtitions and Idolatrous Additions. The Paſtors of that Church receive Commiſſion to preach both Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianity; the Miniſtery is legitimate in that they receive Commiſſion to preach Chriſtianity, their Miniſtery, and their Miſſion is wholly illegitimate in that they receive Commiſſion to preach Antichriſtianity: 'Tis null, for *we can do nothing againſt the Truth.* If you well underſtand this, you will eaſily anſwer the queſtion propoſed unto you, *Why do you Separate from a true and lawful Miniſtery?* Anſwer, we do not ſeparate from the Miniſtery of the *Roman* Church in that which it teaches of Truth, in the preaching of the three *Creeds*, nor in that which it hath of Lawful. In this reſpect we are united, for we are in the ſame Doctrine, and by conſequence in the ſame Miniſtery: We are not ſeparate from the Miniſtery of the *Church of Rome*, but with reſpect to the Commiſſion ſhe gives her Paſtors to make the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and teach Idolatry; now this part of her Miniſtery is null, vain, criminal and illegitimate. The

The third falſe conſequence which your Converters draw from the perpetual Viſibility of the Church is, *That Jeſus Chriſt will always teach with theſe viſible Paſtors.* If Monſieur *de Meaux*, and thoſe like him, underſtand thereby, that Jeſus Chriſt ought to guide them by a Spirit of Infallibility, the ſuppoſition is falſe, and there is no neceſſity of adding any thing to make the Falſeneſs thereof appear: For I have proved that perpetual Viſibility doth not ſignifie, that the Church by remaining always viſible, muſt neceſſarily be always pure and infallible. This is true in its Paſtors as well as in its other Members; for the Paſtors have no priviledge of being infallible, any more than the other parts of the Church. If you deſire that I ſhould add ſomething thereon, it ſhall be only this: 'Tis that the Church is as a Man, who after he hath been young and ſound, becomes old and diſeaſed: This Man is viſible, with his gray Hairs and his rotten Teeth and Wrinkles, juſt as he was when he had his complexion freſh, his colour lively, & the air of his countenance brisk & vigorous. In like manner the Church hath been young, ſound and pure, in the Ages next to the Apoſtles, by little and little ſhe is grown old, and at laſt is become deformed through corruption: but ſhe is viſible in this old age and corruption, as ſhe was viſible in her youth and purity: ſo that neither her youth nor her old age, neither purity nor corruption ſignifie any thing to Viſibility. The caſe is the ſame concerning the Perpetuity of the Miniſtery: the Miniſtery is perpetual, therefore 'tis incorruptible. Deny that conſequence without ſcruple, for 'tis falſe; but ſome will ſay, Does not the Lord teach with thoſe Paſtors which follow one another in the order of Ages? Anſwer Ye; becauſe theſe Paſtors teach the three *Creeds*, con-

formably to the *Holy Scriptures*; Jeſus Chriſt teaches with them, and they with Jeſus Chriſt. But becauſe they teach beyond the three *Creeds*, Idolatrous and ſuperſtitious Doctrines, they teach againſt Jeſus Chriſt. My Brethren, that which I have ſaid unto you in this, and the preceding Letter, is ſufficient to make you underſtand what is the perpetual Viſibility of the Church. Read it, and read it again, until you underſtand, and poſſeſs it very well, and you will eaſily anſwer the two Sophiſms which your Adverſaries put upon you.

The firſt is, That if the Church hath not been always viſible; the *Pagans* for a thouſand, or twelve hundred years before *Luther*'s Reformation, had no door open to their converſion: For how ſhould they be converted, and how ſhould they find the Church, if ſhe were inviſible? Now 'tis a prodigy contrary to all reaſon and probability, that God for the ſpace of ſo many Ages, ſhould hold the door of the Church cloſe and hidden: Beſides, this is contrary to Hiſtory and Experience, which learns us, that the moſt part of the Northern Nations, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and many Provinces of *Germany*, did not receive the Chriſtian Faith till ſince the eighth Age, *i. e.* ſince the time that Antichriſtianity was mixed with the Chriſtian Doctrine: For the *Roman Church* began according to us to be Antichriſtian before the ſixth Age. This is a difficulty which they propoſe to you; to which you ought to anſwer, That according to what we have told you, we do not teach that the Church became invſible by the Antichriſtianity which is entered there; ſhe is corrupt but ſhe continues viſible. Chriſtianity hath not failed to continue in its integrity in *Popery*, therefore the Church remains intirely there. I have told you that Chriſtianity and the Church are the ſame thing. This Chriſtianity

ſtianity continuing viſible in the Books of the *Old and New Teſtament*, and in the three *Creeds*, which the providence of God hath preſerved in *Popery*, the door of converſion hath been always open to the *Pagan* Nations: for Jeſus Chriſt crucified, and his true Myſteries, have not failed to preſerve their force and efficacy, in deſpight to all the Darkneſs which the baſtard Myſteries of Antichriſtianity have brought in thither.

There hath been *Converſion* and *Perverſion*, and *Perverſion* in the *Pagan* Nations, which have joyn'd themſelves to the *Church of Rome* ſince the eighth Age. There hath been *Converſion*, for they have entertained one God in three Perſons, one God Creator of Heaven and Earth, one Jeſus the Eternal Son of God, the Word made Fleſh, who died and roſe again for the Sins of Men, who will come to Judge the Living and the Dead, and having raiſed men from their Graves, will ſend ſome men to everlaſting Torments, and ſome to the Kingdom of Heaven. This is Chriſtianity; by receiving this they became Converts to Jeſus Chriſt. There hath been *Perverſion* alſo; for by receiving a Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, a Vice-God upon Earth, a Soveraign to all the World, a Maſter of Kings, as of Subjects, of Crowns as of Shepherds Crooks; by adoring Bread, Angels, Saints, Reliques, and Images; they have done nothing elſe but changed their ancient *Paganiſm* for a new one. But however it be, their *Perverſion* has not hindered their *Converſion*; and that they have entertained Antichriſtianity, hinders not that they have not embraced alſo the Chriſtian Doctrine. So that the Gate of Converſion to Chriſtianity was never ſhut. But the queſtion is, Whether this Gate be ſaving? whether theſe Converſions be profitable, or whether we ought to ſay of the Miſſionaries of the *Roman Church*,

Church, what Chriſt Jeſus ſaid of the *Phariſees*, That they *compaß ſea and land to make Proſelites, whom they made twofold more children of hell than themſelves?* The queſtion is, Whether the Antichriſtianity which they have embraced, hath more power to deſtroy them, than the Chriſtianity which they have received, hath to ſave them? It behoves you to anſwer, that theſe People who are joyned to the Church of *Rome*, ſince the eighth Age, have ſome portion and lot with her ancient Members; that God doth nothing in vain; that he hath not converted ſo many men to Chriſtianity, to deſtroy them all: though it be a corrupt Chriſtianity, which in the times when there were no Churches, which were not very corrupt as well as the Church of *Rome*, it may be granted that God did preſerve unto himſelf children in theſe corrupt Societies; that in theſe *Pagan* Nations which are joyned to the Church of *Rome*, God had his Elect, and that he found means to ſave theſe Elect from among the Nations by the Chriſtianity which they had embraced, and that he gave them the grace to ſeparate the Antichriſtianity, and not to be hurt or injured thereby. How this was done is not for us preciſely to determine. Theſe are the depths of the ways of God. We will ſay the ſame concerning the Converſions which the *Roman* Church hath made in the *Indies*: that God ſaves his Elect from among theſe Nations by the Chriſtianity which the Miſſionaries cauſe them to embrace, and defends them from the wounds and hurts which the Antichriſtianity that is joyned unto it might do unto them, by ways known to his profound Wiſdom. We might believe this, ſay I, were it not that according to the report that the Papiſts themſelves make unto us of the Chriſtianity which the *Jeſuites* teach the *Indians*, and the *Chineſes*,

neſſees, is not ſo much as an honeſt *Paganiſm*. This is it which muſt be anſwered to the firſt Difficulty.

Behold the ſecond: If you confeſs ſay they, that the Church is viſible, and always viſible, the Church of *Luther* and *Calvin* cannot be the true Church, for it was not viſible two hundred years agon, having no exiſtence in the World. When you ſhall have made a diſſection of this Difficulty, you will find it the moſt pittiful one that ever was made. Know then, my Brethren, that when we ſay the Church was viſible, and always viſible, we underſtand the Church Univerſal, and not any particular Church. By the Univerſal Church muſt be underſtood Chriſtianity diſperſed through all Nations in the *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North*, and *South*, in all places where they retain the Books of the *Old and New Teſtament*, with the three *Creeds*, which are the Abridgment of them. This Church is always viſible, for God cannot permit that ſhe periſh wholly, nor yet that it be wholly hidden: but the particular Churches of which the Univerſal Church is made up and formed, neither have, nor can have this priviledge of being always neceſſarily viſible. For Experience makes us ſee that God permits that they periſh wholly: For Example, the great Churches of *Africa*, of *Carthage*, and *Numidia*, &c. where were the *Cyprians*, the *Auguſtines*, the *Saintes Fulgentii*, that is to ſay, the prime Lights of the Church. Theſe Churches, ſay I, are not at all; therefore they are not viſible, and perpetual Viſibility was not affixed unto them. At preſent conſider you, that the defect of Viſibility may be found in a particular Church for one of theſe two reaſons, either becauſe ſhe is no longer, or becauſe ſhe is not yet; the Churches of *Africa* are inviſible, becauſe they are no more; and the Proteſtant Churches were inviſible two hundred years ago, becauſe they

they were not yet. Underſtand, I intreat you, the folly of the Objection which they make unto you by this: *The true Church is always viſible, the Church of St.* Auſtine, *and St.* Cyprian *is no longer viſible, therefore the Church of St.* Cyprian, *and St.* Auguſtine, *was not the true Church.* Can any thing be more fooliſh and ridiculous than this? You very well underſtand what you ought to anſwer, when the Church of St. *Auſtine* was in the World it was viſible, and it was then the true Church, but after it was extinct and aboliſhed by the Invaſions of the *Saracens* and the *Moors*, how can you wiſh or deſire it ſhould be viſible?

So when they tell you, The *true Church is always viſible, now the Church of* Luther *and* Calvin *was not viſible two hundred years ago, therefore it is not the true Church.* You can anſwer, that a man can ſay nothing more abſurd, and that a Church is far enough from being viſible, when as yet it is not. Ah, on that occaſion they will ſay to you, the novelty of your Church is a proof of the falſeneſs thereof. For a new Church cannot be a true Church. Another Abſurdity: The Church of *China*, erected by the *Roman* Miſſions is about a hundred years ſince. I reaſon againſt that, as they reaſon againſt us: *A new Church which was not viſible a hundred years ſince, cannot be a true Church, for the Church is ancient, and always viſible, now the Church of* China *is new, and was not exiſtent a hundred years ago, therefore it is not a true Church.* I deſire that they would tell me the difference, unleſs it be that the Church of *China* newly came out of the boſom of *Paganiſm*, and that ours is newly come out of the boſom of Antichriſtianiſm. He muſt be a little cracked in the crown, not to perceive by this example, that the new erection of a particular Church ought to be no prejudice unto

it.

it. Nothing can prejudice it but new Doctrine: If a new Society which teaches a new Doctrine doth ariſe then in a new Church, and in that caſe is worth nothing. But they will ſay, Behold exactly your own ſtate and caſe, you are a new Church that teach new things. That's the queſtion; that's it which we deny, and which muſt be examined to know whether we teach new things: We muſt therefore come to the Foundation, to ſee if we teach the ancient Religion of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and not ridiculouſly amuſe our ſelves in wrangling about circumſtances concerning a new Church, of new Eſtabliſhment, of perpetual Viſibility, &c. for if we teach the true and ancient Religion of Jeſus Chriſt, all that they ſay of theſe things are Illuſions: And if on the contrary, our Doctrine be not that of Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, though we were as old as the World, and had been always as viſible as the Sun, we ſhould be nevertheleſs a falſe Church. This is that therefore which I will ſtand to, that we are not to ſearch the character of perpetual Viſibility in any particular Church, foraſmuch as it agrees only to Chriſtianity in general, and the Church Univerſal. Before our Reformation the Church was not viſible in our Society, which did not yet exiſt, but it was viſible in the *Greek* Church, in the *Armenian*, *Cophti*, *Abyſſin*, and *Æthiopian* Churches, becauſe all theſe preſerved Chriſtianity intire in the three *Creeds*. When we came into the World, the Church became viſible in our Society, as it was before in others, with this difference, that the Church and Chriſtianity were viſible before our Reformation, as the Egg whereof we have ſpoken was viſible in the midſt of that dirty, unclean, and filthy water in which it ſwam; and that in our Church Chriſtianity and the Church are there viſible as the

Sun

Sun diſ-engaged from dark clouds and fogs. My Brethren, if you take pains to read and meditate deeply, and more than once upon what I have ſaid unto you, I tell you frankly, I ſhall no more fear on your behalf the Sophiſm concerning perpetual Viſibility.

WHatſoever deſire we have to give you the News of our Martyrs, for this time they muſt give place to certain Prodigies, more ſignificant than any ever happened before. The firſt ſhall be that which is come from St. *Malo*, atteſted by a Letter from the Vicar-General of that Biſhoprick.

The Copy of a Letter from Monſieur *Simon*, Doctor of the *Sorborn*, Arch-deacon of *Rinan*, *Channon*, Penitentiary and Vicar-General of the Biſhoprick of St. *Malo*, the ſixth of *July*, 1687.

I *Wrote to you the laſt Poſt, my dear Monſieur, but how can I forbear to tell you of a late Accident which you will hear of by the publique Relations? Behold a ſmall Extract of it, which I draw in haſte:* Upon Thurſday *laſt, being the third of this Month, the Thunder (after a very ſmall noiſe in the borders of this City) fell upon our Church, by the Steeple, killed a young Man which toll'd the Bell in the Belfery, fell into the Seat of the Quire, or Singing-men; broke all the lower part of the Crucifix in divers pieces, and left the Image hanging by its hands; it fell among the Muſicians which ſung, and anſwered at a Maſs in Muſick, that Monſieur* de Sales *celebrated at the Altar of St.* Julien, *it ſmote down*

down the ſaid Sieur de Sales, *with the Deacons and Sub-deacons, who were ſome time without knowledge; overturned the conſecrated Calice which ſtood upon the Altar, on the Ground, and on the Garments of the Prieſts. The ſame thing happened at the Altar of St.* Peter, *at the entrance of the Quire: A Prieſt being at the* Poſt-communion, *ſaw in an inſtant (in a Chalice which fell not) one part of the Blood of our Lord conſumed; the reſt ſprinkled upon the Ornaments of the Prieſts, and upon the Linnen of the Altar. Monſieur* Lagons *being at the* Credo *of the Maſs, at the Altar of St.* Malo, *was thrown upon his back, and there the Sacrifice ceaſed. The Thunder broke many parts of the Veſtrie, burnt the Altar-cloaths, and left a mark upon the Pattin, as if it had been ſhot with a Piſtol, it left many other marks upon the edge of the Chalice. In the Quire one named* Banville, *the beſt Voice of our Church, whoſe back was near the Crucifix, remained there as dead, and was there a long time without feeling, ſight, or knowledge; it is not known whether he can be recovered; for they ſay, to day, that all his back is burnt, and that he vomits his entrails. The Gentlemen of the Chapter take all poſſible care of him. As it was the firſt* Thurſday *of the Month, immediately after the Maſs of the Sacrament, the Church was extreamly full; very many ſwoon'd, and were carried off without knowledge. The Church appeared for ſometime all on a fire, and filled with a thick black ſmoak, and a very ſtinking ſavour. It would take more time than I have, to make you an exact Picture of our Misfortunes. I was in the Chapter-houſe upon the Tower, cloſe by the place where the Thunder fell. I thought it neceſſary to write to my Lord of St.* Malo, *at* Beignon, *five Leagues from hence, to have his Orders and Advice upon this whole matter. Our Expreſs went thither in a few hours, and my Lord came hither on Horſe-back, with two or three only of his men, where a great and famous Proceſſion was prepared againſt the Afternoon, at*

which

which all the body of the Religious were to attend at three of the Clock. Behold the Advertiſements which God has given us, which afford fair occaſion for Reflections. Adieu. *I am wholly yours.* About two hundred years ago, the Thunder fell nigh the ſame place.

It is not ſafe in this Age to entertain the Publick with Prodigees, and yet much leſs to draw Conſequences and Preſages thence, nevertheleſs this ſpeaks ſo loud, that he muſt be as deaf as a rock that hears not: The Thunder almoſt without any Tempeſt falls into the Church, attacks the Images, breaks the Crucifix, goes directly to three Prieſts, ſaying Maſs at three different Altars, burns the Ornaments of the Altars, conſumes the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, (as they call it) in one of the Chalices, overturns the other, imprints the mark of a Piſtol-ſhot on the Pattin, kills the moſt famous Singer, fills the Church with a moſt horrible ſtink. Behold enough! it needs no Commentary. Mr. Simon *had reaſon to ſay, that theſe are Advertiſements from God, which give fair occaſion for Reflections. We deſire theſe Gentlemen, at the ſame time, to do ſo upon that which happened at* Paris, *upon* Corpus-Chriſti *day, which we will report alſo as it hath been written by an infinite number of perſons.*

The laſt Corpus-Chriſti *day, in this Year,* 1687. *in moſt places it was as calm as any Summer-day could be. On the contrary, it was very tempeſtuous almoſt throughout all* France; *they could not make their Proceſſions at* Montpellier, *and other places of* Languedoc, *becauſe of the Rain. And the ſame Tempeſt was alſo at* Paris. *The Sacrament, being brought out of the Church of St.* Saviour, *had not gon far, when the Wind, or a Blow from Heaven ſmote down the Pix, or Box, in which the conſecrated Hoſt was carried, to the ground. It fell into the Water and Dirt, the Veſſel opened, and the Hoſt fell out, and mingling with the Dirt, was confounded and moiſtened*

ſtened by it. And all the care which they could take to reſtore it, by taking away the Dirt, the Water, and pieces of the Ground that ſtuck to it, could not hinder it from ſuffering the utmoſt indignities. Let him that pleaſe make Reflections, I cannot forbear obſerving it as a viſible Judgment from God, and as a Preſage. In the greateſt of the Popiſh Feſtivals, in the greateſt City, where Bread-worſhip reigns, in the going out of a Church, which bears one of the Names of Jeſus Chriſt, and which ought not to be given to any thing but himſelf, the Idol of Bread fell with its face on the ground, and was buried in the Mire.

Behold a third Matter of Fact, which is not leſs notorious, it is the burning of the great Church of Rochel: this Church was formerly the great Church of the Reformed. They took it away from them after the Siege and taking of the City. Every one knows, that the day on which the Inhabitants made a Bon-fire, the fire took hold on this large and fair Church, none knows how, nor where, and that it was conſumed, the Lead was melted, and all the Vaults burnt, without being able to quench it: there is ſomething ſingular in the event, the day, and the occaſion, and 'tis impoſſible not to ſee the finger of God therein. God grant, that it may ſignifie, that the Life and Health of the King may not be ſo favourable to the Perſecutors, as they hope.

If you would have Matters of Fact like that of St. Malo, behold here are ſome: There happened one at Godderville, in the Country of Caux, upon Corpus-Chriſti day, as the Inhabitants diſcharged their Muskets to the Honour of the Sacrament, the fire took hold of ſome Houſes, and ran in ſuch a manner, that there was more than 80 burnt down. On the third day of July, the very ſame day that the Thunder fell upon the Church of St. Malo, at Seven of the Clock at Night, the Thunder likewiſe fell upon the Church of a Place called Pouille, ſituated in Normandy, carried away the Weather-cock from the

Steeple, entered into the Church, and burnt all the Altars. It alſo fell at Bayeux, *in* Lower Normandy, *upon a Steeple, where it killed twenty five perſons. In the Suburbs of St.* Gervas *of* Roan. *It carried away the Roof of a Garden-houſe belonging to the Curate of the Pariſh. It muſt be confeſſed, that the Thunder hath done much this Year to Churches, and all things belonging thereunto.*

After theſe notorious Matters of Fact, which ſpeak ſo loud, it may be permitted us to report two others contained in a Memorial, which was ſent us from Poictou *by a very honourable perſon.*

The Memorial.

AT *Faſeneuil*, in *Poitou*, there happened this which follows, while Mr. *Marillac* did ſuch miſchiefs in the ſaid Province. A Peaſant, by Name, ——— *Bardon*, married to a Wife of the Roman Catholick Perſuaſion, who preſſed him vehemently to change his Religion; meeting the Curate of the place, in the Field, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to go to Maſs, and to change his Religion. Which when he had done, he immediately repented thereof, greatly, as he ſaid to one of his Neighbours, whom he found as he returned home; and being come to his Houſe, while his Spirit was in diſorder, inſtead of opening his Lock, he hampered it in ſuch ſort, that he was forced to ſend for a Lockſmith to take it off: when the Door was open, he ſaw all the Chamber on fire, and he crying out Fire, five or ſix of his Neighbours ran, with his Wife, and altogether ſaw this miraculous Fire, which filled all the Chamber, and burnt nothing, and in the end diſappear'd. This Man, ſome days after, fell ſick, praying God, without ceaſing, that he would give him the

the grace, that he might never return to the Maſs, and to this purpoſe, that he would take him out of the World; and becauſe that he well ſaw, that his only Son would be forced to follow that Religion in which he began to be engaged, he prayed God to take his Son out of the World, and that he might ſee him die before he died himſelf. Two days after the Son fell ſick, and in two days he died in the preſence of his Father, and the Father himſelf died the day after, rendring a thouſand Thanks to God, that he had heard his Prayer, and that he had taken them both out of this World to give them a better Life.

I learnt this Story from St. *Maixent*, the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1684. from two perſons worthy of credit, *viz.* the Husband and Wife who had a Child nurſed by the Wife of the ſaid *Bardon*; he which made me the Report of this Matter, is called Mr. *Lavergnac*, Maſter of the Grange of the Village of *Luzignan* in *Poitou*, a perſon of good credit, and full of zeal for Religion, his Wife alſo being preſent.

In the Year 1685. the 20th of *January*, a Woman of *Jonzac* in *Saintonge*, called *Suſan de Liſle*, the Wife of *Boynard*, a Glover, being with Child, as ſhe was in her Houſe, ſitting upon a Settle by the Window, riſing up, ſhe felt that her Child ſtretcht it ſelf in her Womb, and at the ſame time ſhe heard it utter a very extraordinary cry: and a little after, this Infant, having again moved it ſelf, cried out about a quarter of an Hour with the true Voice of an Infant, whereupon the Mother was much frighted, and called ſome perſons to help her, ſhe having then no body with her, but her own Daughter, about nine Years old, who having plainly heard this cry, ſaid to her, *Mother, my little Brother crys in*

in your belly : this Child was born three Months and nineteen Days after this; it was baptized at *Linieres* by Mr. *Couyer*, Paſtor of the ſaid place, and was a very vigorous Child, and grew in ſix Months time twice as much as it ought to do. We have learnt this ſtory from *Liniers*, from the mouth of the Mother of this Woman, and from the Daughter, which was preſent, and from the Husband of the God-mother of the Child.

From Martinique, *the* 24*th of* May, 1687.

MOnſieur Poyſonnel, *who commanded a Frigate from* Marſeille, *which had taken two hundred Maids and Women, and almoſt as many Gally ſlaves, to bring hither, was loſt three days ſince, as he was coming into this Town. The whole number of perſons, which were on board the Veſſel, were* 320, *and were all drowned, as 'tis ſaid, excepting* 30 *of the Soldiers and Mariners. This was by the imprudence of the Pilots. God hath given reſt to theſe poor miſerable Creatures.*

This Note teacheth us the ſad and glorious end of the Confeſſors, which we ſpake of to you. Others write, that this Shipwreck was by command, becauſe the Wind was very fair to bring them into the Haven of the Iſle, and that all the Soldiers and Mariners were ſaved. As for me I will not prejudice the Spirits of men concerning this Fact, it being an Action ſo enormous. This is certain, that God was pleaſed to deliver theſe bleſſed Confeſſors, and ſnatch them from the cruel ſlavery which they had prepared for them.

Auguſt 1. 1687.

The

The Twenty fourth
PASTORAL LETTER.

That the Church of Rome *is not viſible, and that ſhe has no mark which makes her viſible. A Confutation of thoſe Means whereof Mr.* Nicholas *pretends to ſerve himſelf, to make his Church viſible.*

Dear Brethren in our Lord, Grace and Peace be given to you, from our God *and* Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

BEfore we paſs to another part of the Controverſie about the Church, and leave the Queſtion concerning its perpetual viſibility, and after examination of the viſibility of the Church in general, 'tis needful that we take cognizance of the viſibility of the Roman Church in particular: 'Tis needful that you ſay to your Converters, ſince 'tis ſo, that the Church is always viſible, and that you are the Church, help us to ſee her; in and by what is the Roman Church viſible? If they ſhew you great Churches full of Men, that pray, and adore, which hear *Veſpers* and *Mattins*, who proſtrate themſelves before Wafers and Images, you will anſwer, this is not to ſhew me the Church. For if I were at *Conſtantinople*, a Turk would ſhew me his Moſques all full of Worſhippers, which cry, *there is but one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet.* Tell them, If you

pleaſe to go to *London*, I will ſhew you the Church in *England*, as you ſhew it me in *France*: I will ſhew you great Churches full of men, which pray, and adore, which proſtrate themſelves before God, who pray, and underſtand what they pray for. 'Tis unavoidable therefore, that you ſhew me not Men, and heaps of Stones, which are called Churches, but ſenſible and viſible marks, that Popery is the true Religion of Jeſus Chriſt, and that the Church of *Rome* is the true Church. Add to this, that the marks which they give you ought to be ſuitable to your capacity, *i. e.* the capacity of plain perſons, and without learning. For the ſpace of twelve or fifteen Years the Popiſh Doctors of *France* have changed the Controverſie this way. The buſineſs is not to inſtruct the learned, 'tis acknowledged on both ſides, that the multitude, and greater part of the Church, is compoſed of men without learning, and of plain people, which muſt be ſaved as well as the more able. From henceforth therefore it is neceſſary to furniſh a means to the common people, to inform them of the truth in matters of controverſie, and a means altogether ſuitable to their weakneſs. Particularly in this Controverſie. Whether the Church of *Rome* hath certain and evident marks of her truth, which make her viſible. For 'tis an important Affair, and which the weakeſt ought to underſtand. It is certain, that a Church cannot be viſible in quality of a Church, by any other means than what they call her marks; of this we are at an agreement.

We muſt therefore ſee, whether the Church of *Rome* hath thoſe marks, which may make the weakeſt perceive ſhe is a true Church. I will not here ingage you in that Labyrinth of Diſputes, which the Doctors of the Church of *Rome* have formed about the marks of that Church. 'Tis their manner

to

to bury the truth under a prodigious heap of uſeleſs words and obſcure queſtions. I will not examine the ſixteen marks which *Bellarmine* has given, nor the forty which others have produced. You cannot read thoſe Books, nor are they thoſe which they put into your hands; and ſince that time, they are become more able in Sophiſtry. Mr. *Nicholas*, who is the laſt that hath laboured on this Subject, has employed three *Chapters* to prove that the Church of *Rome* is very viſible, even to the moſt weak, and plain. In the firſt of theſe three *Chapters*, he ſays, * That *a man may prove the Church to the weakeſt by Scripture.* In the ſecond, That *a man may prove the Church to the moſt weak by Tradition.* And in the third, That *the Church of* Rome *is not unfurniſhed with exterior marks, which make her known to be the true Church to the weak.* Behold three Sources of viſibility for the Roman Church: 1. Tradition. 2. Exterior Marks. 3. The Scripture As this is one of the Books which your Converters put into your hands, I do intreat you to give attention to what I have to ſay to you thereon.

* Chap. 17, 18, 19, of the 1ſt Book, *The Reformed convinced of Schiſm.*

I begin with Tradition. They underſtand by Tradition, the Teſtimony of the Fathers, Councils, and Authors of all Ages, therefore the meaning is, they can prove the *Church of Rome* is the true Church by the teſtimony of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, and by the Councils of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church. And at firſt, this is a contradiction that ſtares you in the face. *It may be proved,* ſays he, *to the weak by the Fathers, and the* Greek *and* Latin *Councils, that the Church of* Rome *is the true Church.* And how can a man prove to the weak, a truth by the teſtimonies of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers? To thoſe which underſtand neither *Latin* nor *Greek*, or who

have neither means nor time to turn over the Leaves, or read and examine theſe great Volumes. Behold the way, nothing more remains than to employ theſe two means, the firſt is a Principle founded on a Rule of St. *Auſtin, that all Cuſtoms that are found univerſally eſtabliſhed whoſe original and beginning we know not, may be very juſtly aſcribed to the Apoſtles.* The ſecond means is included in this Syllogiſm which Mr. *Nicholas* makes. The Scripture and Tradition teach, that there hath been always in the World one Church, viſible and ſucceſſive, and that this Church is infallible for the inſtruction of believers in the truths of Faith.

Now the *Church of Rome* is this only viſible Church.

Therefore the *Church of Rome* is the infallible Church, and to her alone it belongs to inſtruct men in the truths of Faith.

And behold how Mr. *Nicholas* forms a light upon the firſt *medium* which makes the *Church of Rome* viſible to the weak. *All the Traditions which the Hereticks diſpute,* ſaye he, *have their certain Epoche's or beginnings which are not diſputed by them.* The *Calviniſts* agree, that in the fourth Age men called upon Saints, adored Reliques, and obſerved *Lent*, that in the ſeventh Age they worſhipped Images, in the eleventh they believed Tranſubſtantiation: The weak have no need to aſſure themſelves of this matter of fact by way of examination, for 'tis confeſſed on both ſides. Apply the Principle of St. *Auſtin, that all Cuſtoms found univerſally eſtabliſhed in one Age, and whoſe beginning we know not, may be juſtly attributed to the Apoſtles.* Now the cuſtoms of invoking Saints, adoring Images, obſerving *Lent*, and worſhipping the Sacrament, are found generally eſtabliſhed in ſome Ages, as the *Calviniſts* confeſs, and we know not where to find the original of them, therefore they

ought

ought to be referred to the Apoſtles. A man cannot tell how many Illuſions there are therein, which are unworthy of an honeſt man, yea, a man of a good underſtanding. Firſt, 'tis to ſcoff at mankind, to ſay, 'tis a light proper to make the Church viſible to the weak. For this method of reaſoning doth neceſſarily ſuppoſe, 1. That a perſon muſt know that this pretended Rule, on which they ſupport themſelves, is St. *Auſtin*'s. 2. That the Miniſters conſent to the truth of this rule. 3. That they confeſs, that upon certain times, the cuſtoms of adoring Images, praying to Saints, *&c.* were generally received. 4. That from thence it follows, that theſe cuſtoms, generally eſtabliſhed in ſome Ages, ought to be referred to the Apoſtles. All this is diſputed, and there are large Books written on the Subject, which the weak cannot read, and this requires an examination, which is above the capacity of thoſe which are not men of learning. This is that which we have proved invincibly in our Anſwer to Mr. *Nicholas* *. Secondly, It is to be obſerved, that this fine Principle upon which this pretended Evidence is founded, *viz.* the Rule of St. *Auſtin* is falſe, eſpecially if it be applied to all Ages. It hath been obſerved, that the Fathers of the fourth Age were very much inclined to ſupport the Novelties crept into the Church upon the authorities of the Apoſtles, and to make all things paſs for Apoſtolick, the beginning whereof the People were not then able to ſee. It is therefore falſe, that all Cuſtoms which are found eſtabliſh'd in a certain Age, although we be not able to find the beginning of them, in a diſtinct manner ought to be aſcribed to the Apoſtles. For example, The cuſtom of adoring the Sacrament of the Euchariſt was not generally eſtabliſhed in the *Latin* Church till the twelfth Age. Although we could

* *Syſtem of the Church*, l. 2. c. 16.

could not find the original of this Idolatry, it were an impiety to attribute it to the Apoſtles. There are certain Practices which are inſenſibly eſtabliſhed by little and little, the firſt point of whoſe original cannot be preciſely obſerved. It doth not follow therefore, that we muſt aſcribe the original to the Apoſtles. We muſt attribute nothing to the Apoſtles but what is in their Writings. 3. I obſerve, that there is a faulty and ſhameful falſeneſs in the application of the Rule. Mr. *Nicholas* pretends, that the Cuſtoms which are found generally eſtabliſhed in certain Ages, ought to be referred to the Apoſtles, and that for this reaſon, the cuſtom of falling proſtrate before Images muſt be referred to them, becauſe this cuſtom is found generally eſtabliſhed in the eighth Age. I do maintain, that Mr. *Nicholas* does baſely betray his conſcience in this example, for he is perſwaded as well as I, and all thoſe Roman Catholicks in *France*, which are men of knowledge and underſtanding, do know, that the Apoſtles did not eſtabliſh Image-worſhip; and theſe Gentlemen do not refuſe to confeſs it, when they are not in diſpute. Fourthly, I ſay, that this reaſoning ſuppoſes a thing which is altogether falſe, 'tis that we are not able to find the original of thoſe Cuſtoms which are generally eſtabliſhed in certain Ages: this is falſe, the cuſtom of praying to Saints is found eſtabliſhed in the fifth Age. In our preceding Letters, we have ſhewn the original and birth thereof. In like manner we find in all the following Ages the birth of the Worſhip of Images, of Purgatory, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Real Preſence, and Tranſubſtantiation. They make a wrangling with us about it, unworthy of honeſt men. Shew us, ſay they, who was the firſt Heretick that taught either the Invocation of Saints, or the Worſhip of Images, or thoſe other falſe Worſhips which you condemn.

I an-

I anſwer, that I have no need to name their Author, ſeeing I have ſhewn the Age of their birth. I prove for example, after a manner invincible, that they did not invocate Saints in the three firſt Ages of the Church. I find afterwards the Invocation of Saints about the end of the fourth Age. Is not this to obſerve the point of its birth? what does the name of the firſt Author ſignifie in this caſe? Beſides, ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Practices had not one ſingle Author, they had many, 'tis the ſottiſh and ill inſtructed people who introduce Superſtitions, and who introduce them inſenſibly, and by little and little. But for ſpeculative Hereſies, 'tis the learned which give them birth, for which reaſon 'tis eaſie to mark both their Authors, and the preciſe time of their original. Fifthly, To conclude, I obſerve in this light which Mr. *Nicholas* forms to us, to make the *Church of Rome* viſible, there is no more of ſound judgment, than of honeſty. For although even all that he ſays were ſolid, and his method would prove the Invocation of Saints, the Adoration of Reliques, *Lent*, *&c.* were Apoſtolical Traditions, this would not prove, that which ought to be proved here, *viz.* that the *Church of Rome* is the only true Church. For it muſt be known, that the *Greek Church*, which according to the Papiſts is ſchiſmatical, and which a man cannot ſecure his ſalvation, do alſo invocate Saints, worſhip Images, and obſerve *Lent*. 'Tis therefore neceſſary to find in Tradition a proof which makes it evident, that the *Church of Rome* is the true Church, with excluſion to all other Sects; and this is it which the reaſoning of Mr. *Nicholas* doth not prove neither directly, nor indirectly.

The other Source from whence Mr. *Nicholas* will draw a light by Tradition, to make the *Church of Rome* viſible to the weak, is yet more dark and obſcure. 'Tis a ratiocination, which ſuppoſes, 1. *That Tra-*

Tradition teaches, that there hath been a viſible and infallible Church in the World. Tradition doth not teach it, and although it ſhould teach it, a plain weak man which cannot read the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, the Councils, and the Opinions of the Doctors would not be in a condition to aſſure himſelf thereof. 2. This reaſoning ſuppoſes in its ſecond Propoſition, *that the Church of* Rome *is this only viſible infallible Church.* And this is that which muſt be proved, that is, that which is obſcure, and muſt be made plain to the eyes of the weak. Is it not therefore very abſurd to pretend to make a light for the weak to render the Roman Church viſible, of that which is denied and conteſted by all the World? yea, although it ſhould be true, that there is one viſible and infallible Church, it would not follow, that this were the *Church of Rome*, for three fourth parts of Chriſtians diſpute this priviledge with her. Mr. *Nicholas* hath found an admirable ſecret to draw the weak out of this difficulty. It is not needful, as he inſinuates, to make known to the weak, that there be other Sects as ancient as the *Church of Rome*, who pretend to be the Church. Nothing more is neceſſary than to make them ſee the new Sects of *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* in oppoſition to the *Church of Rome.* For they will eaſily ſee, that this viſible Church, which ought always to be in the World, cannot be that of *Luther* and *Calvin*, *and they will not be ſo much as tempted to ſearch any other Church but that of* Rome. I think I have preſſed Mr. *Nicholas* thereon, after ſuch a manner, as to cover him with a confuſion, out of which he will never eſcape. For I have made him ſee, that it is properly to cheat the weak, to let them believe there is no other Church in the World but the Roman and the Proteſtant. The Proteſtant Church not having the marks of perpetual viſibility, ſince ſhe was not till

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about two hundred years ago, the weak, without inquiring further, believe, that the Roman Church is the only true Church, on ſuppoſition, that ſhe is the only ancient Church. Mr. *Nicholas* confeſſes, that this ſuppoſition is falſe, for he acknowledges the *Greek* Church is as ancient as the Roman. But nevertheleſs, according to him, 'tis expedient to permit the weak to believe this falſe ſuppoſition as if it were true, that they be not tempted to ſearch any other Church but the Roman. On this matter of fact, and about all the reſt of the Book againſt Mr. *Nicholas*, we do declare to him, that his ſilence is look'd upon as a conviction. They write, that he prepares an Anſwer to the firſt Part of the Syſtem of the Church, where the Nature of the Church is ſpoken to. If it be ſo, we declare to him, that that is not the capital Controverſie between him and me. 'Tis about the impoſſibility of examination of particular Controverſies, 'tis about the Authority of the Church, which he ought to anſwer, and to which he will never anſwer.

The 2*d* light which Mr. *Nicholas* forms to make the *Church of Rome* viſible, is drawn from the *external marks, which make her known for the true Church to the weak and ignorant.* Theſe external marks, according to him, may be reduced to two, they are *Miracles* and *Sanctity*. Now this Sanctity and theſe Miracles which muſt make the Roman Church viſible, are either thoſe of the preſent, or thoſe of paſt Ages. Mr. *Nicholas* ſearches the viſibility of the *Church of Rome*, more in the Miracles of the firſt Ages, than in thoſe of this. And behold how he reaſons, the Church of the two or three firſt Ages, had marks ſufficiently evident of the Divine Spirit wherewithal ſhe was animated, the miraculous Holineſs of her Members, and the Miracles which were done there, made her ſufficiently viſible, and

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ſufficiently ſupported her authority. If the Church of the three firſt Ages had this character both of authority and evidence, we cannot refuſe it to the Church of the fourth Age, for 'twas the ſame Church. *She poſſeſſed all the advantages of the three firſt Ages.* That is to ſay, her Miracles, and her Prodigies of Sanctity *which appertained to her by right of ſucceſſion, and ſhe had thoſe which were her own, and which were not inferiour to them.* For ſhe had her Martyrs, her Prodigies of Sanctity, and her Miracles, and theſe Miracles were done in that ſame Church where by the confeſſion of the Miniſters, they prayed to Saints, and worſhipped Reliques. Theſe Prodigies of Sanctity, and theſe Miracles, did yet continue in thoſe Ages, in which the Miniſters do confeſs that they had Images, and believed Tranſubſtantiation. For example, in the Age of St. *Bernard*, which is the 12th. This St. *Bernard* wrought Miracles, and taught all that which is believed in the *Church of Rome.* Follow on from Age to Age, and you will come even to the Church of the preſent Age, who hath right to attribute to her ſelf not only the Miracles of the Apoſtles, but all thoſe which have been wrought ſince, and above all, thoſe which were done by the Reliques of Saints in the fourth and fifth Ages. *As the Miracles which St.* Auſtin *reports to have been done by the Reliques of St.* Stephen *in* Africa, *thoſe of St.* Martyn *in* France, *and thoſe of the* Anacorites *in* Egypt *and* Syria.

Not to enter into a long diſpute on the ſubject of this pretended mark of the *Church of Rome,* I anſwer three or four things briefly, to which I pray give attention.

1. That this pretended fountain of light, fit and proper to make the *Church of Rome* viſible, is not for the ſimple and unlearned. For to ſee the bottom and ſolidity thereof, they muſt examine the Hiſtory of the

the pretended Miracles which were done in the fourth and fifth Ages. They muſt ſee what we have ſaid in oppoſition to it, they muſt examine circumſtances, and ſee if there be not reaſon to believe, that all theſe ſtories of Miracles are either frauds, or fictions. They muſt alſo examine by Hiſtory, whether theſe pretended Prodigies of Sanctity, be not either Fables, or the diſorders of ſick and melancholick minds. They muſt therefore be able to underſtand *Latin* and *Greek*, and to read great and large Volumes. To offer this as a light ſutable to the capacity of the weak and unlearned, is to ſcoff and deride them.

2. I ſay, that the Miracles of the Apoſtles, which are certain, and the Prodigies of the Sanctity of the three firſt Ages, does not appertain by right of ſucceſſion to the Church of the fourth and fifth Age, but as far as ſhe inherits the Doctrine of the Apoſtles. Theſe Miracles were good to prove the Divinity of the Chriſtian Religion to *Pagans*. But they are worth nothing to prove Novelties, as are the Invocation of Saints, and the Worſhip of Reliques, which are purely *Pagan* Practices. With far greater reaſon the *Church of Rome* hath no right by ſucceſſion to the Miracles of the Apoſtles, to prove her Worſhip, her Idolatries, and Superſtitions. We have as much right as ſhe to theſe Miracles. They are truly and properly our Miracles. They are good for us all in common againſt the ungodly, and againſt Infidels, to prove, that there is one God in three Perſons, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Meſſiah and the true Redeemer of the World. But they are nothing to prove our Additions, our Corruptions, and our Alterations, if it be ſo, that either the one or the other of the Chriſtian Sects, whether *Popery* or *Calviniſm*, have introduced them into the Church. This is clear, the Miracles of the Apoſtles appertain not to us,

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but as far as we have and do inherit their Doctrine.

3. As to the Miracles of the fourth and fifth Age, which were done in the times when they prayed to Saints, and worshipped Reliques, we say, that they were false Miracles. It is to be observed, that from the death of the Apostles, until the end of the fourth Age, nothing was spoken of Miracles in the Church, or so little, and in so doubtful a manner, that it doth not deserve to be reckoned for any thing, but when the Devil desired to set up the Worship of Creatures, he poured out a Spirit of Lying, and a Spirit of Credulity, which began to entertain discourses of Miracles. 'Tis a thing of importance, press your Converters thereon. Why did these Miracles cease for the space of well nigh two hundred Years, or at least why were they so rare? And why did they begin again exactly at the time when the Worship of Reliques grew famous? Do we not see clearly, that 'tis a Wile of the Devil? Hath God any interest to serve by Bones and Ashes? was it necessary that he should begin again to do Miracles at that time? And if it were of use to perswade the truth of the Religion which the Martyrs declared to the *Pagans*, why did not God work Miracles by the Bones of the Martyrs for the first three Ages? This had been much more profitable, than when *Paganism* was rampant, and the Church persecuted and oppressed. Wherefore did not the Bones of *Polycarpus*, of whom the believers of *Smyrna* speak with so much love, work miracles? Why did not so many Martyrs, whose Reliques they had, and whose Anniversaries they observed in the time of St. *Cyprian*, work signs and wonders? your Converters will never be able to answer this; be you therefore perswaded, that these pretended Miracles done by the Reliques of St. *Stephen*, St. *Gervais*, St. *Protais*, St. *Martyn*,

tyn, &c. were Illuſions of the Devil, whom God permitted to work falſe Miracles, or the Cheats of Villains, and lewd Superſtitioniſts; or to conclude, Stories of the Vulgar, and Fables which honeſt men received as Truths upon hear-ſay. And as to the Miracles which are aſcribed to the *Anacorites* of *Ægypt*, and *Syria*; I know not how Mr. *Nicholas* is not aſhamed to draw from them a Light to make his Church viſible. They are Fables for the moſt part ſo groſs, that the Falſeneſs of them ſtares in the face of the moſt Ignorant. The Lives of St. *Paul* the Hermite, of *Hilarion*, and others written by St. *Jerome*, that of St. *Antony* compoſed, as they ſay, by *Athanaſius*, are written with ſo little modeſty and judgment, that a man ought to be aſhamed of them.

The judicious Readers that would preſerve reſpect for the Authors of thoſe Lives, ſay, that the Fathers compoſed them not as Hiſtories, but as pious Romances to divert Chriſtians from reading the *Pagan* Fables. We ſee in the Lives of thoſe ſolitary perſons of the Deſart, ſuch as found Centaurs in the Woods, Satyrs, Men half Horſes, and half Goats, who ſpake to them, and prayed them to intreat the common Saviour to have pitty on them, and to give them part in the common Salvation with them. We ſee Hermites which were in perpetual conteſts with the Devil, always tempted, and often beaten by him. We ſee them which herded among the Beaſts. We there read in one word, almoſt all the Impertinencies of our new Legends. This makes it evident, that the Fabulous Spirit entred into Chriſtian Religion, as ſoon as the Spirit of Superſtition, and Idolatry. 4*ly*, I ſay that although it ſhould be true, that theſe Miracles wrought in the Age of the eſtabliſhment of the Worſhip of Saints and Reliques, ſhould be

true Miracles, it would not be a Light for the *Roman Church*, any more than for the *Greek*, who alſo worſhip Saints and Reliques. 'Tis therefore needful that we have Miracles from the *Church of Rome*, ſince ſhe was ſeparate from the *Greek Church*, and that it appear this Gift of Miracles is departed from all other Churches to affix itſelf to the *Church of Rome*. Now the *Greek* Schiſmaticks have their Saints, their Legends, and their Miracles, as well as the *Latine Church*: Beſides, we do maintain that all the Miracles of the *Church of Rome*, thoſe of St. *Bernard*, as well as others, are Legendaries, Tales, or Illuſions of the Evil Spirit. 5*ly*, To conclude, I do maintain that every perſon who hath no other ſupport of his Faith but Miracles, is a falſe Believer. I have ſaid it elſewhere, Miracles are not deſigned principally to prove Truth; they are appointed above all to awaken mens minds, to oblige them to give attention to Truth.

Mr. *Nicholas* to the Miracles and Prodigies of Sanctity of the Ancients, which make the Church of *Rome*, according to him, viſible, joyns alſo the Sanctity of the preſent Church of *Rome*, her Reformed Orders, her great Men, the Nuns *de Trap*, &c. and concludes, *That although a man ſhould have regard to nothing but the Sanctity of the Manners of the Church of* Rome, *ſhe is even thereby diſtinguiſhed from all other Societies, and that ſhe hath, in perſons of eminent Piety, ſenſible Characters of the Spirit of God, which will animate and inſpire her to the end of the World.* Mr. *Nicholas* ſpeaking of all preceding Ages, did always joyn Miracles with Sanctity: At preſent he lays by Miracles, and why is this? He well knows his Church pretends, as yet, to have the Gift of Miracles. And there is not a place eminent for Devotion, as are the famous Ladies of *Arſillieres*, of *Montſerrat*, of *Loretto*, where they do not pretend to

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ſee Miracles. The Father *de Aviano* ran all the World over to make it evident, that the Gift of Miracles did not dye with the Apoſtles. He dares not produce to us, that as a Light, he perceives very well that all theſe Miracles are ſuſpected. Plainly, he himſelf hath not much Faith for them. And ſo by this ſilence Mr. *Nicholas* doth tacitly conſent, that at this day the *Roman* Church doth no Miracles. If it be ſo, I would very willingly know why the *Roman* Church worke no more Miracles at this day, when ſhe had never more need thereof to convert ſo many ill converted Hereticks, and which cry out ſo loudly of the Violence which they have ſuffered by the ſending of the Dragoons? The Miracles whereof they tell us, as done at preſent, may very well be Juggles or Fables, according to what *Mr. Nicholas* lets us think by ſaying nothing of them, for what reaſon may not all thoſe of the Ages paſt for ſeven or eight hundred years particularly, be very well alſo accounted Impoſtures? Theſe Miracles of the Church of *Rome*, and of *Popery*, do very well deſerve that we ſhould make larger Reflections on them, and an occaſion thereof will be preſented to us elſewhere. But in the mean while, I pray give attention to this: It is if they reckon the Miracles which are found in the Legends from the fifth Age, wrought expreſly to ſupport the Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Reliques, Worſhip of Images, and of Purgatory, it will be found, that God hath wrought without Hyperbole, a thouſand times more Miracles for the eſtabliſhment of theſe falſe Doctrines, theſe wicked Worſhips, than he hath wrought to confirm the Chriſtian Religion. We have told you long ſince, that a Monk for his part raiſed two and fifty dead perſons, and others in proportion. Now judge if it were probable that theſe new Doctrines,

ſuppoſing they were true, ſhould be ſo important that to confirm them, God ſhould work a thouſand and a thouſand times more wonders, than he hath wrought to eſtabliſh the Faith of the greateſt Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. As to the Article of the Holineſs of the Church of *Rome* at this day, whereof *Mr. Nicholas* and *Mr. Arnold* make an evidence for her, I can deſtroy it by making appear the enormous Corruptions which are yet ſeen in her moſt conſiderable parts of *Spain* and *Italy*: I can prove the diſorders of her Clergy, and of her Monks; I can prove that theſe prodigious Auſterities which they produce to us as the effects of the Spirit of God, are but the effects of the Spirit of Hypocriſie, or Fanaticiſm. But to the end that I may not trouble thoſe that pride themſelves of the Virtue and Piety in the *Roman* Church, I will ſay, that if there be Piety in ſome of the Members of that Church, they owe it not to Popery and Antichriſtianiſm, but to the remainders of Chriſtianity which continue in that Communion.

I come to the third Light by which Mr. *Nicholas* would make the Church viſible: It is the Holy Scripture. To conclude, behold him come to the only place from whence the true Light can be drawn: *It is falſe*, ſaith he, *that this Author hath believed that the point concerning the Church cannot be proved by the Scriptures, and that the proofs are not accommodated to the capacity of the Vulgar.* We have ſhewn Mr. *Nicholas* how much there is of Abſurdity in what he ſays here, that a man may prove the point concerning the Church by the Scripture, after a manner that is fitted to the capacity of the Vulgar: and yet we know not how to prove the other Articles of Faith which are controverted after the ſame manner. It hath been made evident,

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that the Controverſie concerning the Church, is the moſt difficult of all. It hath been repreſented to him, that to deſide this Controverſie by the Scripture, according to the method which he hath imployed againſt us, it is neceſſary that an ignorant man ſhould be able to compare the Tranſlations with the Originals, and by conſequence, that he ſhould underſtand *Greek* and *Hebrew*, that he may be able to read the Commentaries of the Ancients, and the Moderns, and by conſequence, that he ſhould be able to underſtand *Latine*. All this is as neceſſary to determine one ſingle Controverſie, as to determine a hundred. We have proved unto him, that it is falſe to ſay, that a man may very well prove by Scripture the Soveraign Authority of the Church, but that he cannot prove thereby the Trinity or Incarnation, and on that ſubject, he is reduced to an eternal ſilence. For which reaſon we ſhall not preſs him farther on an Article which he grants us by his ſilence. But it is neceſſary to acquaint you, that his Affirmation is intirely falſe and raſh, *viz.* That the Holy Scripture furniſhes ſufficient Light to the Vulgar, to make them ſee that the *Roman* Church is the true Church. Either theſe Gentlemen mean, that by the Scripture they can eaſily prove that there ought to be always a viſible and infallible Church upon Earth, or they mean that the Holy Scripture ſhews with its finger the *Church of Rome*, and makes it known for the true Church, to the Excluſion of all other Sects of Chriſtians; or to conclude, they mean the Holy Scripture forms a Light to make the *Roman Church* viſible, becauſe it contains, includes, and teaches all the Doctrines and Worſhip which this Church doth authorize and command.

As to the firſt ſence, although it ſhould be true Popery would gain nothing thereby; although they ſhould prove even by the Scripture, that there ought always to be a viſible and infallible Church upon Earth, this would not prove that this muſt be the Church of *Rome*: For the *Greek* Church pretends to be that Church *which is built upon the rock, and againſt which the gates of hell cannot prevail*, to the excluſion of the *Latine* Church, and 'tis that in which we ought to obſerve the perpetual Illuſion of the *Roman* Doctors. They oppreſs you with Sophiſms, to convince you that there ought to be a Judge, an infallible Interpreter of Scripture, a Church that cannot err. Anſwer them in one word, Although all this which you ſay ſhould be true, it would be no advantage to you; we muſt ſeek this Church, and this infallible Interpreter elſewhere, for 'tis certain you have erred. I come to the ſecond ſence, *viz.* That the Scripture makes a Light which renders the Church viſible, becauſe it ſhews with the Finger the *Roman* Church as the true Church to the excluſion of all others. Now this is a Falſhood ſenſible to all the World, the Holy Scripture ſpeaks not one word of the Church of *Rome*, or of her Infallibility. 'Tis true there is an Epiſtle addreſſed to the Church of *Rome*, but St. *Paul* ſo little thought of her as infallible, that he ſpeaks to her as a Church that would fall, or at leaſt as one that might be cut off from the true Olive, and from the root of Jeſus Chriſt.

There remains only the third ſence in which your Converters can ſay, that the Scripture forms a Light which makes the *Church of Rome* viſible; 'Tis that the Doctrine of the Scripture is found perfectly conformable to that of the *Church of Rome*. That is it which they muſt ſay, if they will ſay a-

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ny thing that is ſolid: for the truth is, that there is not any mark of the Church but this, *viz.* Her conformity to the Holy Scripture. Let alone therefore all this pretended heap of Marks of the Church, which are either falſe, or equivocal, and keep you cloſe to this alone. Tell your Converters, if you will make your Church viſible to me, let me ſee it conformable to the Scripture; and 'tis there you will reduce them to Extremities. 'Tis here that we have an evident proof that Popery is an Antichriſtian Religion. Behold a proof to which all the ſubtilty of Hell can never oppoſe any thing; we ſay then, every Society, and every Religion which hath nothing conformable with the Law of Jeſus Chriſt, is not the true Religion; now Popery hath nothing conformable to the Law of Jeſus Chriſt, therefore it hath nothing of Chriſtianity.

I intreat you to give attention to this: If a Sect of the *Turks*, calling themſelves *Mahometans*, had nothing among them like to the *Alcoran*, which is the Law of *Mahomet*, would you not tell them that they lie? If the *Jews* calling themſelves *Jews*, ſhould re-eſtabliſh a Worſhip which hath nothing like the Worſhip preſcribed by *Moſes*, would any one endure that they ſhould ſay they were of the Religion of *Moſes*? Every Religion hath its Books, and every Sect (to ſhew that 'tis of ſuch a Religion) ought to prove its conformity with thoſe Books. Common ſence ſay thus: If therefore *Popery* have nothing at all like the Writings of Chriſtians, 'tis clear that 'tis not Chriſtianity. Now this is it which we take for granted, and which we are ready to prove before all ſorts of Judges, even *Jews* and *Pagans*, *viz.* That *Popery* hath no conformity with the Scripture, which is the common Law of Chriſtians. To be convinced of this, my Brethren,

firſt ſeparate Chriſtianity from *Popery* in the *Roman Church*, and don't ſuffer yourſelves to be blinded by what your Converters ſay unto you: Are not we Chriſtians? Do we not believe one God in three Perſons, one Jeſus crucified for the ſins of men, one Reſurrection, one Paradiſe, and one Hell? Does not the Scripture teach all this? Is not our Religion therefore conformable to Revelation? Anſwer them thereon, Yea, you are Chriſtians in all that you believe with us; but you are Antichriſtians in that wherein you believe without us. Theſe points whereof you ſpeak are in the Scripture 'tis true, but 'tis my Religion rather than yours; 'tis Chriſtianity whereof 'tis true I acknowledge you have preſerved the Fundamentals: But this makes nothing for your Religion, which is *Popery*, it makes nothing for Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Images, and Reliques, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Adoration of the Sacrament, the *Latine* Tongue in the Worſhip of God, a Communion without the Cup, a Head of the Church beſides Jeſus Chriſt. Behold Popery, and 'tis that which we maintain hath no conformity with the Scripture. Indeed when your Converters will prove their Doctrines by the Scripture, it ſeems they have renounced common Sence, as well as Faith and Honeſty. To underſtand this, there is no need to examine any Books of Controverſie, as they would fain perſwade you, there needs no more but eyes to open and read them. For Example: When they endeavour to prove the *Pope* is the Soveraign Head of the Church, the Center of Unity, the Mouth that utters Oracles, and him to whom we muſt adhere if we will be ſaved, and they produce to us, for the whole proof, theſe words, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this rock I will build my Church; I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not;*

not ; feed my ſheep. When, ſay I, they produce this, and produce nothing elſe to prove the moſt important point of *Popery*, which is the Authority of the *Pope*, I do maintain, that he muſt be ſtricken with a Spirit of Blockiſhneſs to regard it as proof. He muſt, I dare ſay, be abandoned to a Spirit of Reprobation, to ſuppoſe that the Scripture, that tells us of Paſtors and Teachers, as Guides of the Church, ſhould not ſpeak one word of this great Office of *Pope* and *Soveraign Paſtor*. When for the Sacrifice of the Maſs propitiatory for the living and the dead, they produce to us, as proof, from the holy Scriptures, theſe Texts: *Melchizedeck offered bread and wine, they ſhall offer to my Name a pure ſacrifice from the riſing of the Sun to the going down of the ſame. Soveraign wiſdom hath prepared her victuals, and mingled her wine. We have an Altar of which they have no right to partake, which ſerve the Tabernacle. Do this in remembrance of me.* When, ſay I, they produce theſe paſſages for the intire proof of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, are you not tempted to believe they do not ſpeak in good earneſt? for nothing ſeems more oppoſite to ſound ſenſe. To prove that we muſt invocate Saints, they refer us to thoſe words of *Jacob, The Angel which delivered me from all evil, keep the lads*; and thoſe of *Eliphaz* to *Job, And to which of the Saints wilt thou turn thy ſelf?* that is to ſay, of the Saints which are upon Earth; and thoſe of *Daniel, Have mercy upon Iſrael, for the ſake of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob.* To prove that we muſt proſtrate our ſelves before Images, and worſhip Reliques, they produce thoſe words of God to *Moſes, Pluck off thy ſhoes, for the place where thou ſtandeſt is holy ground*; and thoſe of *David, Worſhip before his footſtool*; and thoſe of St. *Paul* to *Timothy, From thy childhood thou haſt learnt the holy Scriptures.*

Here

Here is nothing to be laught at, 'tis that for which we ought to pour out tears of bloud, that Chriſtians ſhould fall into ſo prodigious a Stupidity, and into ſo great a want of Reaſon, that if the *Mahometans* ſhould fall into one like it, and would prove their Religion after this manner by their Alcoran, we ſhould take them for mad men. They ought not to tell you I diſſemble their principal proofs drawn from Scripture, for thoſe points whereof we ſpeak unto you, for they have no other, and the caſe is the ſame in all other Articles of Popery, without excepting their Faith concerning the Euchariſt. For theſe words, *this is my Body*, although they ſhould ſignifie a real Preſence, do not ſignifie Tranſubſtantiation by any means in the World. 'Tis a truth ſo evident, that *Cajetan*, and many other Doctors after him, have confeſſed it. Is it not a ſhame, that on an Article ſo important as is the Adoration of the Sacrament, when they ſhould produce proofs from Scripture, they cannot produce ſo much as one, but theſe words, *this is my Body*; which do not ſpeak one word concerning Adoration. When they ought to prove the Power which is given to the Church to take away the Cup, again they quote, *this is my Body*. This is in propriety of ſpeech to mock men, being not willing to confeſs plainly that which is truth, *i. e.* our Religion hath no conformity to the Holy Scripture.

My Brethren, that I may compleatly poſſeſs you of this truth, that Popery hath no kind of Bond, Union, or Conformity with the Scripture, obſerve theſe two things: *Firſt*, That Popery treats the Scripture as a declared Enemy. It diſputes againſt its perfection, its clearneſs, its ſufficiency, and its authority. It makes vaſt Volumes to prove it is obſcure; that 'tis a Noſe of Wax, that 'tis a Sword with two edges, that it hath been an occaſion (by its

obſcu-

obſcurity) of all Hereſies, that it contains not half the things that are neceſſary for ſalvation, that it hath no authority without the teſtimony of the Church, that it muſt be interpreted according to the Voice of the Church and her Practices, that ſhe contains a hundred things capable of raiſing ſcruple, and giving ſcandal. You have heard of the famous Cardinal *Perron*, who collected together all that ſeems ridiculous to the profane in the Scripture, as the Jaw-bone of *Sampſon*'s Aſs, and other like things to make it loſe its authority. They add, that the Scripture is maimed and half loſt, corrupted by the Jews or Hereticks, and as the top of all, the Popes, the Councils, the Doctors, the Inquiſitors, and the Parliaments, have even forbidden the reading of it to the People, as a dangerous Book. Is not this to declare themſelves, and to act as enemies to the Scripture? The other Reflection, which I wiſh you would make, is, that the Church of *Rome* looks on the Scripture as her Enemy; Popery is always on its guard againſt the Holy Scripture, always prepared to give a Puſh, always drawing back and recoiling, always anſwering, always diſtinguiſhing; ſometimes diſtinguiſhing Sacrifice into bloudy and unbloudy, ſometimes Adoration into *Dulia* and *Latria*, ſometimes the Head of the Church, into Principal and Miniſterial, ſometimes the Eſſence of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt into natural and ſacramental, ſometimes Mediators, into Mediators of Interceſſion and of Redemption; always to repel the Scripture, and always to ſerve themſelves of it. Is it not therefore very clear that Popery is at a perfect oppoſition with the Scripture? It attacks it as an Enemy, by a hundred falſe Accuſations; it defends it ſelf againſt it as againſt an Enemy, by a hundred and a hundred imaginary diſtinctions to ward off the blows the Scripture gives it. To attack and defend

ſend, is all that Enemies do to one another. Obſerve well, my Brethren, in the Inſtructions which your Converters give you in theſe late times, the Scripture doth not enter among them. They are aſhamed of the proof which their Doctors have heretofore drawn from the Scripture to ſupport their Doctrines. At this day they beat and preſs upon you by nothing but the pretended Authority of the Church, and Paſſages of the Fathers, which you never read.

From all this I conclude, that Popery in the quality of true Religion, and the Church of *Rome* in quality of the true Church, are by no means viſible, ſeeing they are deſtitute of that Light which alone can make the true Church viſible, *viz.* Conformity with the Holy Scripture.

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Aug. 15th, 1687.

A N

AN APPENDIX,

Containing

A NARRATION OF THE WARS and SLAUGHTERS

Occasioned by the

Jesuits and Missionaries in *Æthiopia*,

FOR THE

Promoting and Establishing their Religion there:

AND

Some brief ACCOUNT OF THE

Late Persecution in *Hungary*.

IN the beginning of the precedent Age, *James Alvarez*, a Priest of *Portugal*, brought Letters from *David* the King of *Æthiopia*, to Pope *Clement* the Seventh: He found him at *Bolonia* with the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and gave him those Letters, which promised Obedience to him on the part of the King of *Æthiopia*. This Promise of Homage coming from the South, was very acceptably

received by *Clement* the Seventh, who ſaw all the Weſt ready to revolt and ſhake off the Yoak of the Roman Church. The Letters of King *David* to the Pope (which are certainly very ſubmiſſive) are yet to be ſeen, but at preſent the *Æthiopians* pretend that *James Alvarez* was an Impoſtor and a Cheat, who falſified the Civilities of the Emperour, and interpreted his Letters wholly otherwiſe than they ſignified in the Original, becauſe Obedience to the Pope, and the Terms wherein they are expreſſed, were utterly unknown in *Æthiopia* at that time. *John Bermudes* came to *Rome* at the ſame time to deſire aſſiſtance from the Pope againſt the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Adel*. The Pope received and treated him with great kindneſs, and furniſh'd the Abyſſines which were at *Rome*, with what was neceſſary for their entertainment, and to imprint Bibles and Littanies in their own Language. All theſe Civilities were ſo many Snares to make them fall by an intire ſubmiſſion to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and oblige them to embrace the Romiſh Religion. *Ignatius Loyola*, the Founder of the Order of Jeſuits, earneſtly ſollicited a Commiſſion to go and labour in what they call the Converſion of this Great Empire. He could not obtain it, but it was given to *John Barrett* a Jeſuit, with the title of Patriarch of the Abyſſines. This *Barret* took or received for a Companion *Andrew Oviedo*, with the title of Biſhop. They both embarqued in *Portugal* for the *Indies*, to the end that they might paſs from thence into *Æthiopia*. King *Claudius* had ſucceeded to *David* his Father. The Patriarch and his Suffragan Biſhop, would not venture themſelves with this new King, without knowing of what ſpirit and humour he was. They ſent three Jeſuits, *James Dias*, *Goncal Rodriguez*, and Friar *Fulgentius Freyra*, to get intelligence concerning him; they came and were received with ſufficient

ſufficient kindneſs by the King of *Æthiopia*. But he learnt that the King of *Portugal* ſent him theſe men, and prepared others, to inſtruct him and his people in the Roman Religion; this affrighted him. He ſtood in doubt a long time betwixt the fear that he had, that theſe new Evangeliſts and Converters ſhould trouble both Church and State, and that of offending the King of *Portugal*, of whoſe friendſhip he thought he had need. He had divers Conferences with them, the ſum whereof on the part of the *Portugeſe* was, That if the Abyſſines would be ſaved, they muſt acknowledge the Pope for the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſubmit to him under that Character and Title. But the Abyſſines anſwered, That it was an Affair which could not be concluded without conſulting the other Patriarchs. At laſt King *Claudius* permitted that the other Prieſts of *Portugal* ſhould come, and promiſed to receive them kindly. The Patriarch *John Barrett* nevertheleſs durſt not hazard his Patriarchal Dignity upon the Word of the King. He continued in the *Indies*, and ſent the Biſhop *Andrew Oviedo*, accompanied with five Prieſts of that Society. The King of *Æthiopia* received them very civilly, and permitted them to perform Divine Offices according to the Roman Church; yea, it was permitted to all to joyn themſelves to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But *Oviedo* not content with that, was very importunate with the King to oblige him to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope. He anſwered, That his Anceſtors had never acknowledged other Superiour in holy things, than the Succeſſors of St. *Mark*, that is to ſay, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*. This is worthy of obſervation, and makes it apparent, that *Alvarez* exceeded his Commiſſion, when he came to yield obedience and ſubmiſſion to the Pope, in the name of *David* the Father of *Claudius*. For the Son could not have ſaid, that his

Anceſtors had never acknowledged any other than the Succeſſors of *St. Mark*, if very lately his Father had deſigned to ſubmit to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and did actually do it. *Oviedo* preſſes the buſineſs, *Claudius* obſtinately refuſes. At laſt he conſented to Conferences, in which the Jeſuits had great advantage upon the Abyſſines, becauſe they were very ignorant. But King *Claudius* interpoſing therein, had almoſt as much advantage on the Miſſionaries of *Portugal*, as they had on the Eccleſiaſticks of *Æthiopia*, becauſe he was without compariſon the moſt able man of his Kingdom, as well in Divinity, as in the Art of Government. *Oviedo* ſeeing that he got nothing by theſe ways, reſolved to employ thoſe which were more violent. He left the Court to teſtifie his diſpleaſure, and publiſhed a Writing injurious to the Abyſſine Church, in which he accuſed it of many Hereſies, and forbad the *Portugeſe* to have any Communion with it. The King was angry alſo on his part, but a little while after he was ſlain in a Battel, and left his Brother *Adamus Saghed* Succeſſor to his Realm. This Prince uſed more rigour againſt *Oviedo*, and his Companions; he revoked all thoſe Acts of Grace which his Predeceſſors had granted to them. He forbad them, upon pain of death, to trouble his Eſtates by their new Goſpel. The Biſhop withdrew to *Fremone* upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom, and there abode thirty years with the *Portugeſe*, under the Title of the Patriarch of the Abyſſines, which he took after the death of *John Barrett*. *Adam Saghed* died, and his Son *Malec Saghed* ſucceeded him. He treated the *Portugeſe* more kindly; and they being reformed by the correction they had received, acted more wiſely, and with greater moderation. Nevertheleſs, this Miſſion was extinct, becauſe they had no way of ſending Succeſſors, the *Turks* having poſſeſſed the Ports of the

the *Red-Sea*, which gave admiſſion into *Æthiopia*. And the *Portugeſe* which would have converted all the Nation, were found without Prieſts to give them the Communion.

But in the beginning of this Age, in the year 1604. a Jeſuit named *Peter Pais*, was more happy than all thoſe who had preceded them. He entered into *Æthiopia*, and made himſelf admired by an Ability, which although it were but very indifferent, ſeemed extraordinary among people which knew nothing. He came to the Court of *Zadengel*, who was then King of *Æthiopia*, and managed him ſo well, that he obtained an expreſs Promiſe from him, that he would ſubmit to the Pope and the Religion of the *Romans*. This Prince began with an Ordinance which forbad the obſervation of *Saturday*, or the Sabbath, which the Abyſſines venerate as the Lord's Day. The Great Men of the Realm being provoked by this Enterprize, conſpired againſt him, and ſlew him, after a Battel, in which he was not ſucceſsful. Behold already the death of one King which *Popery* cauſed in *Æthiopia*. This death coſt the Jeſuit Converters nothing; on the contrary they found in *Suſneus*, the Succeſſor of *Zadengel*, a Protector much more proper to make the Miniſter of their Violence. *Suſneus* permitted himſelf to be managed by theſe Miſſionaries of *Portugal* in ſuch a manner, that they prevailed with him to declare openly, that he would change the Religion of the Country, and ſubmit the Abyſſine Church to the Pope. He wrote concerning it to *Clement* the Eighth, and to *Philip* King of *Spain*, who was then alſo King of *Portugal*. Many Great Lords of the Court, and Officers of the Army, out of complaiſance to their King, embraced the Religion of the *Romans*, and communicated with them. *Suſneus* having received many kind Letters from *Paul* the Fifth, writ

to him again another Letter dated the 31th of *January*, 1613. by which he acknowledges him for Paſtor of the Univerſal Church, and deſires his aſſiſtance to confirm his Religion. This Prince, guided by the Jeſuits, to the end that they might do things a little in form, cauſed many Conferences to be held upon the Queſtion of the two Natures in Chriſt Jeſus. For the *Æthiopians* following the Schiſm of *Eutyches*, acknowledge in him but one. But the truth is, there is at this day nothing but a diſpute of words thereon: for the *Eutychians* acknowledge the Divinity and Humanity in Chriſt Jeſus, but it pleaſes them to ſay, this Union makes but one Nature compounded of two, as the Body and Soul in Man make but one Compound; ſo that 'tis certain, that we may very well give our ſelves indulgence therein, but 'tis not of the *Spirit of Popery* to tollerate any thing. The King at the ſollicitations of the Jeſuits, made an Edict, by which he ordained, That henceforward they ſhould believe two Natures in Chriſt Jeſus. The Abyſſine Monks which fell in the Diſpute, ſuſtained themſelves in their ignorance with obſtinacy in their Opinion; but one of them having ſpoken a little too freely, was brought before the King, and was beaten with a ſtirrup-leather. Behold the *Spirit of Popery*, which began to diſcover it ſelf without diſguiſe.

This firſt Violence awakened their ſleeping Spirits. *Simeon* the Metropolitan of the Abyſſines came to Court; he complains, That without conſulting him, they had done ſuch things upon Religion. The King anſwered, That for his ſatisfaction there ſhould yet be a Conference on that ſubject. The conſequence was, that after the Conference the Jeſuits obtained an Edict, by which it was forbidden, on pain of death, to ſay there was but one Nature in Chriſt Jeſus. This frightful Decree was a clap of Thunder

Thunder which ſeemed to reduce the whole Empire of the Abyſſines into powder; and *Æthiopia* knew then by experience what Evils the *Spirit of Popery* drew along with it; all the Realm was alarmed, and the moſt moderate loſt their moderation, and conſidered that in truth the Controverſie about two Natures in Chriſt, in the eſtate in which now it was, was of no importance, but that ſuch a ſeverity was unheard of in *Æthiopia* ſince the times of the Apoſtles; and that it was wholly oppoſite to the nature of the Chriſtian Religion, for which Religion they concluded they muſt not ſuffer ſuch Violence. *Jamanaxus*, Brother by the Mothers ſide of the Emperour, puts himſelf at the head of a very powerful Confederation, into which many great Lords entered, with all the Church-men, and a great part of the People.

The Metropolitan *Simeon*, who ſtrove leſs againſt the two Natures in Jeſus Chriſt, than for his Dignity, (which they would have taken from him, in favour of him whom it ſhould pleaſe the *Pope* to name) excommunicated all thoſe which followed the Religion of the *Franks*, for ſo they call the Religion of the *Romans*. This boldneſs cauſed ſome fear to the Emperour; he grew a little moderate, and made another Edict, in which he gave Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects; and in all appearance he had continued ſo to do, if he had followed his own Inclinations. But at the inſtigation of the Jeſuits he returned to more violent Counſels. The Queen-Mother, the Metropolitan, the Church-men, and the Monks, threw themſelves at his feet in favour of the ancient Religion; but he rejected them all with violence, ſo that there was no more hopes of Peace. *Jamanaxus* the King's Brother, *Elias* his Son-in-Law, Governour of the Province of *Tygre*, with a great Party, reſolved to oppoſe the Violence

by force. The Metropolitan renews his Excommunications; the Sword-men take Arms: *Ælius* commands all the *Portugeſe* to go out of the Province whereof he was Governour; they came to blows. The Party of the King and the Jeſuits, was the ſtronger. *Ælius* was ſlain. *Simeon* the Metropolitan was taken, whom they beheaded: they made a great Butchery among the People; but *Famanaxus* was pardoned. Behold already how much Bloud hath been ſhed by *Popery*.

But things will not continue there. The Jeſuits and their King, puft up with the ſucceſs of their Victory, proceed to a new Reformation. The Prince forbad them the obſervation of the *Saturday*-Sabbath, and commanded, that they ſhould labour on that day, upon the penalty of confiſcating their Goods for the ſecond Offence. 'Tis indeed an affair ſufficiently ſmall, about which it were very poſſible to have given a tolleration; but *Popery* underſtands not the meaning of that word: they ſeverely chaſtiſed, for an Example, one named *Buc*, a perſon very eminent in the Kingdom for his Military Employments. This new ſeverity gave occaſion of a revolt to one named *Jonael* Vice-Roy of *Bageindra*. All the Court, the women, and the Favourites interpoſed in this affair, a little to ſoften and bend the Spirit of the King, but the Jeſuits prevailed upon him. He would not comply with their Perſwaſions. So they came a ſecond time to war; *Jonael* was beaten many times, and withdrew from the Kingdom. This did not affright others. Thoſe of the Province of *Damos* took Arms for the ancient Religion. The Hermites, which are there in great abundance, were willing to ſignalize themſelves in this Holy War. Nevertheleſs, their Party was beaten; but there was great effuſion of Bloud on both ſides.

Behold

Behold the ordinary Methods by which *Popery* arrives at Empire: After theſe repeated Victories which coſt the King of *Æthiopia* great part of his Subjects, he accompliſhed his deſign. The Jeſuites by his Authority intirely overturned the Religion and Church of the *Abyſſines*; all gave way either to ſeduction or violence. They ſwore Fidelity and Obedience to *Urban* the Eighth; the *Pope* ſent there a *Roman* Patriarch; all thoſe who would not obey were ſeverely chaſtiſed. The new Patriarch paſſed through the Kingdom, baptizing and confirming an infinite number of perſons. They eſtabliſhed Seminaries of the Children of the *Abyſſines*, and *Portugueſe*. In one word, *Popery* by its ordinary ways which are violence, and the ſword, became maſter of all *Abyſſinia*. One named *Tecla Georgius*, another Son-in-law of the King, put himſelf at the head of the Malecontents, which were in great number, but the fortune of the Jeſuites did yet accompany the King in this Affair; *Tecla Georgius* was ſlain, and his Siſter hanged on a Tree, becauſe ſhe had ſpoken a little too freely againſt the Rites of the *Latine Church*.

The Patriarch *Alphonſus Mendez*, a Jeſuit, knew not how to uſe his good Fortune, but believing that henceforward he might abandon himſelf without conſtraint, to that ſpirit of Tyranny which hath its ſeat at *Rome*, ill intreated all the great Men of the Court, excommunicated the prime Officers of the Kingdom, for things which were not Eccleſiaſtical: he domineer'd over all with ſo much inſolence, that at length the King himſelf, and all the Courtiers opened their eyes upon the conduct of theſe new Tyrants. Rebellions were renewed in moſt part of the Provinces; Battels were fought, and blood ſpilt under the Authority of the King, who

who was ſtill abuſed by Popery. But a certain perſon called *Ras Seelax*, a great Favourite of the King's, and a great Protecter of Popery, having loſt his Reputation, the Affairs of the Jeſuites, and Popery ſunk, and fell into decay thereby. The King being tired by the Troubles which theſe new Evangeliſts brought to him every day by their Rigours, and ſeeing that the *Hydra* of Rebellion, after it loſt one head found a hundred, began very much to abate of his rigour, and granted liberty to whoſoever would uſe it, to preſerve, and obſerve the ancient Religion. This goodneſs of the Prince which agreed very well with natural Equity, diſpleaſed theſe imperious Maſters; they made violent oppoſition thereunto; but favour continued no longer on their ſide, the ſame Prince which had aboliſhed the ancient Religion, doth re-eſtabliſh it, or rather permits that it ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed after ten or twelve years interruption. *Suſnens* dies a little while after. This Protector of the Religion newly eſtabliſhed, being dead, Popery tumbled with haſte and violence towards ruine. They repaid to the Jeſuites the cruelty they had uſed; they took away their Churches, and Goods, and drove them out of the Kingdom. They tried all ways, they ſet their Friends and Creatures on work; they intreated, they deſired the help of Arms, and Souldiers from *Goa*, for their Defence, but all to no purpoſe. The Patriarch *Alphonſus Mendez*, was put into the hands of the *Turks*, from whence he was redeemed with Money: but his Companions the Jeſuites *Almeyda*, Father *Hyacynthus*, *Lewis Cardyra*, and many others were hanged as Diſturbers of the publick Peace. The *Congregation for the Propagation of Faith*, were willing to attempt the Recovery of this brave Kingdom, which they had loſt: they

ſend

ſend ſix *Capuchines* to try if they could paſs once again into *Æthiopia*; but two of them died by the hand of the *Cafres*, two were ſtoned in *Æthiopia*, the other two returned without doing any thing. In concluſion, three other *Capuchines* were willing to make another attempt: they came aſhore at *Suaquene*, a Port of the Red-ſea, poſſeſſed by the *Turks*; from thence they wrote to the King of *Æthiopia*, (as if it had been a thing grateful to him) that they were there ready to paſs into his Country, as ſoon as he ſhould furniſh them with neceſſary Accommodations. For anſwer, *Baſilides*, who was then King of *Æthiopia*, after his Father *Suſneus*, writ to the *Turkiſh* Baſſa who commanded the place, that he would do him the kindneſs to ſend him the Heads of thoſe three *Franks*. This was done, they cut off their heads, they flead off their skins, which they filled with Hay, and ſent them to *Baſilides*. So theſe poor miſerable Wretches bore the puniſhment of all the Blood which the Jeſuites, and Popery had ſhed in the Kingdom of the *Abyſſines*. This Hiſtory, as it ſeems to me, is very proper to ſhew, that in all places, as well as in all Ages, the ſpirit of Popery is the occaſion of Trouble, Confuſion, Tyranny, and Perſecution; and God did permit that Popery ſhould proſecute its uſual methods in *Æthiopia*, as elſewhere, to hinder the *Abyſſine* Church from continuing under the Papal Tyranny. For if theſe Emiſſaries of the Court of *Rome* had proceeded with more Moderation, and ſpared Blood, and offered no Violence to the Conſciences of men, without doubt Popery had this day been regnant among the *Abyſſines*.

The Liberty of the Reformed Churches of *Hungary*, was eſtabliſhed upon very good Foundations: the

the Kings of that Country had granted to the Proteſtants divers Declarations, by which the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion was permitted in all places. On the year 1606, was made the Treaty called the *Pacification* between *Rodolphus* Emperour, and King of *Hungary*, and *Stephen Bothskey Kis-maria:* The firſt Article whereof grants, That the Reformed *Hungarians* ſhould not in any thing be troubled in the exerciſe of their Religion, and that all the Churches taken from them during the Troubles, ſhould be reſtored to them. All the Kings of *Hungary* which have been ſince *Matthias*, *Ferdinand* the Second, and *Ferdinand* the Third, have confirmed theſe Priviledges by their Declarations: To conclude, the preſent Emperour in the year 1655, when he was crowned King of *Hungary*, confirmed by an expreſs Declaration, all that his Predeceſſours had done. The eleventh Article of that Declaration concedes, *That for the Conſervation of Peace amongſt all the Orders and States of* Hungary, *the buſineſs of Religion ſhall remain free without receiving any Diſturbance, according to the Conſtitution of* Vienna, *and the Articles publiſhed before the Coronation; in ſuch ſort that the exerciſe of Religion ſhall be entirely free for the Barons, Lords, Nobles, free Citizens, and generally for all Eſtates and Orders of* Hungary, *as alſo for the Towns and Villages which will embrace it; ſo that no perſon of what eſtate or condition ſoever, may be hindered by his Majeſty, or other Temporal Lords in any manner, or under any pretence whatſoever, from the free uſe and exerciſe of the ſaid Religion.*

Things were in this eſtate in the year 1671, when a Jeſuite named *George Barze*, Titular Biſhop of *Warradine*, calling himſelf Counſellour to his Imperial Majeſty, publiſhed a Book with this Title, *Truth declared to all the World, which makes it appear by*

by three Arguments, that his Imperial Majeſty is not obliged to Tollerate the Lutheran, *and* Calviniſt *Sect in* Hungary. It is eaſie to underſtand what a Work of this Title, that has a Jeſuite for its Author, doth contain: The deſign thereof was to juſtifie the Perſecutions which had been already made againſt the Proteſtants of *Hungary*, as well as thoſe they were preparing to make: For already, a long time before the publication of this Writing, ſome particular Lords had ſet up for cruel Perſecutors. Among others *Francis Nadaſti*, *Paul Eſtherſiazy*, and many others, at the inſtigation of the Prieſts and Jeſuites, had employed both fire and ſword: they had maſſacred the Reformed in their Churches, hanged them up on the bars of their Church-doors, and many others they had thrown head-long from Turrets. The Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and Popiſh Gentlemen had thus uſed them, and alſo pulled down the Churches in the Countries which held, and depended on them. The free Cities, and thoſe who depended only on the Emperour, were exempt from this ſtorm; but they ſhall have their turn on the occaſion following.

Many great *Hungarian* Lords of the Popiſh Religion, as the *Nadaſties*, the *Serinies*, the *Frangipanes*, joyn themſelves to *Francis Rakotſqui*, and took Arms againſt the Emperour for private Quarrels. The Troops of *Auſtria* on this occaſion entred into *Hungary* on the year 1670, and defeated theſe Rebels. The Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and Jeſuites of *Hungary*, thought they muſt not let ſlip the opportunities they now had to perſecute the Proteſtants. They ſerved themſelves of theſe inſolent & victorious Troops in all the free Cities, to do the ſame Violences which had been done by particular Lords againſt the Reformed. Without form of Proceſs they

they took away their Churches, they baniſhed the Miniſters, they put them in Priſon, they maſſacred a great number, they charged the People, and even the Nobility with Taxes, Souldiers, and Gariſons; they offered a thouſand and a thouſand Violences to oblige people to change their Religion. All the Eccleſiaſticks every one by himſelf acted like unbridled Furies. The Priſons were filled with theſe miſerable Wretches; the Churches were razed every-where; in the moſt places there were horrible Maſſacres, and even whole Villages burnt, becauſe they were wholly inhabited by Proteſtants; they hung the Miniſters at the Doors of their Churches: There was one named *John Baki*, a Miniſter of the Church of *Comava*, who was burnt. At *Caſſovia* and *Poſonium* they put to death a great number of perſons of all Sexes, of all Ages, and all Qualities: They baniſhed all thoſe whom they dare not kill. In one word, all *Hungary* became a place like Hell for the Reformed, where death, puniſhments, and torments preſented themſelves everywhere before their eyes.

To give ſome colour of Juſtice to theſe Violences, they eſtabliſhed a Chamber at *Poſonium*, made up of all ſuch as were found moſt cruel Enemies to the Proteſtants: They ſummon'd the people before they ſummon'd their Paſtors, hoping that they would fall the more eaſily by the Temptation, and that fear would cauſe them to change their Religion; thoſe which appeared, and ſupported themſelves on their innocency, were caſt into Priſons, oppreſſed with Fines, perſecuted after a hundred manners, and conſtrained at laſt to change their Religion. To thoſe which had courage enough not to renounce the Truth, they preſented a Writing to be ſubſcribed, by which they made

them

them promiſe they would forſake their Paſtors, that they would not protect them, and that they would not oppoſe the Prieſts in taking poſſeſſion of their Churches: On which Condition they promiſed to let them live in peace, in hope and expectation that the Spirit would enlighten and Convert them. Some fell, and made their ſubſcriptions, others periſhed through miſery, famine, and torments in the priſons. When they had thus ſubdued and abuſed the people, they turn themſelves to their Paſtors; they eſtabliſhed three Chambers of Juſtice, the one at *Tinew*, and two at *Poſonium*, before whom they ſummoned at firſt a ſmall number of Paſtors of the Confeſſion of *Ausburgh*. They appeared to the number of thirty two, or thirty three, the 25th of *September*, 1673; they preſented them a Writing to be ſubſcribed, importing, That it was their will and pleaſure, that they ſhould ſay, that to eſcape the ſentence which might be pronounced againſt them for their Rebellion, they did conſent to one of theſe three things: Either to Renounce all exerciſe of their Office for ever, and to live as good Subjects privately in the Realm; or to go voluntarily into Exile, with promiſe never to return again into the Eſtates of the Emperour; or to embrace the Catholick Religion, in which caſe they might remain in the Kingdom, and enjoy all ſorts of Advantages there. The providence of God permitted this unjuſt, and altogether unrighteous procedure, to the end that theſe poor accuſed perſons might have an opportunity to juſtifie themſelves from the Crime of Rebellion, whereof they were accuſed. Is it ſo that men uſed to proceed againſt thoſe that are Traytors? And has it been uſual to puniſh them with a voluntary Exile, or by a ſimple Renunciation of their Offices, and Charges?

They

They did all that they could to oblige the Paſtors to ſubſcribe this Writing; and the moſt part of them fearing death, did ſubſcribe, confeſſing themſelves culpable, though they were innocent, and went voluntarily into Baniſhment.

Section.

This attempt having ſucceed ſufficiently well to the Perſecutors, the year following, in the Month of *February* 1674, they ſummon'd before their Tribunals generally all Miniſters, Regents, Profeſſors, and Maſters of Schools, of the Reformed Religion in *Hungary*, as well thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Ausburgh*, as thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Switzerland*: part of them refuſe to appear, others fled, and others tarried at home, under the protection of their Lords, who were *Proteſtants*. Nevertheleſs there were to the number of two hundred and fifty which had the courage to appear at the day appointed. Theſe were they which God had appointed to be the Objects of the moſt cruel Rage that ever was exerciſed. Of theſe two hundred and fifty, they choſe out ſix to anſwer in the name of all, to the Accuſation which was thus formed againſt them: *That renouncing the fear of God, and Men, they had accuſed all the Members of the Catholick Kingdom of* Hungary, *and by conſequence the King himſelf, of being Idolaters; that they had ſpoken inſolently in their Sermons againſt the Bleſſed Virgin, the Saints departed, and againſt their Images, and thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt; that they had violated the Oath of Fidelity made to their Prince; given Succours to his Enemies, opened the way to the* Turks, *to the end they might poſſeſs themſelves of the Kingdom of* Hungary, *and*

and by conſequence, that they were guilty of Treaſon againſt GOD, *and Man, and worthy to loſe both their Goods and Lives.* The firſt part of the Accuſation was an Affair purely of Religion, and 'twas that alone for which theſe poor afflicted perſons ſuffered Perſecution. For the fault of Rebellion, there was not the leaſt ground to ſuſpect them guilty of it; their Judges themſelves juſtified them therein, and *Forgatz* the Preſident of the Chamber, ſaid to ſome that did ſollicite him, *In the Name of God trouble me no more; for before God, I myſelf am in no ſecurity, for if I ſpeak but one word on their behalf, they will accuſe me of Rebellion, and caſt me into Priſon.* But in truth they were ready to diſcharge them of the puniſhments which theſe horrible Crimes deſerved, and whereof they were accuſed, provided they would ſign the Writing which others had ſigned, confeſs themſelves guilty, and go into voluntary Exile: Yea, they offered to give them Money to conduct them whitherſoever they would go. There is a great deal of probability, that perſons who had cauſed the *Turk* to enter into the Country, ſhould be permitted to quit it by a voluntary Baniſhment: Moreover, this Accuſation ſeems ſo abſurd, that I can ſee no reaſon why they ſhould chooſe it for a pretence. 'Tis a helliſh Wickedneſs to determine Baniſhment to perſons only for Religion, and yet make them confeſs a Fault of which every one knows they were innocent, to the end they might have opportunity to ſay, that they were puniſhed for a Crime againſt the State. 'Tis the Spirit that hath always reigned among Perſecutors. The *Pagans* made the Chriſtians ſuffer horrible puniſhments only for their Faith: Nevertheleſs, to deprive them of the glory of Martyrdom, they would make them confeſs theſe enormous Crimes whereof they were accuſed.

On this pretended Crime, or to ſpeak better, upon the refuſal of theſe *Hungarian* Paſtors to quit their Miniſtery, their Churches, and their Country, on the fourth of *April*, 1674, they were condemned to dye. And happy had they been if the Sentence had been executed upon them, ſince never were Martyrs and Confeſſors under the firſt ten Perſecutions of the *Pagans* expoſed to ſuch cruel tryals and temptations. *Leopold* of *Colonitſch*, Biſhop of *Newſtadt*, the Jeſuite *Nicholas Kellion* (Monſters of barbarity and cruelty) were the chief Miniſters of thoſe horrible torments which they cauſed theſe glorious Confeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt to ſuffer, whereof we ſhall give you a very ſhort Abridgement: They had no deſign to put them to death, according to the ſentence pronounced againſt them; that had been to deliver them too ſoon, and it 'twas in their deſign to make them paſs through a thouſand deaths ſucceſſively. Some of them they put into Irons, giving liberty to others, thereby to oblige them to renounce the truth, through fear of the Chaſtiſement which they ſaw fall upon their Companions. For the ſpace of eight whole Weeks they employed all ſorts of Artifice to get them to ſign the Writing, and to go voluntarily into Baniſhment, confeſſing themſelves guilty. But ſeeing they encouraged each other to bear the tryal, they ſeparated them, and put the Miniſters of the Confeſſion of *Ausburgh* by themſelves. Many fell, ſubſcribed, confeſſed themſelves guilty, and went into Exile. There was forty ſix which refuſed, and were caſt into priſons: and a few hours after they fetched them thence, and tranſported them, ſome by Waggon, and ſome by the *Danube*, into divers Fortreſſes of the Kingdom: They carried twenty to *Comarine*, eight to *Sawarine*, eight to *Berenſtabine*, and nine-

teen

teen to *Leopolſtadt*; all of them laden with Chains and Irons. They gave for Conductor to thoſe nineteen carried to *Leopolſtadt*, a Hangman, which carrying Halters in his hand throughout the whole Journey, threatned to hang them on the firſt Gibbet, if they did not yield to what he demanded of them. The Reformed Paſtors of the Confeſſion of *Switzerland*, had more courage than the moſt part of the *Lutheran* Paſtors; for except two, they all reſolv'd to ſuffer all things, rather than ſign that Writing, by which it was intended they ſhould ſully their innocence by confeſſing a pretended Rebellion, and that they ſhould renounce their Miniſtry. Upon their refuſal they diſtributed them (as the others) to divers Cittadels of the Kingdom. They carried ſeven of them to *Sawarine*, as many to *Kapuwarin*, ſix to *Eberard*-Caſtle, and the twenty one that remain were ſent to *Leopolſtadt*: they were all chained, and put into deep and dark Dungeons. In all theſe places they received unheard of Treatments, thoſe which were conducted to *Berentſchin* were coupled two and two, as they yoke Oxen. They put Irons on their feet, all filled with Nails which paſſed through their ſhoes and ſtockings, and pierced their very fleſh. The Priſon where they were put was as dark as Hell, 'twas a low ſtinking Dungeon, full of Excrements, Mud, Man's Dung, Serpents and Toads, into which they could not enter, but on their hands and knees. The Governour of the Cittadel having repreſented to *Colonitſch* the Biſhop of *Neuſtadt*, that theſe Priſoners had not ſtrength enough to ſuffer ſuch torment, and that they would die under it; *'Tis no matter*, ſaid the Biſhop, *when they be dead, earth enough will be found in the Fields to cover them.* They took them not thence, but to make them carry Wood for the uſe of the Cittadel, and to draw Water from a deep Well. Of thoſe which had been conducted to *Comorin*, the moſt part having ſuffered the moſt horrible Priſon during the ſpace of many months, were ſo weak as to ſuffer themſelves to be overcome, and abandon their Confeſſion. There were not in this place above three Confeſſors that perſevered, whom they cauſed to ſerve in all thoſe painful works, in which they employed Turkiſh Slaves.

The Archbiſhop of *Eberard*, eighty years old, full of fire and rage in that age which naturally is of Ice, took the pains to beat with blows by a Mallet, thoſe which had been brought into the fortreſs of that place, and he had bruiſed and broken

their limbs in ſuch ſort, that the moſt part of them were not able to move themſelves. Others were employed in cruel labours, under which he took pleaſure to ſee them ſweat even to Bloud. But nothing is like to that which thirty nine Paſtors ſuffered; ſeventeen of the Confeſſion of *Ausburgh*, and twenty two of the Confeſſion of *Swiſs*, which were conducted to *Leopolſtadt*. There were three which abandoned the Truth, being overcome by the length and cruelty of their puniſhments. The reſt were given up to the rage of the Jeſuit *Nicholas Kellion*, the moſt cruel of all the Monſters of *Lybia*. Theſe poor men proteſting their innocency before him one day, he ſaid to them, *I do indeed believe that the moſt part of you are not guilty of Rebellion againſt the King, but you deſerve all ſorts of Puniſhments for your Rebellion againſt the Church.* This wicked Wretch takes them not from their dark Dungeons, but to make them labour at thoſe Employments which had killed the ſtrongeſt men, to carry horrible burthens, to remove Earth, and to make Fortifications about the Cittadel. And becauſe thoſe Martyrs (to whom they did not give of coarſe black Bread a quarter ſo much as was neceſſary to nouriſh them, and almoſt no Water) could not lift up their hands, nor ſet one foot before another, he cauſed them to be beaten by blows with rods, with ſtaves, with the butt end of Muskets, and with cords moiſtned, and full of knots. After theſe horrible pains, he càſt them into a dark Dungeon, where lying among Rats, Serpents, and Toads, they were not able to reſt one moment. So that 'tis unconceivable how Bodies ſo waſted, could be able to endure ſuch long Torments. If any one toucht with compaſſion, did endeavour to give any refreſhment to theſe Confeſſors, they puniſht them ſeverely. A certain Perſon attempting to give ſome Onyons to one of them, the Jeſuit cauſed both him that gave them, and him that received them, to be torn with the blows of a Whip, by the hand of a Hangman. And becauſe a certain Woman had given them a little Bread, and ſome other Proviſions, ſhe was dragged through the City, put in the Pillory, and treated as they do publick Whores. They gave them neither Shoes nor Cloaths, inſomuch that they went barefoot, and ſcarce had they rags enough upon their Bodies, to cover their more ſhameful parts: Upon the leaſt and ſmalleſt pretence they ſaw a Hangman come into their Dungeon, who beat them with Rods till the Blood came. We cannot expreſs

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the horrible Violences that were done unto them, to oblige them to adore the Hoſt; they dragg'd them becauſe they would not go. On Feaſt-days, and on the Sabbaths, the Jeſuit *Kellio* came with a Troop of Soldiers, who with kicks of his foot, blows with the Musket and wooden Bars, puſht forward theſe miſerable Creatures to their Churches; inſomuch, that they made them at one blow to leap a great heighth into the Air; they fell back upon the Pavement bruiſed and broken; and when they could not go, they dragg'd them on the ground, which they ſtained and tinctured with their Blood. The Jeſuits one day beat two of theſe venerable old Men to that exceſs, that they dyed a little after. This Monſter perceiving well that his Cruelties would do him injury, even amongſt thoſe of his own Party, towards the end of his Commiſſion, thought it adviſable to treat them a little more kindly, and afterwards by violence, threatnings, and evil treatments, he drew from them a Teſtimonial, by which they acknowledged that Father *Kellio* had permitted the Mony which was ſent them by their Friends to be given to them: That he had ſuffered them to eat the Proviſions alſo which were ſent them; yea, that he had granted liberty to their Friends, and Neighbours to diſcourſe with them. And this vile Villain having formed this Confeſſion and Teſtimony after his own pleaſure, immediately made it publick, that he might diſſipate the Reports which had been ſpread abroad concerning his Cruelty.

Nevertheleſs this was not the end of the Troubles, and Afflictions of theſe Confeſſors: They were condemn'd to be ſent to the Gallies in *Spain*; and on the 18th of *March*, 1675. they were delivered to ſome Companies of Soldiers that had been raiſed in *Auſtria*; and to the 36 which had been taken from *Leopoldſtadt*, they joyned five others, who had been brought from *Brenchſtin*. We cannot expreſs the Barbarities exerciſed againſt theſe forty Confeſſors: They were to travel thoſe long diſtances which are from *Hungary* to the *Adriatick* Sea, on foot, (there Feet being laden with heavy Irons) croſs the Sands, the Rocks, Mountains, and the Stones, beaten with Cudgels, and Bulls-piſles; their Feet did crack, and were wounded, and you might follow them every-where by the tract of their own Blood, which fell from all parts of their Bodies. When they came to *Tergeſte*, they were in ſuch condition that they could go no further with their Irons; therefore there was a neceſſity that they muſt be broken off from their

their feet, and this was not done without covering their feet with bloudy wounds, and taking away some pieces of their Flesh. They gave them not above twelve Ounces of coarse Bread by the day to live on. Judge you if that could support these miserable Creatures in so tedious a travel. At night they lodged them in Stables like Dogs, where they could find no rest. If there was any one not able to go, whom they were forced to set on Horseback, when the Beast did not go, they beat him that sat thereon with great blows of Cudgels and Whips. At *Theate* there remained six, four whereof died of these horrible Journeys, the two other were transported to *Naples*.

When they were arrived there, they would have constrained them to be listed in the *Spanish* Troops, which they refused: they sold them to Masters of the Gallies of *Naples*, at the price of 50 *Rix Dollers* a piece. These poor miserable Pastors treated as they had been, were in no condition to do any Service in the Gallies; for which reason those which had bought them, made no haste to pay for them; whereupon the *German* Captains resolved to kill all these Gally-slaves; but the Vice-Roy of *Naples* hindered them. They were nine Months in these Gallies, where they suffered all the Evils, Reproaches, and Outrages that can be imagined. At last God sent them, as by a Miracle, Mr. *Ruyter* the *Holland* Admiral, who rescued them from these horrible Miseries. These are the Adventures of those Pastors that had been Imprisoned at *Leopoldstadt*.

There were yet twenty in the Prisons of *Sarwar*, *Capuwar*, *Tergeste* and *Baccari* in *Dalmatia*, who were treated as those of whom we have spoken. They caused them to go down into Caves full of Dirt, Toads, Serpents, Excrements, that had been long heaped together. At length, after they had passed through a succession of Cruelties, whereof *Phalaris* himself was never guilty, on the first of *July*, 1675, they were ordered, as others, to be sent to the Gallies, in hopes that some-body would buy them; for the Vice-Roy, and the *Venetians* absolutely refused to buy those miserable Creatures, who on the one side were innocent, and on the other were incapable of doing any Service, by reason of the Afflictions that they made them suffer.

The Bishop, of *Neustadt* that famous Persecutor, put them under the conduct of one of his Hangmen, and caused them to

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be conveyed to *Tergeſte*, a City ſituated on the Borders of the *Adriatick* Sea: There they ſhut them up in a Stable, and becauſe one of them eſcaped, they cruelly ſcourged all the reſt. The Fugitive being purſued and taken, they forced all the reſt to whip their Companion twice a day. Not content to ſatisfie their Rage on theſe unhappy perſons, they would ſatisfie their Avarice alſo, they treated with them for their Ranſome at a great ſum of Money, which they received, and then delivered but two men. In the month of *October* in the ſame year, they carried them from *Tergeſte* to *Buccari*, to put them on the Gallies of *Malta*: While they expected the coming of the Gallies, they put them in a Vault which belonged to the Priſon, where Ordure, Filth, Urine, and the Waters of the Priſon ran; there they caſt unto them, by a hole, ſome morſels of Bread, which they went on hands and feet to gather up in the midſt of Man's Dung. They faſtned them with Chains which came under their Throats, and held the Chin raiſed up, that they could not incline it downward. They put Irons on their feet, and they were bound croſs their bodies with Irons beſides. They were thirty nine days in this poſture, and ſometimes they carried them out into the Street to make them a Spectacle to the People. Thoſe who had endured a great many horrible Puniſhments, fell under theſe. Ten of them ſigned the Writing which had been required of them at firſt, and that Subſcription having done nothing towards their deliverance, they abjured their Religion ſome time after, being forced thereto by the length of their Torments. Two of thoſe which perſevered, died on the ſeventh of *December*, and their Companions buried them in the Sand on the Sea-ſhore, having ſcraped with their hands to make Graves for them. There remained but ſix of thoſe which were caſt into this horrible Priſon. The one of theſe ſix being in an Agony on the Sand of the Sea, after ſo many ſufferings, and being in no condition himſelf to return to Priſon, was drag'd by the Serjeants with ſo much violence upon the Stones and Stairs of the Vault, that in all places where his Body paſſed, there was left of the Bloud, and pieces of the Fleſh of this poor Sufferer, who died within a few hours after, and remained without burial in the ſtinking Sink. They told the other five, that they were appointed to die in the ſame place of Dung, Miſery, and Corruption, if they did not abjure their Religion.

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God fortified them in these their last Combats, in which they continued till the month of *May* 1676. at which time God sent them for a Deliverer the Embassadour of the *United Provinces*, who demanded them, and they were granted to him. When they drew them from their Cave, they had no humane shape; their Throats were putrified their Teeth were fallen out, and they could not endure any Meat in their Mouths, without feeling very sharp and pungent pains. They put them in good Beds; two famous Popish Physicians undertook their recovery; one of the five died at *Venice* the 24th of *May*; the four others escaped by Miracle, and came into *Switzerland*, where Mr. *Heydekker* says, that he saw with horror upon their Bodies the glorious Marks of their long Confession: so that 'tis from themselves that he learnt the History of their Martyrdom.

I am very much perswaded that there are no honest Men in the Church of *Rome* itself, which do not tremble at such a Report; and I am unwilling to charge these Roman Catholicks, with the infamy of such Cruelties, which are not guilty of it, nor capable of committing it. But this does not hinder, but that we may see therein the Spirit of Popery. Behold what the Priests and Monks are capable of, in whom this Spirit does properly reside. 'Tis the Spirit of Murder, and Falshood; and therefore 'tis the Spirit of the Prince of Darkness. If this be not a powerful Prejudice against Popery, I think there can be none. Let a Man look on Popery with its Cords, Whips, Gibbets, its Racks, its Wheels, its Fires, and Flames, snarling and threatning like the Devil, to tear Bodies, shed Blood, torture Souls, extend Sufferers upon Crosses, tying them to Posts, and casting them into Flames: Let a Man behold it, I say, in this frightful Dress, and horrible Employment, and let him tell me, if he finds any thing like it, in the Character of the Christian Religion. How can a Man fail to find therein the *Babylon* of the *Revelations*, which makes herself drunk with the Blood of the Martyrs of our Lord Jesus.

These Two Histories are taken out of Mr. Jeurieu's *Prejudices against Popery*, Chapter the 27th, and 28th of the Second Part.

FINIS.